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CONTENTS

OF

No. LVIII.

ART.	PAGE.
I. CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL'S PUBLIC LIFE AND SERVICES . . .	1
A History of the Colonies planted by the English on the Continent of America. By John Marshall.	
II. NOYES'S TRANSLATION OF JOB	40
An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly explanatory. By George R. Noyes.	
III. AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS . . .	59
1. Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sand- wich Islands in the Years 1824-5. Captain the Right Honorable Lord Byron, Commander.	
2. Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii. By William Ellis.	
3. Review of the preceding works in the London Quarterly Review.	
4. The Rev. C. S. Stewart's Letters on the Sand- wich Islands.	
IV. HINDU DRAMA	111
Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus. Translated from the Sanscrit, by H. H. Wilson.	
V. REPUBLIC OF CENTRAL AMERICA	127
1. A Statistical and Commercial History of the King- dom of Guatemala in Spanish America. By D. Juarros.	
2. Constitucion de la República Federal de Centro- América.	
3. Constitucion del Estado del Salvador.	
4. Constitucion Politica del Estado de Nicaragua.	
5. Mensage del C. M. José Arce, Presidente de la República de Centro-América.	
6. Discursos de José del Valle, en el Congreso Fe- deral de Centro-América.	
7. El Liberal. El Indicador. El Centinela del Sa- vador. Redactor General.	

CONTENTS.

8. Proyecto de Reforma del Sistema de Hacienda y Ereccion de un Banco Nacional de Centro-América.
9. Manifiestos y Decretos del Gefe del Estado de Guatemala y del Presidente de Centro-América.

VI. BOWRING'S POETRY AND LITERATURE OF POLAND	146
Specimens of the Polish Poets; with Notes and Observations on the Literature of Poland. By John Bowring.	
VII. DEBATES IN CONGRESS	158
Speeches in Congress, as published in the Newspapers.	
VIII. DE STAEL'S LETTERS ON ENGLAND	163
Lettres sur l'Angleterre, par le Baron de Staël-Holstein.	
IX. AMERICAN ANNUAL REGISTER	197
The American Annual Register, for the Year 1825-6.	
X. FINE ARTS	207
Academies of Arts; a Discourse delivered before the National Academy of Design. By S. F. B. Morse.	
XI. RIEDESEL'S LETTERS AND MEMOIRS	224
Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga. By Madame de Riedesel.	
XII. DANA'S POEMS	239
Poems; by Richard H. Dana.	
XIII. CADALSO'S MOORISH LETTERS	248
Cartas Marruecas y Poesías Selectas; por el Coronel Don José Cadalso.	
XIV. THE TALISMAN	258
The Talisman for MDCCCXXVIII.	
XV. CRITICAL NOTICE	274
Primary Books in the Study of Latin.	
QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS	277

CONTENTS

OF

No. LIX.

ART.	PAGE.
I. VON DOHM'S MEMOIRS	285
Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten und vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1778 bis 1806. Von Christian Wilhelm von Dohm.	
Memoirs of My Own Times, or Contributions to the History of the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, 1778 to 1806. By Christian William von Dohm.	
II. LEGAL CONDITION OF WOMAN	316
1. The Law of Infancy and Coverture. By Per-egrine Bingham, of the Middle Temple.	
2. Traité du Contrat de Mariage, de la Puis-sance du Mari, du Contrat de la Communauté, et du Douaire. Par Pothier.	
III. STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES	357
1. Travels in the Central Portions of the Missis-sippi Valley. By Henry R. Schoolcraft.	
2. A Vindication of the Rev. Mr Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations. By William Rawle.	
IV. HOPE LESLIE	403
Hope Leslie; or Early Times in Massachusetts. By the Author of 'Redwood.'	
V. NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY	421
1. Considerations of the Claims and Conduct of the United States, respecting their Northeastern Boundary, and of the Value of the British Colonies in North America.	
2. Letters on the Boundary Line. By Verax.	

CONTENTS.

VI. REVOLUTION IN PARAGUAY	444
Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia. Par MM. Rengger et Longchamp.	
VII. FLORIDA	478
1. A View of West Florida. By John Lee Wil- liams.	
2. Letters of the Hon. J. M. White.	
3. Answers of David B. M'Comb, Esq.	
VIII. DUELLING	498
Personal Sketches of His Own Times. By Sir Jonah Barrington.	
IX. CAPTAIN HALL'S VOYAGE TO THE EASTERN SEAS	514
A Voyage to the Eastern Seas in the year 1816; including an Account of Captain Maxwell's Attack on the Batteries at Canton; and Notes of an Inter- view with Bonaparte at St Helena, in August, 1817. By Captain Basil Hall.	
X. TRAVELS IN THE EAST	539
Bericht über die Naturhistorischen Reisen der Herren Ehrenberg und Hemprich, durch Aegypten, Dongola, Syrien, Arabien, und den östlichen Abfall des Habessinian Hochlandes, in den Jahren 1820- 1825. Gelesen in der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Alexander von Humboldt.	
Report of the Researches in various Branches of Natural History made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, on their Travels through Egypt, Dongo- la, Syria, Arabia, and the Eastern Slope of the Abyssinian Highlands in the Years 1820-1825. Read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Alexander von Humboldt.	
QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS	574
INDEX	583

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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No. LVIII.

NEW SERIES, NO. XXXIII.

JANUARY, 1828.

ART. I.—*A History of the Colonies planted by the English on the Continent of North America, from their Settlement to the Commencement of that War which terminated in their Independence.* By JOHN MARSHALL. Philadelphia. Abraham Small. pp. 486.

TWENTY-THREE years have elapsed, since the work standing at the head of this article was given to the public by its distinguished author. It was originally prefixed to his *Life of General Washington*, as an Introduction necessary to the full understanding of the events of the revolution. It is now detached from that highly valuable work, the merits of which we hope, at some future period, to bring in an ample manner before our readers, if indeed there be any to whom they are unknown, and it is again presented to the public in the form of a distinct history of the colonies, adapted for an independent circulation. We entirely approve of the plan of originally annexing it to the *Life of Washington*; and we equally approve of its present separation in the manner adopted by the author, and for the reasons, which he assigns. A general knowledge of the antecedent history of the colonies is indispensable, for a correct understanding of the history of the revolution, whether it be read for edification, or for the mere amusement of idle hours.

The character of the colonists themselves, their origin, progress, and governments, their local disputes and controversies, their constant struggles against the claims of the crown and its agents, the early assertion of their rights and privileges, the structure of their institutions, the boldness and freedom of their opinions upon political subjects, their manners, habits, and pursuits, their exertions and services in the wars, in which the mother country was involved, their sacrifices in defence of their settlements, their splendid, though often unrequited labors for the advancement of English glory and English power, must all be thoroughly studied before any stranger can comprehend the nature or the causes of the revolution. It will otherwise remain a profound mystery, how a little tax upon tea should have kindled a general indignation; or how the assertion of a right by the British Parliament to tax us without representation, urged almost as an abstract theory, with scarcely any practical oppression, should have brought on a contest with thirteen colonies, having separate interests and objects, and united them at once in a common warfare for life, liberty, and independence. The author himself has, however, so well explained his motives for the undertaking in a preface, written with so much clearness and simplicity, that we willingly transcribe it into our pages, as a far more satisfactory vindication, than any, which we could presume to offer.

‘So large a portion of the life of General Washington was devoted to the public, so elevated and important were the stations which he filled, that the history of his life is, at the same time, the history of his nation.

‘The part he took, while commander in chief, in the civil as well as military affairs of the United States, was so considerable, that few events of general interest occurred, which were not, in some degree, influenced by him. A detail of the transactions in which he was either immediately or remotely concerned, would comprehend so great a part of those, which belong to general history, that the entire exclusion of the few, in which he bore no part, while it would scarcely give to the work more of the peculiar character of biography, would expose it to the charge of being an incomplete history of the times.

‘His administration of the government, while president of the United States, cannot be well understood without a full knowledge of the political measures of the day, and of the motives by which his own conduct was regulated.

‘These considerations appeared to require, that his biography

should present a general historical view of the transactions of the time, as well as a particular narrative of the part performed by himself.

‘Our ideas of America, of the character of our revolution, of those who engaged in it, and of the struggles by which it was accomplished, would be imperfect without some knowledge of our colonial history. No work had been published, when this was undertaken, from which that knowledge could be collected. To have taken up the history of the United States, when the command of the army was conferred on General Washington, would have been to introduce the reader abruptly into the midst of scenes and transactions, with the causes of which, and with the actors in them, he would naturally wish to be intimately acquainted. This was the apology of the author for the introductory volume to the *Life of General Washington*. Had the essays since written towards a general history of the English colonies been then in possession of the public, this volume would not have appeared. But, although they might have prevented its appearance, they ought not to prevent its being corrected and offered to the public in a form less exceptionable, than that which it originally bore. From the extreme, I may add unpardonable, precipitation with which it was hurried to the press, many errors were overlooked, which, on a perusal of the book, were as apparent to the author as to others. He was desirous of correcting these errors, and of making the work more worthy of the public, to which it was offered, as well as more satisfactory to himself. For this purpose he has given it, since the impressions, under which it was compiled, have worn off, more than one attentive reading; has made several alterations in the language; and has expunged much of the less essential matter, with which the narrative was burthened. He dares not flatter himself, that he has succeeded completely in his attempt to entitle this work to the approbation of the literary public of America; but hopes that its claims to that approbation are stronger than in its original form.

‘Believing that motives no longer exist for connecting the *History of the English Colonies in North America* with the *Life of Washington*, the author has obtained permission of the proprietor of the copyright to separate the Introduction from the other volumes, and to publish it as a distinct work.’

The task of revision, thus modestly announced, has been performed with scrupulous care, and with some severity of judgment on the part of the learned author. He has obviously gone over the work with a keen and searching eye, and has given it the benefit of the corrections furnished by his most mature review. He has submitted it to a compression rare

among authors, and instead of increasing its size, he has exercised a praiseworthy diligence in condensing the contents into the smallest space. The introduction to the Life of Washington extended over a space of seven hundred and twentytwo pages, occupying a volume and a half. In its revised form it is now moulded into a single volume, of four hundred and fiftyseven pages of the same size.

Before entering farther upon any consideration of the nature, importance, or execution of the work, we must be allowed to indulge ourselves in withdrawing for a short time the attention of our readers from the book to the man. In short, we wish to present them with a sketch of his life and public services, and refresh ourselves and them with the contemplation of a character, in which there is nothing of inconsistency to regret, and much, very much, to incite to laudable ambition. In so doing we trust, that we shall gratify many of our readers. The young cannot be presumed to have an intimate knowledge of the labors and services of their fathers; and the aged may revive some scenes of departed time, and retrace with pleasure some faded reminiscences, by gathering up the fragments of the interesting life of a contemporary. The period has not yet arrived, in which we may venture to draw aside the veil, which conceals from the public gaze those personal traits and anecdotes, those warm touches of taste and character, those instances of familiar kindness, of elegant simplicity, and of attractive virtue, which belong to the biography of the great and good, when the grave has quietly closed over them. We hope, that the period is distant, is far distant, which shall demand from some kindred mind the performance of such solemn and affecting obsequies. The exclamation of the poet will now find a corresponding response, *serus in cælum redeas*, undebased by the slightest admixture of flattery.

But though we may not invade the privacy of domestic and social life, we deem ourselves at liberty to deal with the public acts and character of such a man, for they belong to the records and fame of his country. They have already become a part of our history, and are interwoven with some of the proudest events in our annals. The venerable age, too, of Mr Marshall, while it equally removes from us and him every other wish, than to close his life in the performance of the duties of his present office, imparts to every thought somewhat of the sobriety and softened charm, which belong to the memory of

those, whose career is already finished. We view him as almost on the confines of a past age, and as the connecting link, which binds us to our revolutionary statesmen and heroes. If therefore our sketch be, as it must necessarily be, imperfect, we trust it will not be unacceptable to those, who contemplate the struggles of the past with lofty sensibility, or look to our future glory with honest pride, as settled on the immoveable and broad foundations of the union.

Mr Chief Justice Marshall is the son of the late Colonel Thomas Marshall, and was born on the 24th of September, 1755, in Fauquier, then one of the frontier counties of the state of Virginia. He is the eldest of fifteen children, of whom seven are now living; and we have often heard it repeated by those, who were well acquainted with the family, that all the children, the females as well as the males, possessed superior intellectual endowments. His father was a planter of a very small fortune, and had received a limited education. Nature, however, had been very bountiful to him. His talents were of a high order, and he assiduously cultivated and improved them, so that he maintained through life the reputation of being an extraordinary man. No father ever possessed more unboundedly the admiration and reverence of his children. We have often listened with delight to the tribute of praise bestowed on him by filial affection, and heard the declaration from the lips of one of his most gifted sons, that his father was an abler man than any of his children.

In the local position of the family, almost upon the frontier settlements, it was of course, that the early education of his children should devolve upon its head. Colonel Marshall superintended the studies of his son, and gave him an early and decided taste for history and poetry. At the age of twelve, John had transcribed Pope's Essay on Man, and also some of his moral essays. The love for poetry, thus awakened in his warm and vigorous mind, has never ceased to exert over it a commanding influence. Unless we are greatly misinformed, the enthusiasm of his youth often engaged him in the gay imaginings and fond indulgences of the muse; and throughout every period of his life, he has read with intense interest the lighter as well as the loftier productions of the divine art. The contrast, indeed, is somewhat singular between that close reasoning, which almost rejects the aid of ornament in his juridical labors, and that generous taste, which devotes itself with delight to the works of fiction and song.

There being at that time no grammar school in the part of the country, where Colonel Marshall resided, his son was sent, at the age of fourteen, about a hundred miles from home, and placed under the tuition of a Mr Campbell, a clergyman of great respectability. He remained with him a year, and then returned home, and was put under the care of a Scotch gentleman, who was just introduced into the parish, as pastor, and resided in his father's family. He pursued his classical studies under this gentleman's direction, while he remained in the family, which was about a year, and at the termination of it he had commenced reading Horace and Livy. His subsequent mastery of the classics was the result of his own efforts, without any other aid than his grammar and dictionary. He never had the benefit of an education at any college, and his attainments in learning have been nursed by the solitary vigils of his own genius. His father, however, continued to superintend his English education, to cherish his love of knowledge, to give a solid cast to his acquirements, and to store his mind with the most valuable materials. He was not merely a watchful parent, but an instructive and affectionate friend, and soon became the most constant, as he was almost the only intelligent companion of his son. The time not devoted to his society was passed in hardy athletic exercises, and probably to this circumstance is owing that robust constitution, which yet seems fresh and firm in a green old age.

About the time when young Marshall entered his eighteenth year, the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies began to assume a portentous aspect, and engaged, and indeed absorbed, the attention of all the colonists, whether they were young, or old, in private and secluded life, or in political and public bodies. He entered into it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a youth, full of love for his country and liberty, and deeply sensible of its rights and its wrongs. He devoted much time to acquiring the first rudiments of military exercise in a voluntary independent company, composed of gentlemen of the county, to training a militia company in the neighborhood, and to reading the political essays of the day. For these animating pursuits, the preludes of public resistance, he was quite content to relinquish the classics, and the less inviting, but with reference to his future destiny, the more profitable Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

In the summer of 1775, he received an appointment as first

lieutenant, in a company of minute-men enrolled for actual service, who were assembled in battalion on the first of the ensuing September. In a few days they were ordered to march into the lower country, for the purpose of defending it against a small regular and predatory force commanded by lord Dunmore. They constituted part of the troops destined for the relief of Norfolk; and Lieutenant Marshall was engaged in the battle of the Great Bridge, where the British troops, under Lord Dunmore, were repulsed with great gallantry and firmness. The way being thus opened by the retreat of the British, he marched with the provincials to Norfolk, and was present when that city was set on fire by a detachment from the British ships, then lying in the river, and afterwards when the remaining houses were burnt by orders from the committee of safety, and the place evacuated.

In July, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the eleventh Virginia regiment on the continental establishment; and in the course of the succeeding winter, he marched to the north, where, in May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. He was subsequently engaged in the skirmish at Iron Hill with the light infantry, and fought in the memorable battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

That part of the Virginia line, which was not ordered to Charleston (S. C.), being in effect dissolved by the expiration of the term of enlistment of the soldiers, the officers (among whom was Captain Marshall) were, in the winter of 1779-80, directed to return home, in order to take charge of such men as the state legislature should raise for them. It was during this season of inaction, that he availed himself of the opportunity of attending a course of law lectures given by Mr Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state, and a course of lectures on natural philosophy, given by Mr Madison, President of William and Mary College in Virginia. He left this College in the summer vacation of 1780, and obtained a license to practise law. In October he returned to the army, and continued in service until the termination of Arnold's invasion. After this period, and before the invasion of Phillips, in February, 1781, there being a redundancy of officers in the Virginia line, he resigned his commission.

This redundancy of officers was the leading motive for his resignation, since it left him at liberty, consistently with the most scrupulous devotion to his country, to consult his own

future prospects in life, and to favor the advancement of his companions in arms. In fact, however, he may be said to have been in service during the whole war, and to have had an ample share in the brunt of battle, and in the difficulties, discouragements, and sufferings, with which the American army was surrounded in the most gloomy of its campaigns. That he served with great distinction, and was equally remarkable for courage, intelligence, and activity, is attested by many of his fellow officers, with whom he was then, and has ever since continued to be, a favorite. We cannot refrain from inserting a paragraph on this subject, copied from a recent publication, as the testimony of an eye-witness.—‘When the writer of this article first saw him,’ says the sketch, ‘he held the commission of captain in that regiment’ (meaning the regiment on the continental establishment, commanded by his father, Colonel Marshall). ‘It was in the trying, severe winter of 1777–8, a few months after the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown had tested his firmness, hardihood, and heroism. The spot, where we acquired our earliest information of him, was the famous hutted encampment at Valley Forge, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. By his appearance then, we supposed him about twentytwo or twentythree years of age. Even so early in life, we recollect, that he appeared to us *primus inter pares*, for amidst the many commissioned officers he was discriminated for superior intelligence. Our informant, Colonel Ball, of another regiment in the same line, represented him as a young man, not only brave, but signally intelligent. Indeed, all those, who intimately knew him, affirmed, that his capacity was held in such estimation by many of his brother officers, that in many disputes of a certain description he was constantly chosen arbiter; and that officers, irritated by differences or animated by debate, often submitted the contested points to his judgment, which being given in writing, and accompanied, as it commonly was, by sound reasons in support of his decision, obtained general acquiescence.’ Such is the testimony of a contemporary, and we have no doubt of its entire correctness.

During the invasion of Virginia, the courts of law were suspended, and were not reöpened until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. Immediately after that event Mr Marshall commenced the practice of law, and soon rose into distinction at the bar. We believe, that he has been accustomed to attribute

his early advancement, and lucrative practice to his extensive acquaintance among the officers of the army, the termination of hostilities having returned them to their families, and scattered them widely over his native state. We have no doubt that the Virginia officers took a deep interest in his favor; and the fact is honorable to their discernment, and a strong proof of his excellent qualities. And it is not improbable, that his success may have been somewhat aided by their commendation and support. But in our judgment his success was mainly owing to his own great talents and exertions. He was strictly the founder of his own fortune, in the sense of Cicero *ipse conditor totius negotii*; and the solid superstructure of his fame then rested, and now rests on the deep foundations of his own mind.

In the spring of 1782, he was elected a member of the state legislature, and in the autumn of the same year he was elected a member of the executive council. In January 1783, he married Miss Ambler, the daughter of a gentleman, who was then treasurer of the state, and to whom he had become attached before he left the army. This lady is still living to partake and to enjoy the distinguished honors of her husband. In 1784, he resigned his seat at the council board, in order to return to the bar; and he was immediately afterwards again elected a member of the legislature for the county of Fauquier, of which he was then only nominally an inhabitant, his actual residence being, as a member of the council, at Richmond. In 1787, he was elected a member from the county of Henrico, of which Richmond is the shire town; and though at that time earnestly engaged in the duties of his profession, he embarked largely in the political questions, which then agitated the state, and indeed the whole confederacy.

Every person at all read in our domestic history must recollect the dangers and difficulties of those days. The termination of the revolutionary war left the country drained of money, and impoverished and exhausted by its expenditures, and the national finances at a low state of depression. The powers of Congress under the confederation, which, even during the war, were often prostrated by the neglect of a single state to enforce them, became in the ensuing peace utterly relaxed and inefficient. Indeed, it was easy to foresee, if daily experience did not render all prophecy unnecessary, that since Congress could, under the confederation, act only by requisitions on the

states, these requisitions could be no more than recommendations, and these recommendations could be perpetually disregarded by the states from self-interest, local jealousy, or popular prejudice. Even the wretched expedient of clothing Congress with the power of laying an impost of five per cent., to provide for the discharge of the public debts and engagements, was defeated by the obstinate refusal of a single state. So that, in fact, there was a virtual dissolution of the confederation, and Congress was left at once powerless and moneyless, without influence and without support. 'Requisitions,' says General Washington, in a letter written to Mr Jay in 1786, 'are a perfect nullity, where thirteen independent, disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing, or complying with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest, and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme into another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.' Wise and just as these reflections are, the father of his country felt, that they could have even from him very little influence. In the same letter he adds, 'nor could it be expected, that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in the most solemn manner, [alluding to his circular to the governors of the states, when he was about resigning the command of the army.] I had then perhaps some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present.'

Such was the melancholy foreboding of the late commander-in-chief, in respect to the country, which he had saved by his valor. In the meantime the universal poverty and distress spread dismay and dissatisfaction throughout the Union. Credit, private as well as public, was destroyed. Agriculture and commerce were crippled. The delicate relation of debtor and creditor became daily more and more embarrassed and embarrassing; and, as is usual upon such occasions, every sort of expedient was resorted to by popular leaders, as well as by men of desperate

fortunes, to inflame the public mind, and to bring into odium those, who labored to preserve the public faith, and establish a more energetic government. The whole country was soon divided into two great parties, the one of which endeavored to put an end to the public evils by the establishment of a government over the Union, which should be adequate to all its exigencies, and act directly on the people; the other was devoted to state authority, jealous of all federal influence, and determined at every hazard to resist its constitutional increase. And notwithstanding the elaborate discussions in the general and state conventions, the powerful appeals of our wisest patriots and statesmen through the press and in private circles, and the general consciousness of our perilous situation, it is, after all, a problem more than doubtful, whether the national constitution would ever have been adopted, if Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts had not, by its sudden and alarming terrors, taught us, that we were already, not on the brink, but in the midst of a civil war,—a war, waged by licentious or distressed men against property and government of every sort,—a war, whose object it was to overthrow the administration of public justice, and to annul those laws, which guard the sacredness of private contracts.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr Marshall could not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of such scenes. As little doubt could there be of the part he would take in such a contest. He was at once arrayed on the side of Washington and Madison. In Virginia, as everywhere else, the principal topics of the day were paper money, the collection of taxes, the preservation of public faith, and the administration of civil justice. The parties were nearly equally divided upon all these topics; and the contest concerning them was continually renewed. In such a state of things, every victory was but a temporary and questionable triumph, and every defeat still left enough of hope to excite to new and strenuous exertions. The affairs, too, of the confederacy were then at a crisis. The question of the continuance of the Union, or a separation of the states, was freely discussed; and, what is almost startling now to repeat, either side of it was maintained without reproach. Mr Madison was at this time, and had been for two or three years, a member of the House of Delegates, and was in fact the author of the resolution for the general convention at Philadelphia to revise the confederation. He was at all times the

enlightened advocate of union, and of an efficient federal government, and he received on all occasions the steady support of Mr Marshall. We have often witnessed, with no ordinary emotions, the pleasure, with which both of these gentlemen look back upon their coöperation at that period, and the sentiments of profound respect, with which they habitually regard each other.

Both of them were members of the convention, subsequently called in Virginia, for the ratification of the federal constitution. This instrument, having come forth under the auspices of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution, was at first favorably received in Virginia. But it soon encountered the decided hostility of Mr Patrick Henry, Mr George Mason, and several other gentlemen of great influence, who, with a zeal and ability worthy of a better cause, labored to disparage it, and succeeded to a high degree in exciting the prejudices of the people against it. In the legislature of Virginia it soon gave rise to very animated debates, and before the close of the session, preceding the convention, the enemies of the constitution had, by their unceasing efforts, spread disaffection and hostility to it in every direction. Its defence was uniformly and most powerfully maintained there by Mr Marshall.

The debates of the Virginia convention are in print. But we have been assured by the highest authority, that the printed volume affords but a very feeble and faint sketch of the actual debates on that occasion, or of the vigor, with which every attack was urged, and every onset repelled against the constitution. The best talents of the state were engaged in the controversy. Against the constitution were arrayed the captivating and popular eloquence of Henry, the grave sense of Mason, and the energetic zeal of Grayson. In its support were enlisted the venerable wisdom of Pendleton, the accomplished elegance of Randolph, the steady perseverance of Nicholas, the close and comprehensive logic of Marshall, and the unwearied diligence and inexhaustible knowledge of Madison. The principal debates were conducted by Henry and Madison, as leaders. But on three great occasions, namely, the debates on the power of taxation, the power over the militia, and the power of the judiciary. Mr Marshall gave free scope to his genius, and argued with a most commanding ability. We can trace, even through the dim lights reflected in the printed speeches, many of those sa-

gacious and statesmenlike views, which have characterized his subsequent life. We see there the germs of those great constitutional principles, which he has since so largely contributed to establish, and which, if any thing can, will give immortality to this great instrument of our national liberties. Take, for instance, the following extract from his speech on the power of taxation.

‘Let me pay attention to the observation of the gentleman, who was last up, that the power of taxation ought not to be given to congress. This subject requires the undivided attention of this house. This power I think essentially necessary, for without it there will be no efficiency in the government. We have had a sufficient demonstration of the vanity of depending on requisitions. How then can the general government exist without this power? The possibility of its being abused is urged, as an argument against its expediency. To very little purpose did Virginia discover the defects in the old system—to little purpose indeed did she propose improvements—and to no purpose is this plan constructed for the promotion of our happiness, if we refuse it now, because it is possible, that it may be abused. The confederation has nominal powers, but no means to carry them into effect. If a system of government were devised by more than human intelligence, it would not be effectual, if the means were not adequate to the power. All delegated powers are liable to be abused. Arguments drawn from this source go in direct opposition to every government, and in recommendation of anarchy. The friends of the constitution are as tenacious of liberty, as its enemies. They wish to give no power, that will endanger it. They wish to give the government powers to secure and protect it. Our inquiry here must be, whether the power of taxation be necessary to perform the objects of the constitution, and whether it be safe and as well guarded as human wisdom can do it. What are the objects of the national government? To protect the United States, and to promote the general welfare. Protection in time of war is one of its principal objects. Until mankind shall cease to have ambition and avarice, wars will arise. The prosperity and happiness of the people depend on the performance of these great and important duties of the general government. Can these duties be performed by one state? Can one state protect us, and promote our happiness? The honorable gentlemen, who has gone before me (Governor *Randolph*), has shown, that Virginia cannot do these things. How then can they be done? By the national government only. Shall we refuse to give it power to do them? We are answered, that the powers may be abused; that though the

congress may promote our happiness, yet they may prostitute their powers to destroy our liberties. This goes to the destruction of all confidence in agents. Would you believe that men, who had merited your highest confidence, would deceive you? Would you trust them again after one deception? Why then hesitate to trust the general government? The object of our inquiry is—*Is the power necessary—and is it guarded?* There must be men and money to protect us. How are armies to be raised? Must we not have money for that purpose? But the honorable gentleman says, that we need not be afraid of war. Look at history, which has been so often quoted. Look at the great volume of human nature. They will foretell you, that a defenceless country cannot be secure. The nature of man forbids us to conclude, that we are in no danger from war. The passions of men stimulate them to avail themselves of the weakness of others. The powers of Europe are jealous of us. It is our interest to watch their conduct, and guard against them. They must be pleased with our disunion. If we invite them by our weakness to attack us, will they not do it? If we add debility to our present situation, a partition of America may take place. It is then necessary to give the government that power in time of peace, which the necessities of war will render indispensable, or else we shall be attacked unprepared. The experience of the world, a knowledge of human nature, and our own particular experience, will confirm this truth. When danger will come upon us, may we not do what we were on the point of doing once already, that is, appoint a dictator? Were those, who are now friends of this constitution, less active in the defence of liberty on that trying occasion, than those, who oppose it? When foreign dangers come, may not the fear of immediate destruction by foreign enemies impel us to take a most dangerous step? Where then will be our safety? We may now regulate and frame a plan, that will enable us to repel attacks, and render a recurrence to dangerous expedients unnecessary. If we be prepared to defend ourselves, there will be little inducement to attack us. But if we defer giving the necessary power to the general government, till the moment of danger arrives, we shall give it then, and with an *unsparing hand*. America, like other nations, may be exposed to war. The propriety of giving this power will be proved by the history of the world, and particularly of modern republics. I defy you to produce a single instance, where requisitions on the several individual states, composing the confederacy, have been honestly complied with. Did gentlemen expect to see such punctually complied with in America. If they did, our own experience shows the contrary.' pp. 166, 167.

And again, from his speech on the militia.

‘ Mr *John Marshall* asked if gentlemen were serious, when they asserted, that if the state governments had power to interfere with the militia, it was by implication ? If they were, he asked the committee, whether the least attention would not show, that they were mistaken ? The state governments did not derive their powers from the general government. But each government derived its powers from the people ; and each was to act according to the powers given it. Would any gentleman deny this ? He demanded if powers, not given, were retained by implication ? Could any man say so ? Could any man say, that this power was not retained by the states, as they had not given it away ? For, says he, does not a power remain till it is given away ? The state legislatures had power to command and govern their militia before, and have it still, undeniably, unless there be something in this constitution, that takes it away. For continental purposes, congress may call forth the militia, as to suppress insurrections and repel invasions. But the power given to the states by the people is not taken away ; for the constitution does not say so. In the confederation, congress had this power. But the state legislatures had it also. The power of legislation, given them within the ten miles square, is exclusive of the states, because it is expressed to be exclusive. The truth is, that when power is given to the general legislature, if it was in the state legislatures before, both shall exercise it ; unless there be an incompatibility in the exercise by one, to that by the other ; or negative words precluding the state governments from it. But there are no negative words here. It rests therefore with the states. To me it appears then unquestionable, that the state governments can call forth the militia, in case the constitution should be adopted, in the same manner, as they could have done before its adoption. Gentlemen have said, that the states cannot defend themselves without an application to congress, because congress can interpose ! Does not every man feel a refutation of the arguments in his own breast ? I will show, that there could not be a combination between those who formed the constitution, to take away this power. All the restraints intended to be laid on the state governments (besides where an exclusive power is expressly given to Congress) are contained in the tenth section of the first article. This power is not included in the restrictions in that section. But what excludes every possibility of doubt, is the last part of it ; that “ no state shall engage in war, *unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger, as will not admit of delay.*” When invaded, they can engage in war ; as also when in imminent danger. This clearly proves, that the states can use the militia, when they find it necessary. The worthy member last up objects to the continental government possessing the power of disciplining

the militia, because, though all its branches be derived from the people, he says, they will form an aristocratic government, unsafe and unfit to be trusted.

'Mr *Grayson* answered, that he only said it was so constructed, as to form a great aristocratic body.

'Mr *Marshall* replied, that he was not certain whether he understood him; but he thought he had said so. He conceived, that as the government was drawn from the people, the feelings and interests of the people would be attended to, and that we should be safe in granting them power to regulate the militia. When the government is drawn from the people, continued Mr *Marshall*, and depending on the people for its continuance, oppressive measures will not be attempted, as they will certainly draw on their authors the resentment of those on whom they depend. On this government, thus depending on ourselves for its existence, I will rest my safety, notwithstanding the danger depicted by the honorable gentleman. I cannot help being surprised, that the worthy member thought this power so dangerous. What government is able to protect you in time of war? Will any state depend on its own exertions? The consequence of such dependence and withholding this power from Congress will be, that state will fall after state, and be a sacrifice to the want of power in the general government. *United we are strong, divided we fall.* Will you prevent the general government from drawing the militia of one state to another, when the consequence would be, that every state must depend on itself? The enemy, possessing the water, can go quickly from one state to another. No state will spare to another its militia, which it conceives necessary for itself. It requires a superintending power, in order to call forth the resources of all to protect all. If this be not done, each state will fall a sacrifice. This system merits the highest applause in this respect.' pp. 297—299.

It is very difficult for the present generation to conceive the magnitude of the dangers, to which we were then exposed, or to realize the extent of the obstacles, which were opposed to the adoption of the constitution. Notwithstanding all the sufferings of the people, the acknowledged imbecility of the government, and the almost desperate state of our public affairs, there were men of high character, and patriots too, who clung to the old confederation with an enthusiastic attachment, and saw in the grant of any new powers, indeed of any powers to a national government, nothing but oppression and tyranny,—slavery of the people and destruction of the state governments on the one hand, and universal despotism and overwhelming

taxation on the other. Time, the great umpire and final judge of these questions, has indeed now abundantly shown, how vain were the fears, and how unsound the principles of the opponents of the constitution. The prophecies of its friends have been abundantly fulfilled in the growth and solid prosperity of their country, far indeed beyond their most sanguine expectations. But our gratitude can never be too warm to those eminent men, who stemmed the torrent of public prejudice, and with a wisdom and prudence, almost surpassing human power, laid the foundations of that government, which saved us at the hour, when we were ready to perish. After twentyfive days of ardent and eloquent discussion, to which justice never has been, and never can now be done, (during which nine states adopted the constitution) the question was carried in its favor in the convention of Virginia by a majority of ten votes only. Mr Henry lived long enough to acknowledge in its practical operations the sincerest pleasure, to admit his own mistakes, and to give it his sincere support. But such has not been the general result of the contest in Virginia. On the contrary, the principles then avowed by the opposition, and maintained with so much zeal, have sunk deep into the minds of those, who have since guided her public councils. And it may now be said without the suspicion of political reproach, that Virginia has throughout almost all the intermediate period controverted the powers of the general government with unceasing vigilance, and stood forth the steady and jealous advocate of state rights.

To those, indeed, who are well acquainted with the political feelings in Virginia at the period, of which we have been speaking, it may be matter of surprise, that Mr Marshall was returned a member of the convention, for the county in which he resided was then (to use the language, which distinguished the parties) decidedly antifederal. But party spirit had not become so bitter and unrelenting, as to extinguish the courtesies of private life, or to overcome those strong affections, which public services, ardent patriotism, and high talents naturally excite. In several of the counties most opposed to the constitution, individuals of commanding influence and character, who were its known advocates, were chosen delegates from mere personal motives and attachments.

The adoption of the constitution of the United States having been thus secured, Mr Marshall immediately formed the determination to relinquish public life, and to devote himself to the

arduous duties of his profession. To this determination he was led by very pressing considerations. His fortune was not yet made; his practice had become extensive; his sacrifices had already been considerable. To maintain a high standing in the legislature, proportionate to his talents and character, would require so much time, that it would essentially trench upon other pursuits. To yield up his profession as a secondary object, would be to subject himself to a voluntary dependence for life. His friends were exceedingly anxious, that he should be a candidate for Congress, so that he might assist in the first organization of the government. And notwithstanding the district was antifederal, such was his personal popularity, that no doubt existed of his success. He listened, however, to the dictates of prudence, and voluntarily retired from a station, where an honorable ambition, like his, could not have failed to have reaped an ample reward of fame.

A man of his eminence could however with very great difficulty adhere rigidly to his original resolve. The state legislature having, in December 1788, passed an act allowing a representative to the city of Richmond, Mr Marshall was almost unanimously invited to become a candidate. No doubt could exist in respect to his return, for the city was federal. With considerable reluctance he yielded to the public wishes, being principally influenced in his acceptance of the station by the increasing hostility manifested in the state against the national government, and his own anxious desire to give the latter his decided and public support. He continued in the legislature, as a representative of Richmond for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. During this period every important measure of the national government was discussed in the state legislature with great freedom and no inconsiderable acrimony. In particular, the funding system was attacked and censured in strong terms, and that part of it especially, which assumed the state debts, was pronounced unconstitutional. Thus early did Virginia avow the doctrines, which have so distinctly marked her subsequent course, and insist upon the closest abridgment of the national powers. On these occasions Mr Marshall vindicated the national government with a manly and zealous independence.

After the termination of the session of the legislature, in 1791, Mr Marshall voluntarily retired. But the events, which soon afterwards occurred in Europe, and extended a most awakening influence to America, did not long permit him to devote

himself to professional pursuits. The French Revolution in its early dawn was hailed with universal enthusiasm in America. In its progress for a considerable period it continued to maintain among us an almost unanimous approbation. Many causes conduced to this result. Our partiality for France, from a grateful recollection of her services in our own revolutionary contest, was ardent and undisguised. It was heightened by the consideration, that she was herself now engaged in a struggle for liberty, and was endeavoring to shake off oppressions, under which she had been groaning for centuries. The monarchs in Europe were combined in a mighty league for the suppression of this new and alarming insurrection against the claims of legitimacy. It was not difficult to foresee, that if they were successful in this enterprise, we ourselves had but a questionable security for our own independence. It would be natural for them, after having completed their European conquests, to cast their eyes to the origin of the evil, and to feel, that their dynasties were not quite safe, even though the Atlantic rolled between us and them, while a living example of liberty, so seductive and so striking, remained in the western hemisphere.

Nor was our danger wholly imaginary. It is hardly possible, at this distance of time, to look back without a deep feeling, that the feebleness of our national government, the deficiency of revenue and resources, the discontents at home, the internal jealousies which distracted the states, and the want of any firm public credit, exposed us to serious difficulties. If our safety was to depend upon the mere sense of moderation of the crowned heads of Europe, flushed with their recent triumph over the political liberty of France, it must be admitted, that it was somewhat shadowy and unsubstantial. In case of any combined invasion or systematic attack, we were embarrassed on one side with local divisions, and on the other with the discouraging fact, that the armies, which had achieved our independence, had the most lively and well-founded recollections of the past ingratitude of their country. Under such circumstances, the opinion was almost universal and instantaneous, that our own liberty was essentially connected with the success of France; and patriots and statesmen, the young and the old, the contemplative and the active, gave way to feelings of unbounded exultation at every defeat of her enemies, and of admiration at the heroic deeds of her children. It may be

truly said, that the government itself partook largely of the general interest, and did not hesitate to express it in any manner not incompatible with the strict performance of the duties of neutrality. Mr Marshall was as warmly attached to the cause of France, as any of his considerate countrymen.

After the death of Louis the Sixteenth, feelings of a different sort began to mix themselves, not only in the public councils, but in private life. Those, whose reflections reached beyond the events of the day, began to entertain fears, lest in our enthusiasm for the cause of France, we might be plunged into war, and thus jeopard our own vital interests. The task of preserving neutrality was of itself sufficiently difficult, when the mass of the people was put in motion by the cheering sounds of liberty and equality, which were wafted on every breeze across the Atlantic. The duty, however, was imperative; and the administration determined to perform it with the most guarded good faith. In the mean time the arrival of M. Genet, as Minister from the Republic of France, created throughout the continent a great sensation. He was every where received with acclamations on his journey from South Carolina to Philadelphia; and even before he was accredited by the government, he undertook to authorize the armament of vessels in our ports, and to enlist men and grant commissions for hostilities against nations, with which we were at peace. It was soon perceived, that taking advantage of the general enthusiasm, he was beginning to intrude himself between the government and the people; to make the latter the instruments of overthrowing the administration; and thus to precipitate us into the war. Such conduct roused the attention of all America, and taught our ablest statesmen the necessity of immediate resistance. No one, who truly loved his country, could be insensible of the danger of permitting any foreign minister to mingle in the management of our domestic affairs; or of the calamitous results of abandoning our neutrality. One of the earliest meetings, called to express the public sentiments on this subject, was in the city of Richmond; and on that occasion, resolutions were passed, expressing a strong disapprobation of the irregular conduct of M. Genet, a deep sense of the danger of foreign influence, and a warm approbation of the President's proclamation of neutrality. These resolutions, and the address to the President, which accompanied them, were drawn up and supported by Mr Marshall, and carried by his strenuous exertions.

The great political parties, which for so many years afterwards divided the country, began about this period to assume a more distinct form, and to acquire a more unequivocal character. Hitherto the struggle had been principally confined to domestic concerns ; to federal and antifederal measures ; on the one side to building up and cherishing a system, which should strengthen the union and give vigor to its councils, and on the other side to resisting every approximation to a diminution of state influence. But now the contest took a wider range, and foreign politics first engaged, and soon absorbed the whole attention of the people. Many ardent votaries of liberty clung with an animated devotion to the cause of France through all her various fortunes ; and felt, that even her encroachments upon our own rights were not without apology, and though not justifiable, were not to be openly resented. The administration and its friends acted upon other principles ; and though not insensible to the value of the friendship of France, they saw much in her conduct, which required resistance, and much in the conduct of other nations, and particularly of Great Britain, which demanded, if we meant to preserve peace, a sober consideration of our own interests. Great Britain yielded to our remonstrances, and finally consented to indemnify us for our national injuries. The policy of France was manifestly to detach us from our neutral position ; and every approach on our part to conciliation with the British government was watched by her with jealousy ; and her jealousy soon spread with increased force among her friends in America. In short, for it is now matter of history, and we are at liberty to deal with it as such, the parties soon became distinguished as the friends of France, and the enemies of France, or the friends of England, and the enemies of England, in the partisan vocabulary of the day.

The decided part taken by Mr Marshall could not long remain unnoticed. His constant effort upon all occasions was to show, that the conduct of our government in its foreign relations was such as a just self-respect and a regard to our rights, as a sovereign nation, rendered indispensable ; and that our independence was brought into real danger by the overgrown and inordinate influence of France. He was of course exposed to severe public animadversions, and felt in its full force the weight of those political resentments, which the known attachment of Virginia to the cause of France must inevitably

create. He was attacked with great asperity in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and designated, by way of significant reproach, as the coadjutor and friend of Alexander Hamilton. The name of this great man almost tempts us to pass aside for a moment to pay a just tribute to his exalted patriotism, talents, and public virtues. The lapse of more than twenty years since his lamented death has buried those animosities, which for a time obscured the brilliant lustre of his fame. But we must forbear. To have been the friend and coadjutor of Hamilton would now make many a heart beat with lofty pride; to have been his distinguished friend and coadjutor would now be deemed by the whole nation no mean title of praise.

Against these attacks Mr Marshall defended himself with a zeal and ability, proportioned to his own sincere devotion to the cause which he espoused. He soon found himself compelled to assume the character of an acknowledged leader of the federal party in Virginia, and from necessity or choice to change his determination as to public life; and he began to hesitate, whether he ought not immediately to reënter the legislature. While he was yet pausing, an event unexpectedly occurred, which decided his future course. The spring elections for the state legislature in the year 1795 came on. Mr Marshall was not a candidate, but he was nevertheless chosen under somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the time of his withdrawing from the legislature two opposing candidates had divided the city of Richmond; the one, his intimate friend, and holding the same political sentiments with himself; the other, a most zealous partisan of the opposition. Each election between these gentlemen, who were both popular, had been decided by a small majority, and the approaching contest was entirely doubtful. Mr Marshall attended the polls at an early hour, and gave his vote for his friend. While at the polls, a gentleman demanded, that a poll should be opened for Mr Marshall. The latter was greatly surprised at the proposal, and unhesitatingly expressed his dissent, declaring, that his wishes and feelings and honor were engaged for one of the candidates. At the same time, he announced his willingness to become a candidate the next year. He retired from the polls, and immediately gave his attendance to the business of one of the courts, which was then in session. A poll was, however, opened for him in his absence by the gentleman who first suggested it, notwithstanding his positive refusal. The

election was suspended for a few minutes ; a consultation took place among the freeholders ; they determined to support him ; and in the evening he received the information of his election. A more honorable tribute to his merits could not have been paid ; and his election was a most important and timely measure in favor of the administration.

It will be recollected, that the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr Jay in 1794, was the subject of universal discussion at this period. No sooner was its ratification advised by the Senate, than public meetings were called in all our principal cities, for the purpose of inducing the President to withhold his ratification, and if this object were not attained, then to prevent in Congress the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry it into effect. The first movement took place in Boston, and the excitement, there produced, spread through the country with astonishing rapidity and increased violence. The history of the country scarcely furnishes an example so full of melancholy instruction, as this, to illustrate the intoxicating influence of party spirit. There probably never was any measure of President Washington's administration, which admitted of a more complete vindication for its sound policy, its justice, and its advancement of the real interests of the nation. Yet it was assailed with the most unmeasured reproaches ; it was denounced in public resolutions and anonymous pamphlets ; in newspaper essays and political addresses ; in the grave debates of legislative assemblies, and the vehement harangues of popular orators. The topics of animadversion were not confined to the expediency of the treaty in its principal provisions, but the bolder ground was assumed, that the negotiation of a commercial treaty by the Executive was an unconstitutional act, and an infringement of the power given to Congress to regulate commerce. Mr Marshall took an active part in the discussions upon the treaty. Feeling, that the ratification of it was indispensable to the preservation of peace, that its main provisions were essentially beneficial to the United States, and comported with its true dignity and interests, he addressed himself with the most diligent attention to an examination of the nature and extent of all its provisions, and of all the objections urged against it. No state in the Union exhibited a more intense hostility to it than Virginia, upon the points both of expediency and constitutionality ; and in no state were the objections urged with more impassioned and unsparing

earnestness. The task, therefore, of meeting and overthrowing them was of no ordinary magnitude, and required all the resources of the ablest mind. Mr Marshall came to the task with a thorough mastery of every topic connected with it. At a public meeting of the citizens of Richmond he carried a series of resolutions, approving the conduct of the Executive.

But a more difficult and delicate duty remained to be performed. It was easy to foresee, that the controversy would soon find its way from the public forum into the legislative bodies ; and would be there renewed with the bitter animosity of party spirit. Indeed, so unpopular was the treaty in Virginia, that Mr Marshall's friends were exceedingly solicitous, that he should avoid engaging in any debate in the legislature on the subject, as it would be a sacrifice of the remains of his well deserved popularity ; and it might be even questioned, if he could there deliver his sentiments without exposure to some rude attacks. His answer to all such suggestions was uniform ; that he should not move any measure to excite a debate ; but if the subject were brought forward by others, he should, at every hazard, vindicate the administration, and assert his own opinions. He was incapable of shrinking from a just expression of his own independence. The subject was soon introduced by his political opponents, and the constitutional objections were urged with triumphant confidence. That particularly, which denied the constitutional right of the Executive to conclude a commercial treaty, was selected and insisted on, as a favorite and unanswerable position. The speech of Mr Marshall on this occasion has been always represented, as one of the noblest efforts of his genius. His vast powers of reasoning were employed with the most gratifying success. He demonstrated not only from the words of the Constitution, and the universal practice of nations, that a commercial treaty was within the constitutional powers of the Executive, but that this opinion had been maintained and sanctioned by Mr Jefferson, by the whole Delegation of Virginia in Congress, and by the leading members in the Convention on both sides. His argument was decisive ; the constitutional ground was abandoned ; and the resolutions of the Assembly were confined to a simple disapprobation of the treaty in point of expediency.

The constitutional objections were again urged in Congress in the celebrated debate on the British Treaty, in the spring of 1796 ; and there finally assumed the mitigated shape of a right

claimed on the part of Congress to grant or withhold appropriations to carry treaties into effect. The higher ground, that commercial treaties were not, when ratified, the supreme law of the land, was abandoned; and the subsequent practice of the government has, without question, under every administration conformed to the construction vindicated by Mr Marshall. The fame of this admirable argument spread through the Union. Even with his political enemies, it enhanced the elevation of his character; and it brought him at once to the notice of some of the most eminent statesmen, who then graced our public councils. In the winter of 1796, he attended the Supreme Court of the United States at Philadelphia, and argued the great cause of *Ware vs. Hylton*, involving the question of the operation of the British treaty upon the antecedent confiscations of British debts. On this occasion he formed an acquaintance with some of the most distinguished members of Congress from the eastern and middle states, and particularly with Mr Cabot, Mr Ames, and Mr Dexter of Massachusetts, Mr Wadsworth of Connecticut, and Mr Rufus King of New York. He was received with the most flattering distinction, and with some of these gentlemen he then commenced a friendship, which terminated only with their lives.

About this period President Washington invited Mr Marshall to accept the office of Attorney General; but he declined it, upon the ground of its interference with his lucrative practice in Virginia. He continued in the state legislature, but did not, from his other engagements, take an active part in the ordinary business. He confined his attention principally to those questions, which involved the main interests of the country, and brought into discussion the policy and the principles of the national parties. An occasion occurred, however, for the utmost exertion of his eloquence in a debate, which took place (we believe) in the winter session of 1796-7, and called forth all the strength of the opposition. Some federalist moved a resolution, expressive of the high confidence of the house in the virtue, patriotism, and *wisdom* of the president of the United States. A motion was made to strike out the word '*wisdom*.' A very animated debate ensued, in which the whole course of his administration was reviewed, and all the talents of each party were exerted to assail, or to vindicate it. Mr Marshall, as might be expected, maintained himself with his accustomed vigor. But after every exertion the

word was retained by a very small majority. It is indeed a painful and humiliating thought, that a small majority only could be found at that time in the legislature of his native state, willing to acknowledge the *wisdom* of General Washington!

Upon the recall of Mr Monroe as Minister from France, President Washington solicited Mr Marshall to accept the appointment as his successor. He respectfully declined it in a letter, which is now before us. 'Were it possible,' said he, 'for me in the present crisis of my affairs to leave the United States, such is my conviction of the importance of that duty, which you would confide to me, and pardon me, if I add, of the fidelity, with which I should attempt to perform it, that I would certainly forego any consideration, not decisive with respect to my future fortunes, and would surmount that just diffidence, I have ever entertained of myself, to make one effort to convey truly and faithfully to the government of France those sentiments, which I have ever believed to be entertained by that of the United States.' General Pinckney of South Carolina, as is well known, was appointed in his stead. Indeed, Mr Marshall's situation at the bar was so high, and so independent, that in point of honor it seemed little inferior to any office in the gift of the government. He had a strong predilection for the practice of the law, and felt the most unfeigned reluctance to quit it. The arrangements, also, consequent upon his purchase of a large and very valuable estate (to which allusion is made in the preceding letter), were of such a nature, as demanded his personal presence and coöperation. However gratifying to his ambition the high appointment of Minister to France must have been, the sacrifices and inconveniences, which would accompany it, might well induce even a more ardent and less occupied mind, to hesitate in accepting it.

Mr Marshall was not, however, long permitted to act upon his own judgment and choice. The French government refused to receive General Pinckney, as Minister from the United States; and the administration, being sincerely anxious to exhaust every measure of conciliation, not incompatible with the national dignity, for the preservation of peace, resorted to the extraordinary measure of sending a commission of three Envoys. Within a year from the time of the first offer, Mr Adams, having succeeded to the presidency, appointed Mr Marshall one of these Envoys in conjunction with General Pinckney and Mr Gerry. This was a new and embarrassing

exigency for Mr Marshall. All the reasons for declining the former appointment remained in full force; but they were met by other considerations growing out of the posture of our public affairs. The crisis was very alarming; the hope of a successful mission was not wholly uninviting; and the dangers of war, formidable to us at all times, in the divided state of the country were assuming a most unpleasant aspect. These considerations seemed to demand from a patriot and statesman some sacrifices to public duty.

Mr Marshall also could not be insensible, that the country confidently expected much from his known moderation, firmness, and prudence. He was perfect master of the whole controversy with France, and felt the deepest interest in its issue. He had the most unwavering belief, that our government anxiously desired an amicable adjustment of all our difficulties. He knew, that he should come to the negotiation breathing the spirit of conciliation, and with the most sincere wishes to accomplish a permanent and honorable peace. Nor could he fail to indulge the grateful anticipation, that if the mission were crowned with success, it would be a glorious discharge of public duty, and bring with it a solid increase of reputation. If, on the other hand, the mission were unsuccessful, being but of a temporary nature, it would not withdraw him for a long period from his professional pursuits; and would leave him the consolation, that he had not shrunk from fidelity to his country in her hour of difficulty.

After some hesitation, Mr Marshall accepted the appointment, and soon afterward embarked for Amsterdam. On his arrival at the Hague he met General Pinckney, and having received passports they proceeded to Paris. The mission was unsuccessful; the envoys were never accredited by the French government, and Mr Marshall returned to America in the summer of 1798.

It is not within the design of this sketch to enter into a full examination of the merits of this negotiation, so honorable to our own country, and, in our judgment, so disgraceful to France. The whole of the proceedings were laid before Congress by President Adams, and are now to be found among the printed state papers. Although General Pinckney was placed with great propriety at the head of the commission, and it is but a small tribute to his memory to declare, that he was a man of fine sense, and high and almost chivalric honor; yet the truth of

history requires it to be stated, that upon Mr Marshall principally devolved the duty of preparing the official despatches. They have been universally attributed to his pen, and are models of skilful reasoning, forcible illustration, accurate detail, and urbane and dignified moderation. In the annals of our diplomacy there are no papers, upon which an American can look back with more unmixed pride and pleasure. When they were first published, they created an astonishing excitement throughout the whole continent; and the public feeling was roused to the highest point of indignation at our wrongs and the gross insults offered to the nation in the persons of its Envoys. The fame of Mr Marshall received new lustre from his conduct on this occasion; and upon his return home he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of respect, and immediately solicited to resume public life and become a candidate for Congress. During his absence he kept a journal of his diplomatic transactions, which we presume he still possesses; and we have seen letters addressed by him to General Washington, full of that wisdom, patriotism, and sound discernment, which formed the essential characteristics of both. At some future time we trust they will belong to the public.

The opinion of General Washington always had great influence with Mr Marshall, and to have been distinguished by him as a friend could not but be a flattering, perhaps the most flattering proof of merit. Mr Marshall on his return home found, that he had sustained no loss by a diminution of professional business, and looked forward to a resumption of his labors with higher hopes. He peremptorily refused for a considerable time to become a candidate for Congress, and avowed his determination to remain at the bar. At this juncture he was invited by General Washington to pass a few days at Mount Vernon; and having accepted the invitation, he went there in company with Mr Justice Washington, the nephew of General Washington, and now a highly distinguished Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

What took place upon that occasion, we happen to have the good fortune to know from an authentic source. General Washington did not for a moment disguise the object of his invitation; it was to urge upon Mr Marshall and Mr Washington the propriety of their becoming candidates for Congress. Mr Washington yielded to the wishes of his uncle without a struggle. But Mr Marshall resisted on the ground of his situation,

and the necessity of attending to his private affairs. The reply of General Washington to these suggestions will never be forgotten by those, who heard it. It breathed the spirit of the loftiest virtue and patriotism. He said, that there were crises in national affairs, which made it the duty of a citizen to forego his private for the public interest. He considered the country to be then in one of these. He detailed his opinions freely on the nature of the controversy with France, and expressed his conviction, that the best interests of America depended upon the character of the ensuing Congress. He adverted to his own situation. He had retired from the Executive Department with the firmest determination never again to appear in a public capacity. He had communicated this determination to the public, and his motives for it were too strong not to be well understood. Yet he was now pledged to appear once more at the head of the American army; and from this circumstance it must be evident, what were his own convictions of the duty imposed upon every citizen by the state of American affairs. The conversation was long and animated and impressive, full of the deepest interest, and the most unreserved confidence. The exhortation of General Washington had its effect. Mr Marshall yielded to his representations, and became a candidate, and was, after an ardent contest, elected, and took his seat in Congress in December, 1799. While he was yet a candidate, he was offered a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, then vacant by the death of Mr Justice Iredell. Upon his declining it President Adams appointed Mr Justice Washington, who was thus prevented from becoming a member of Congress.

The session of Congress in the winter of 1799-1800 will for ever be memorable in the annals of America. Men of the highest talents and most commanding influence in the Union were there assembled, and arrayed with all the hostility of party spirit, and all the zeal of conscious responsibility, against each other. Every important measure of the administration was subjected to the most scrutinizing criticism; and was vindicated with a warmth proportionate to the ability of the attack. Mr Marshall took an active part in the debates, and on one occasion distinguished himself in a manner, which will not easily be forgotten. We refer to the debate on the resolutions of Mr Edward Livingston, then a member from New York, relative to the case of Thomas Nash *alias* Jonathan Robbins. The

facts were, that a murder had been committed on board the British frigate, *Hermione*, on the high seas, and Nash, who had sought an asylum in the United States, was accused of being one of the murderers. The twenty-seventh article of the British treaty of 1794 provided, that the respective governments of Great Britain and the United States should, on mutual requisitions by their ministers, deliver up to justice all persons, who being charged with murder or forgery within the jurisdiction of either, should seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, upon such evidence of criminality, as, according to the laws of the place, where the person or fugitive so charged should be found, would justify his apprehension, and a commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The British minister applied to the Executive for the delivery of Nash according to the stipulation of the treaty. Nash was arrested in South Carolina, and was brought before the District Judge in that state by a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the President signified to him his wish, that if the evidence warranted, the prisoner should be delivered over to the British minister. Upon a full hearing the District Judge was satisfied, that the proofs were sufficient, and delivered up the prisoner to the British authorities, by whom he was sent to Jamaica. The prisoner was there upon trial convicted of the offence, and suffered the punishment of death accordingly.

Nash, upon his examination before the District Judge, made affidavit of his being an American citizen, born in Danbury, Connecticut, and that he was an impressed seaman. The conduct of the Executive on this occasion was the subject of much harsh animadversion in the newspapers; and in South Carolina, in particular, the propriety of the proceeding was denied in a public letter, acknowledged to have been written by Mr Charles Pinckney, then a Senator in Congress from that state. The object of Mr Livingston's resolution was to procure a vote of censure of the Executive proceedings, as utterly destitute of legal authority. It may be easily imagined, that, smarting as the nation was under the odious exercise of impressment by British officers, the circumstances alleged by Nash were well calculated to inflame the public resentment, and to produce a strong popular feeling in his favor. It is now understood, that in point of fact he was a British subject, and not born in America. The resolutions were supported by Mr Livingston, Mr Gallatin, and other distinguished gentlemen;

they were opposed by Mr Bayard, Mr Marshall, and others. The speech of Mr Marshall on that occasion has been preserved.* It is a most profound and admirable argument, and in the most conclusive manner establishes the propositions, that the case was within the provision of the treaty; that it was proper for executive, and not for judicial decision; and that in deciding it, the President was not chargeable with any interference with judicial duties. So complete was the demonstration, that it put the question at rest for ever. The speech was perfectly overwhelming; and like the celebrated letter of the Duke of Newcastle on the Prussian Memorial, it may be characterized, in the language attributed to Montesquieu, as a '*réponse sans réplique*.' We have often heard an anecdote, for the truth of which we cannot however vouch, that a celebrated statesman, then in the opposition in Congress, was requested to answer it, and upon declining the task, said he must leave it to others; for himself, he deemed it unanswerable.†

In May, 1800, Mr Marshall was, without the slightest personal communication, nominated by the President to the office of Secretary of War, upon the dismissal of Mr McHenry. We believe, that the first information received of it by Mr Marshall was at the department itself, where he went to transact some business previous to his return to Virginia. He immediately wrote a letter, requesting the nomination to be withdrawn by the President. It was not, and his appointment was confirmed by the Senate. The rupture between the President and Colonel Pickering, who was then Secretary of State, soon afterwards occurred, and Mr Marshall was appointed his successor. This was indeed an appointment in every view most honorable to his merits, and for which he was in the highest degree qualified. Yet he had great difficulties in accepting it; and his final determination to accept it was mainly influenced by the same motive, which induced him to surrender his practice at the bar for a seat in Congress, a deep sense of public duty. The circumstances, under which he took the office, were not without embarrassment. The late cabinet had been dissolved in a manner, which left room for the indulgence of some person-

* It will be found reprinted in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Wheaton's Reports.

† The resolutions were lost by a vote of 61 against 35, some of the anti-administration party voting against them.

al resentments, if not recriminations; and the warm attachment, which Mr Marshall at all times evinced for President Adams, would naturally excite some coolness in those, who were then alienated from him. He had, however, the satisfaction soon to find himself upon the most cordial terms with all the Cabinet, and in the full possession of the unlimited confidence of the public.

Upon the resignation of Mr Chief Justice Ellsworth, a good deal of public anxiety was expressed respecting his successor. The friends of Mr Justice Patterson, who was certainly an eminent Judge, indulged the hope, that he would be nominated to the office. When the President consulted the Secretary of State on this subject, the latter unhesitatingly recommended Mr Patterson. The President, however, had an insuperable objection to the nomination, assigning as a reason, that he could not make it without wounding the feelings of Mr Justice Cushing, who was an old friend, and the senior Judge on the bench. He nominated Mr Jay, who declined; and as soon as that fact was known, the President, with unusual promptitude and decision, nominated Mr Marshall. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, and Mr Marshall, on the 31st day of January, 1801, became Chief Justice of the United States, and has continued ever since that period to fill the office with increasing reputation and unsullied dignity. The wisdom of this choice, whatever might have been the disappointment or partiality of the friends of other candidates, has been fully established by the event. The sagacity and independence of President Adams, that intuitive perception of character, and comprehensiveness of observation, almost amounting to prophecy, which were so prominent traits in his mind, never were unfolded in a more imposing form. There is probably not a reflecting man in America of any party, or any fragment of any party, who would not now cheerfully admit, that the highest judicial honors could not have fallen on any one, who could have sustained them with more solid advantage to the glory or interests of the country.

Splendid, indeed, as has been the judicial career of this eminent man, it is scarcely possible, that the extent of his labors, the vigor of his intellect, or the untiring accuracy of his learning should be duly estimated, except by the profession, of which he is so great an ornament. Questions of law rarely assume a cast, which introduces them to extensive public no-

tice ; and those, which require the highest faculties of mind to master and expound, are commonly so intricate and remote from the ordinary pursuits of life, that the generality of readers do not bring to the examination of them the knowledge necessary to comprehend them, or the curiosity, which imparts a relish and flavor to them. For the most part, therefore, the reputation of judges is confined to the narrow limits, which embrace the votaries of jurisprudence ; and many of those exquisite judgments, which have cost days and nights of the most elaborate study, and for power of thought, beauty of illustration, variety of learning, and elegant demonstration, are justly numbered among the highest reaches of the human mind, find no admiration beyond the ranks of lawyers, and live only in the dusty repositories of their oracles. The fame of the warrior is for ever embodied in the history of his country, and is colored with the warm lights reflected back by the praise of many a distant age. The orator and the statesman live not merely in the recollections of their powerful eloquence, or the deep impressions made by them on the character of the generation in which they lived, but are brought forth for public approbation in political debates, in splendid volumes, in collegiate declamations, in the works of rhetoricians, in the school-books of boys, and in the elegant extracts of maturer life. Not to go back to the ancients, the speeches of Chatham, and Burke, and Sheridan, and Pitt, and Fox, and Grattan, will be familiar to the ears, and uttered by the voices of thousands, who never heard of the gigantic learning of Coke, the commanding judgment of Holt, the infinitely varied professional attainments of Hardwicke, the felicitous and convincing genius of Mansfield, the cautious and unerring sagacity of Eldon, the almost preternatural union of judicial eloquence, exquisite diction, and sound principles in Stowell ; or, to name a few among the illustrious living and dead of our own country, the unostentatious but vigorous sense of Tilghman, the profound and acute discernment of Parsons, or the exhausting diligence and polished strength of Kent.

We shall not attempt, on this occasion, to enter upon a minute survey of the official labors of Chief Justice Marshall. However instructive or interesting such a course might be to the profession, the considerations already adverted to sufficiently admonish us, that it would not be very welcome to the mass of other readers. But there is one class of cases, which

ought not to be overlooked, because it comes home to the business and bosom of every citizen of this country, and is felt in every gradation of life from the chief magistrate down to the inmate of the cottage. We allude to the grave discussions of constitutional law, which during his time have attracted so much of the talents of the bar in the Supreme Court, and sometimes agitated the whole nation. If all others of the Chief Justice's juridical arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name.

There is in the discharge of this delicate and important duty, which is peculiar to our institutions, a moral grandeur and interest, which it is not easy to over-estimate either in a political or civil view. In no other country on earth are the acts of the legislature liable to be called in question, and even set aside, if they do not conform to the standard of the constitution. Even in England, where the principles of civil liberty are cherished with uncommon ardor, and private justice is administered with a pure and elevated independence, the acts of Parliament are, by the very theory of the government, in a legal sense omnipotent. They cannot be gainsaid or overruled. They form the law of the land, which controls the prerogative and even the descent of the crown itself, and may take away the life and property of the subject without trial and without appeal. The only security is in the moderation of Parliament itself, and representative responsibility. The case is far otherwise in America. The state and national constitutions form the *supreme law* of the land, and the judges are sworn to maintain these charters of liberty, or rather these special delegations of power by the people (who in our governments are alone the depositaries of supreme authority and sovereignty), in their original vigor and true intendment. It matters not, how popular a statute may be, or how commanding the majority by which it has been enacted; it must stand the test of the constitution, or it falls. The humblest citizen may question its constitutionality; and its final fate must be settled upon grave argument and debate by the judges of the land.

Nor is this the mere theory of the constitution. It is a function, which has been often performed; and not a few acts of state as well as of national legislation, have been brought to this severe scrutiny; and after the fullest consideration, some have been pronounced to be void, because they were unconstitu-

tional. And these judgments have been acquiesced in, and obeyed, even when they were highly offensive to the pride and sovereignty of the state itself, or affected private and public interests to an incalculable extent.

Such, in America, is the majesty of the law. Such is the homage of a free people to the institutions, created by themselves. Such is the consciousness of every citizen, that he holds his life, his liberty, and his property by the judgment of his peers, and the sovereignty of the constitution. What, after all, is the most wonderful in this political machinery, is the simplicity of its structure, and the ease of its operation. A foreigner would suppose, that the accomplishment of such mighty effects would require the aid of every sort of external means of influence to guard it, and ensure its success. He would imagine, that the functionaries of such duties must have the advantages of noble birth, of hereditary right, of great wealth, of extensive patronage, and of the command of military resources. How great would be his surprise to learn, that the judges, who are to decide these questions in the last resort, are few in number, rarely wealthy, with moderate salaries, with no patronage beyond the poor appointment of the clerk of their own courts, with no array of military force, living unostentatiously among their fellow-citizens, and having no means of influence beyond what their talents and public services and private virtues might command in any other station. Yet they perform the duty fearlessly and independently, and often under circumstances of the most painful and trying responsibility, in the midst of popular prejudices, party triumphs, state strifes, and national dissatisfactions. We speak here, not particularly of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States; but also of the judges of the highest state courts in the Union. The whole power possessed by all or any of them extends not, for any practical purpose, beyond a mere naked moral power, the power of solid reasoning, just exposition, and sober appeal to the good sense of honest and intelligent minds. Their strength is in their arguments; and they speak a law, which is obeyed, and followed, and respected, simply because the profession in its learned ranks approves it, and the community comprehends its justice and conservative authority. Whoever reflects deeply must perceive, that this is the balance-wheel of our political system, the regulator, which sometimes accelerates and sometimes retards the public movements, but always works

to ensure the general safety. Suspend its operation, or weaken its exercise, and we may still remain a federative government; but it will be one enfeebled and distracted by its bad adjustments, or hurried on to despotic excesses by the common plea of tyrants, the consciousness of power and the plausible pretences of necessity.

This topic is so copious, and of such everlasting consequence to the wellbeing of this Republic, that it furnishes matter for volumes; and we must escape from it with the brief hints already suggested, to resume the subject of the constitutional labors of Chief Justice Marshall. We emphatically say, of Chief Justice Marshall; for though we would not be unjust to those learned gentlemen, who have from time to time been his associates on the bench, we are quite sure, that they would be ready to admit, what the public universally believe, that his master mind has presided in their deliberations, and given to the results a cogency of reasoning, a depth of remark, a persuasiveness of argument, a clearness and elaboration of illustration, and an elevation and comprehensiveness of conclusion, to which none others offer a parallel. Few decisions upon constitutional questions have been made, in which he has not delivered the opinion of the Court; and in these few, the duty devolved upon others to their own regret, either because he did not sit in the cause, or from motives of delicacy abstained from taking an active part.

If we do not mistake, there is but a single case, in which his judgment is known to have differed from that of the Court upon any point of constitutional law. That case was *Ogden vs. Saunders*, decided at the last term of the Court, which involved the question of the constitutionality of an insolvent law, which was passed antecedently to the formation of a contract, and discharged its obligation. On this occasion, four judges, against the opinion of the Chief Justice and two other judges, decided in favor of the constitutionality of such a law. It is not for us to discuss the merits of this controversy; much less to assume the task of interpleading in such a cause, *magnas componere lites*. But we may be permitted to say, that the peculiar powers of the Chief Justice were never exhibited in a more impressive manner, or with more collected vigor. It is, indeed, a most delightful thought, that at the advanced age of seventy-two this great judge still retains the full possession of his faculties, and that he has gone on from year to year through

his judicial labors with powers constantly improving by their wholesome exercise ; and that if a single year were to be selected to furnish the most various exhibitions of his talents, none could be selected with more propriety than the last. To justify our assertion, we ask the attentive reader to take up the twelfth volume of Mr Wheaton's Reports, and examine for himself. Let him peruse with a professional or a common mind the opinions in the cases of *Clark vs. The City of Washington*, *Williams vs. Norris*, *The Bank of the United States vs. Dandridge*, *Brown vs. The State of Maryland*, *Henderson vs. Poindexter*, and *Ogden vs. Saunders* (to which we have already adverted), let him peruse, we say, the opinions in these cases, and consider how complicated and difficult were the points involved in them, and we are sadly mistaken, if he will not rise from the task with the most unhesitating approbation of our declaration.

We had originally intended to give an historical sketch of the constitutional questions argued in the Supreme Court during the period of his Chief-Justiceship ; and we remain of the belief, that it would have been not without interest even to persons, who have never embarked in juridical studies. But the subject has already swollen so much under our hands, that we are compelled to abandon it for the present. We cannot, however, quit the judicial character of Mr Marshall without expressing our earnest hope, that he may long remain in his present exalted station, adding new and solid lustre to our national jurisprudence. Mr Wheaton has just closed his own valuable labors as reporter, by accepting an appointment to serve the government in the more captivating and dignified employment of a foreign mission. The Chief Justice can wish no more fortunate fate, than to have his future opinions preserved in as durable a form by as gifted a successor.

We have thus given a brief, but we trust, a faithful sketch of the life and public services of the author of the work now before us. We have been tempted more than once to break through the reserve, which duty imposes upon us, in speaking of the living, that we might indulge ourselves in other sketches of a more private and domestic nature, which would carry a charm with them into every circle. But we must forget the man, and proceed to the author ; and in the very narrow space yet left to us, endeavor to do some moderate justice to the *History of the American Colonies*.

We have already adverted to the severe diligence, with which the present revised edition has been prepared for publication by the author. From a regard to his own character, as well as from his habitual deference for public opinion, it may well be presumed, that the work has now attained a very high degree of accuracy. The public expectations in this respect will not be disappointed. Mr Marshall is not one of those ready writers, who run over a large mass of materials with a careless or indifferent eye, and sit down to write their first impressions, and fill up the spaces left vacant of facts with plausible conjectures, or imaginary events. He does not listen with implicit faith to every idle tale told by artless credulity or vulgar prejudice. He does not seek the title of superior wisdom by unsettling the truths of history, and proving, that all writers, but himself, have mistaken the facts and the characters of former times. He does not construct any new narrative of events, and in his own closet show how fields were lost or won, by drawing upon the resources of his own fancy. He does not dispute the veracity of persons nearest the scenes, simply because his own theory would be broken down by any admission in their favor. Far different is his course, and far different his ambition. The habits of his mind are close investigation, caution, patience, and a steady devotion to the weight of evidence. He examines all the materials before him with the sobriety and impartiality of judicial life. His conclusions, therefore, if they are not always absolutely correct, are such, as it is difficult to resist, and never without very strong historical support. We have no hesitation in declaring, that the present work contains the most authentic history of the colonies, which is extant; and that it may be relied on with entire safety, as combining accuracy with variety of information.

So far as the printed materials go, great care has been bestowed to embody in the narrative all important facts; and we venture to pronounce, that the authorities cited by him will be found upon examination fully to bear him out in every statement. The plan of the work excludes the notion, that it can expound with minute detail the rise and progress of every colony. That is properly the object of those local and distinct histories, which are employed in the survey of a single colony. In such a narrative, those domestic occurrences and local circumstances, which unfold the peculiar character of the inhabitants, their pursuits and their feelings, their faults and

their factions, find an appropriate place. They amuse the curious, and instruct the antiquary; they warm the hearts and kindle the imaginations of those, who are born on the spot, and feel the inspirations of the place. But, for the most part, they can only be glanced at by the historian, and then only, when they have left deep traces of the times behind them, and imparted impulses, which have extended to other and distant ages. The private and internal transactions of states bear a very close analogy to the biography of individuals. Each may furnish materials for general history, but must be forever separated from it in objects and interests.

Mr Marshall's work professes to be a general history of all the colonies, and it is necessarily compendious. Yet it narrates all important public facts, and on no proper occasion omits to present to us the manners, and principles, and feelings of our ancestors, proper to illustrate those facts. He does not obtrude his own reflections with a profuse and embarrassing pertinacity. But there are everywhere scattered through the volume, in an unostentatious manner, proofs of his sagacity, candor, and intimate knowledge of human nature.

The style of the work is in perfect keeping with the character of the author. It is perspicuous, simple, and forcible. It possesses no studied ornaments, no select phrases, no elegant turns, and no ambitious floridness. It is plain, pure, and unpretending. Many of those words in the former edition, which were objected to by British critics in no very kind spirit, as peculiar to America, though they exist in the writings of authors of good repute in their own country, have been sedulously removed from the text. We do not object to this, though we have had occasion to know, that some criticisms of this sort have been owing more to the ignorance or petulance of the reviewers, than to their sound taste or extensive acquaintance with English literature.

After what we have said, it seems hardly necessary to add, that we recommend the work, as entitled to a place in every well selected American library, and as indispensable for every person, who aspires to a general knowledge of the history of America. We trust the learned author will find leisure to revise in the same manner his *Life of Washington*, and to give it the last finishing touches of his ripest judgment. The close of his long and active life could not be employed more usefully for himself or his country.

There are two defects in the execution of the work, which we regret, and which may be easily removed in a subsequent edition. In the first place, the particular pages of the authorities cited are not given, so that the task of reference is very laborious to any reader, who wishes to verify a particular fact. In the next place there is no index to the matter of the work; and a table of the contents can never well supply such a deficiency. We do not dwell on these inconveniences; it is sufficient to point them out to the candor of the author.

ART. II.—*An Amended Version of the Book of Job, with an Introduction, and Notes chiefly explanatory.* By GEORGE R. NOYES. Cambridge, 8vo. pp. 200. Hilliard & Brown. 1827.

MUCH criticism has been expended on the Book of Job. Apart from its interpretation, several questions have been debated concerning the kind of composition, and the antiquity of the work; whether the history be true or fabulous; where the scene of the story is laid; to what age it is to be referred, and by whom it was written. On some of these questions, little satisfaction can be obtained, and we shall pass over the ground but very cursorily, before we come to speak particularly of Mr Noyes's Version.

With the exception of a short proem and conclusion, Job is acknowledged on all hands to be a poetical book. We do not seek the evidence of this in exact versification; for if any of the Hebrew writings ever had such a versification, we have now no means of ascertaining what it is. Oriental critics are not so idly employed now-a-days, as to search for the tetrameters, hexameters, sapphics, and iambics in Hebrew verse, of which the fanciful Jerome spoke so familiarly; but any one who is tolerably conversant with the Hebrew writings, will perceive a peculiar diction, and a distribution of sentences and members of sentences into that kind of correspondency of parts, which indicate some regard to numerical harmony; and which clearly distinguish the poetical books from those, which are merely narrative, or intended only to prescribe rules of life and

ritual observances. The same distinctive evidences, concerning the poetical books of the Hebrews, cannot fail to discover themselves in a skilful version; and though most of the readers of our common translation of Job have probably never suspected that they were reading a poem, yet with very little change of phraseology, and with suitable divisions of the lines, they must cease to have any doubts on the subject. But there are much higher qualities of poetry in the book before us, in comparison with which verse is a mere accident, an insignificant appendage. Aside from the theological question concerning its inspiration, there is in it a spirit of poetical inspiration, and an effulgence of sublime conception, which place it above all that is called beautiful and grand in epic or dramatic story. The hero, indeed, is distinguished by none of the favorite exploits of Grecian or Roman fame. He is signalized by no such deeds as those of Achilles, whom Horace, a poet of no very warlike propensities, characterizes rather harshly;

‘Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.’

He has the patience and prudence of Ulysses, and the piety of Æneas, without the dissimulation of the first, and without being blazoned by the deeds of personal valor ascribed to either. He is altogether a moral hero. The sublimity of his character is wholly a moral sublimity. The character is not indeed perfect or immaculate; but, taken as a whole, it affords an illustrious example of constancy under sufferings, and of a mind triumphing, by the aid of conscious virtue and unshaken fidelity, over a succession of adverse events and overwhelming calamities, and the perplexing conduct of real or pretended friends.

The descriptions of Deity, who has so much agency in the progress of the story, and particularly in its catastrophe, are often similar to those of some of the prophetic writings. But they appear to be addressed still more than these to human comprehension, and sometimes remind us of the strong, sensible images, by which Moses illustrates the power of Jehovah, in his song of deliverance from Egyptian bondage. There are, however, frequent and remarkable instances of simple and yet elevated descriptions of God's power over the elements and the material creation, and of his invisible operations, which indicate a true conception of spirituality, unaided by material objects.

‘ He removeth the mountains, and they know it not ;
He overturneth them in his anger.
He shaketh the earth out of her place,
And the pillars thereof tremble.
He commandeth the sun, and it riseth not,
And sealeth up the stars.
He alone spreadeth out the heavens,
And walketh upon the high waves of the sea.
He made Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades,
And the secret chambers of the South.
He doth great things past finding out,
Yea, wonderful things without number.
Lo ! he goeth by me, but I see him not,
He passeth on, but I perceive him not.’ ix, 5—11.

In all this there is a remarkable absence of symbolical representations of Jehovah. He *walketh* upon the waters, indeed ; but there is no express mention of any members of material, bodily organization. The mountains are not removed by his powerful *arm*, nor the earth shaken, nor the pillars made to tremble by the *blast* or *breath of his nostrils*, nor the stars sealed up by his *fingers*. Throughout the book, there is a sort of inartificial gradation, though not a uniform climax, in the descriptions of Deity, which illustrate his dominion in the works of creation and providence, till they terminate at last in the most humbling challenge of human power and skill.

We might proceed to point out a great variety of particular and peculiar beauties in this composition. Little satisfaction however, is commonly derived from insulated examples of this kind ; and when we come to analyze minutely what has pleased us in the aggregate, we resemble somewhat the artificer, who is delighted rather with the mechanism of the parts, than with the less distinct and general excellences of the whole, which command the admiration of most observers. We shall say nothing, therefore, of the animated apostrophes direct or indirect, which here and there occur ; of the oracle which came secretly, and the ear caught a whisper ; of the image whose form could not be discerned, accompanied by a breeze and a voice, and words of heavenly wisdom ; of metaphors descriptive of divine attributes, of the tenure of human life, and of mortal weaknesses and woes ; of moral delineations, whether of justice, beneficence, or charity ; of strains of elegiac tenderness, or submissive devotion, or impatience and despair, all alike true to nature and to poetry ; of scenic difficulties,

which are nets, and traps, and snares placed in the path, or the way fenced up, or the lamp extinguished, and light turned to darkness ; of local scenery and local allusions, and illustrations from animated nature. All these are scattered richly and profusely, and decorate the poem with a drapery less ornate and splendid, to be sure, than that of more modern oriental poetry, but still highly beautiful and picturesque.

As it regards the class of poetical compositions, to which this book belongs, it seems very unimportant how it is determined, or whether it is determined at all. It has not, as Mr Noyes remarks, strictly speaking, such an action as the models of epic and dramatic story have prescribed to those kinds of writing. Instead of a prominent action, from which the great moral flows, the moral is the result of reasoning, and of the exercise of the suffering virtues. The supernatural machinery which consists in the intervention of Jehovah and of such ministers of his power as he chose to commission, is consonant with the opinions of the Hebrews. And though it is sublime and splendid, incomparably beyond what Gibbon calls the elegant mythology of the Greeks, yet it is such as is employed in the prophetic writings of after times, and not peculiar to any species of sacred poetry. Neither is the work in any proper sense dramatic. The interlocutors are few, and utter elaborate discourses and arguments. And though these discourses are full of animation, they resemble speeches rather than dialogue, and the persons aim to establish or confute a moral and religious position, by moral and religious reasoning and illustration, with very little dramatic show. If it is worth while, therefore, to give it any particular name, we have no objection to call it, with Mr Noyes, 'a didactic poem upon the ways of Providence ; the leading design of which, is to establish the truth, that *character is not to be inferred from external condition* ; and to enforce the duty of *submission to the will of God*.' Mr Noyes has given a very full and satisfactory analysis of the book, as well in the introduction to his Version, as in the argument prefixed to its several chapters, or other more natural divisions, in the notes which follow the translation ; and thus the reader is prepared to peruse it understandingly.

Whether this book contains a true or a fabulous history, is a question which has been often agitated. There have been some, both among Jews and Christians, who deny that such a person as Job ever existed, and who contend that the whole

is a mere instructive fiction. Again there are others who maintain as strenuously the real existence of all the persons introduced, and the literal truth of the discourses, severally ascribed to them. Warburton considers the story as allegorical; making Job personate the Jews, and his three friends, as they are called, three great enemies of the Jews, and his wife the idolatrous wives of the people, mentioned by Nehemiah; thus bringing down the time to the return from the Babylonish captivity.

But where nothing can be known, and consequently affirmed with certainty, we must content ourselves with what is most natural and probable. Now it is consonant with all our knowledge of antiquity, that heroic stories, and such as are intended to enforce some great moral, however much of the fabulous may be mingled with them, are founded in historical facts belonging to real agents. And we can see no reason to doubt that there was such a person as Job; a man of great possessions and great probity; born and brought up in affluence; powerful and revered, beneficent and beloved; bereaved afterwards of his children, despoiled of his possessions, wasted by disease, and harassed by confident and self-constituted advisers; and who, irritated by their suspicions and reproofs, became weary of his life. And thus, when every thing went so ill with him, what more natural than the plaintive elegy with which the controversy between him and his three friends is closed. From this we select the following portions, in Mr Noyes's Version.

‘O that I were as in months past,
In the days when God was my guardian!
When his lamp shone over my head,
And when by its light I walked through darkness!
As I was in the days of my youth,
When I communed with God in my tabernacle;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
And my children were around me;
When I washed my steps in milk,
And the rocks poured me out rivers of oil!

‘When I went forth to the gate through the city,
And took my seat in the street,
The young men saw me, and hid themselves,
And the aged arose, and stood.
The princes refrained from speaking,

And laid their hand upon their mouth.
 The nobles held their peace,
 And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
 When the ear heard me, it blessed me ;
 And when the eye saw me, it bore witness to me.'

xxix, 2—11.

'But now they, that are younger than I, hold me in derision,
 Whose fathers I should have disdained to place with the dogs of
 my flock.' xxx, 1.

'Worthless and despicable,
 They were driven out of the land.
 And now I am become their song ;
 Yea, I am their by-word.
 They abhor me, they stand aloof from me ;
 They forbear not to spit in my face.
 They loosen the reins, and afflict me ;
 They cast off the bridle before me.
 On my right hand rise up their brood ;
 They trip up my feet ;
 They raise up ways for my destruction.' xxx, 8—12.

We have said that there is sufficient reason to believe that Job was a real person, and that the history is founded in truth. Ancient tradition favors the supposition. 'If I have any perception of truth,' says Doederlein, 'tradition for a long time preserved the memory of Job.' But we are not obliged to suppose that his words are preserved with literal exactness ; that a person prostrated with grief and pain, uttered himself in language the most eloquent and glowing, in an uninterrupted stream of poetical thoughts, and in poetical and metrical language too. Whatever we are told of the extraordinary faculty of the Arabs, in pouring out their unpremeditated verse, it goes but little way to account for the variety and magnificence, the beauty and grandeur of this divine poem. The scenery of the country in which it is supposed to have been written, where the inhabitants are surrounded with dark forests, and horrible precipices, and frightful solitudes, might give rise to unstudied images of terror, and naked and sublime descriptions of external objects. These must have been familiar to an inhabitant of the deserts and mountains of Arabia. But to clothe them in their moral garb, to use them in reasoning and illustration, to string these pearls, if we may use an oriental figure, so as to give connexion and design to the whole, seems to be

the work of labor and of art. It is hardly credible, says *Mercer*, one of the most judicious and faithful commentators upon Job, that, in the condition in which he is described to have been, he could have spoken in this way. 'He said more or less; and this is the sense of what he said, afterwards reduced to the present form by the writer of the book.'

But though there is no difficulty in believing that Job was a real person, and that the facts in the history, as well as his feelings, and the general import of his language are given with sufficient fidelity, it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty who he was, or how he became so much known to the Hebrews, and so much regarded by them. All the knowledge we have of him is from the book itself, which seems to have no connexion with the history of the Israelites; and he is mentioned by none of the writers of their sacred books, till long after the time in which he is generally supposed to have lived, and the book which bears his name to have been written. It has been supposed by some, indeed, that he is the *Jobab* mentioned in Genesis, in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, and among those who rose to sovereignty in Edom or Idumæa. This opinion grew out of a spurious appendix in some of the ancient versions, describing his descent, and was countenanced by some of the fathers, who wished to leave nothing unaccounted for. But it is not usual in the writings of the Old Testament to contract or change a name without any warning; and the degree of similarity of names in this case, amounts to little, and it would in fact be entitled to no regard, if the scene of the book were not supposed by some to lie in Edom, and its materials, in their opinion, to be more ancient than the writings of Moses. For, though Job claims to have been distinguished by great dignity, and to have commanded great reverence in the time of his prosperity, insomuch that princes and nobles were silent in his presence, yet there is no allusion in his discourses or history to his ever having been invested with royal authority.

In some of the preceding remarks, we have taken it for granted that the book of Job is of Arabian origin; and in this opinion there is a sufficient concurrence among the most approved critics. But there is a diversity of opinion concerning the part of Arabia, which is called the land of *Uz*, where Job is said to have lived. In the Septuagint version this name is translated *Avotus*; and *Ptolemy*, who is accounted most worthy

of credit in regard to the affairs of ancient Arabia, represents the *Avotrai* as the inhabitants of a country near Babylon. It is accordingly placed by Spanheim, and by Rosenmüller after him, in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, and contiguous to the Euphrates and to Mesopotamia ; being the part nearest to the Chaldeans, and also to the Sabæans, of whose incursions mention is made in the introduction of the book of Job. Those who suppose that this was a part of Idumæa, must make the distinction of West and East Idumæa, with Calmet, which has no other basis than conjecture.

Another fruitful subject of speculation, is the period of the history of the Hebrews to which the contents of the book of Job are to be referred. Some would make Job prior to Moses, and the history contained in the book which bears his name older than the Mosaic law ; between the time of Genesis and Exodus. This opinion is founded mainly in the fact, that there is no mention of the rites, and customs, and affairs of the Israelites throughout the whole book. Now it is maintained, that Moses was the great model, or pattern, to which all the after writers constantly recurred, and that they never failed to make those allusions which showed their national origin. There does seem to be much weight in this argument, on the supposition that the work was written by a Hebrew for the use of Hebrews ; though its weight is lessened by the consideration suggested by Mr Noyes, that all the characters are Arabians, upon whom the laws and usages instituted by Moses were not binding. And yet it seems a little remarkable, that in so large a composition of an Israelite, nothing should steal forth, even by inadvertence, which should betray his kin to the peculiar people. The language of all the characters introduced is consistent in respect to the unity of God ; but this shows nothing more than the great antiquity of the book ; that it existed before pure theism was supplanted by the worship of the heavenly host ; at least while just notions of the divine unity were maintained by the more thinking and enlightened, though it would seem that the worship of the *heavenly host*, which was probably the beginning of all idolatry, was not unknown :

‘ If I have beheld the sun in his splendor,
Or the moon advancing in brightness,
And my heart have been secretly enticed,
And my mouth have kissed my hand,—

This also were a crime to be punished by the judge ;
For I should have denied the God, who is above.'

xxxi, 26—28.

Among the poets of Arabia, no less than among the philosophers, it is maintained by Sir William Jones, that a pure theism long outlived the stupid and gross idolotry which prevailed among the mass of the people. We may conclude, therefore, whoever was the writer of the book before us, that the opinions of the several characters are justly represented, even if it come down much lower than the time of Moses. The persons of the poem not being Israelites, and the place of Job's abode not being within the realm of Israel, are thought by some to be reasons sufficient why there should not only be no mention of the affairs of the Hebrews, but why the writer should be studiously silent concerning them. If this view of the case be satisfactory, nothing so far is determined concerning the date of the book, and we are left at liberty to fix it at any period of the Hebrew history, where other evidence may lead to a decision of the point.

There are many things in this book, says Rosenmüller (giving credit to hints before thrown out by Bernstein), which show that Job lived at a time when men were getting beyond the simplicity of the patriarchal age. Job himself lived in a city, and if he were not its chief, he was, from his own testimony, one of its principal men. Mention is made of the tumult of the city, of a written sentence, of words written and inscribed in a book or register, and engraven on a rock with an iron instrument. There is no evidence of the existence of any kind of writing among the Hebrews before the time of Moses. 'Some,' says Warburton, 'suppose letters to have been in use among the patriarchs, and to have been transmitted by them to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion, to mention no other than the patriarchs sending verbal messages, when it was more natural and more expedient to send them written, that others have thought proper to bring them down to Moses.' This learned prelate's own opinion is, that Moses, instead of having introduced letters into Egypt, as some maintain, was there educated as well in the knowledge of the alphabet, as in the general learning of the country.

That the writer of the book of Job was a Hebrew, there can be little doubt, since there are in it so many sentiments,

and opinions, and modes of thinking, and forms of expression analogous to those in other sacred writings of the Old Testament. These analogies exist between Job and the Psalms to a considerable degree, and are more numerous and striking between Job and the Proverbs; and this has led many to ascribe it to David or Solomon. It is demanded, what else can be the occasion of the agreement; whether the author of Job drew from the Psalms and Proverbs, or the writers of these last imitated Job; or the parallelisms flowed from a common fountain. In a certain sense, the last supposition seems to be the true one. And the solution given by Rosenmüller appears to be perfectly natural and satisfactory, though perhaps a little too limited. The agreement which is so often detected between Job and the Psalms and Proverbs, according to him, proceeds not from imitation, but from a mode of speaking and philosophizing, a state of learning, of knowledge, and of opinions common to the same age. And, he adds, if we fix upon a time for the origin of the book of Job, we cannot be far out of the way in placing it between the time of Hezekiah and Zedekiah. In coming to this conclusion, he is influenced in some degree by the language and style, which tend towards Chaldaism. Parallel passages between Job and other parts of the Old Testament, are not confined to the poetical or prophetical writings only, but can be traced even in the Pentateuch. Nor is there anything marvellous in this. We may take a long period in the literary history of almost any cultivated people, and find a multitude of similar examples of agreement in their poetical writings, which bring no deserved suspicion of imitation or plagiarism upon the later author. This is true even in English letters, mutable as the language has been, and copious as it is in words and combinations. But take a language so limited as the Hebrew, the changes in which were very gradual for ages, in which so little was recorded, and so many proverbial and striking expressions were fixed in the memory; and it is not at all surprising that writings of a similar class should have many similarities of sentiment and phrase, though very remote from each other in point of time; quite as many as we find in the case we are considering, which we need not go about to account for by supposing a designed imitation. The other argument taken from the Aramaic dialect, to which the book of Job approaches, if it amounted to much, would go to prove a still more recent origin, than that

which is fixed upon by Rosenmüller. Some learned critics, and among them the celebrated Gesenius, say that all the poetical writings of the Old Testament border upon the Aramaic dialects. Now if this be admitted, it is justly inferred that the dialect of the book we are considering does not necessarily prove the recent origin of the work, but only its poetical style. Indeed when we find, as we often do, how rashly great oriental critics have decided on these subjects, and how widely they differ from each other, we are disposed to value the following caution as worthy to be placed among the *canons* of biblical criticism, in regard to the Old Testament; 'We should not judge very positively concerning the antiquity of the books, guided by a certain peculiar sound of words and style, before the history of the Hebrew language and its various dialects, are thoroughly examined and explained.'

We have said nothing concerning the author of Job, because we consider the attempt to ascertain this point entirely hopeless. But the canonical authority of the book is well established. Though it is not mentioned expressly by Philo and Josephus, who had no occasion to cite it, yet it is acknowledged by Jerome and Origen among the christian fathers, and also in the Talmud, beside being quoted in the Epistle of James. Its having a place in the canon of the Old Testament, is a strong proof that it was written by a Hebrew, since, as Mr Noyes remarks, the Hebrews were jealous of their religious prerogatives, and would not be likely to admit into their sacred volume a poem written by a foreigner.

Every reader of our common version of the book of Job, who has thought at all on the subject, must have frequently felt the want of an amended version, in various instances, notwithstanding the universal attachment which exists to the language of the old translation. Mr Noyes expresses great respect, in common with the general feeling on this subject, for the common version of the Bible;

'It has great merit in several respects. No new translation can or ought to succeed, which does not resemble it in language and style. For the excellence of its language, however, we are not, as is commonly supposed, indebted to king James's translators, but to the successive translators of the Bible from the time of the first English version.

'Much light has been shed upon the meaning of the sacred volume, since the common version was made. The present trans-

lator does not profess to have made discoveries. He has only attempted, by a careful study of the original, with the help of the best commentaries and lexicons, to bring forward for common use what has long existed, but has been locked up in ponderous folios, or in ancient or foreign languages. The notes are designed for various classes of readers, and intended to be chiefly explanatory. But with respect to the more important alterations, it has been thought best to give some of the reasons and authorities on which they were founded.' *Introduction*, p. ix.

Whoever shall examine Mr Noyes's list of the principal works which he has consulted, and the notes which are annexed to his version, will be alike satisfied with the extent and the impartiality of his researches ; and that they are directed mainly to the correction of false or obscure translations. Not that he has never deviated from the common version for the sake of a better word or expression, which does not essentially affect the meaning ; or from taste, where the language might be improved, without losing any of its force ; but he has never deviated, as far as we can perceive, through affectation or caprice. He has not allowed himself the latitude, and could not, according to the rules he prescribed to himself, which Dryden gave in laying down the principles of translation from the ancient classic poets. It would be ludicrous, indeed, to make a Hebrew speak, as he would have spoken, if he had spoken in English. But there is a due regard to our vernacular idiom, which must be observed by a translator from writings in any language, or of any age. And it happened from inattention to this particular, and from false notions of fidelity, that obscurities were allowed by our old translators to deface their work ; obscurities nearly allied to error, and calculated sometimes to mislead the reader.

While the Germans abound with translations of this and other books of the Old Testament, both in Latin and in their vernacular tongue, English theologians and scholars have been very sparing of similar labors. There is no English version of Job of much critical and poetical pretensions combined, except that of *John Mason Good* ; and in our opinion the pretensions of this version in neither respect are very well sustained. The simplicity which ought to reign in the translation, is too often marred by a forced inversion of language, by unusual words and far-fetched interpretations, by an affected compounding of terms, and an ambitious display of poetical phraseology.

Take, for example, the commencement of the poem, where Job breaks out in execrations of the day of his birth.

‘Perish the day in which I was born!
And the night which shouted, a man child is brought forth!
O! be that day darkness!
Let not God uncloset it from on high!
Yea, let no sunshine irradiate it!
Let darkness and death-shade crush it!
The gathered tempest pavilion over it!
The blast of noon-tide terrify it!
That night—let extinction seize it!
Let it not rejoice amidst the days of the year,
Nor enter into the number of the months!’

Good's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

‘Perish the day in which I was born,
And the night which said, ‘A man child is brought forth!’
Let that day be darkness;
Let not God regard it from above;
Yea, let not the light shine upon it!
Let darkness and the shadow of death dishonor it;
Let a cloud dwell upon it;
Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!
As for that night, let darkness seize upon it;
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year;
Let it not come into the number of the months!’

Noyes's Job, chap. iii, 3—6.

We should be willing to leave it to every reader of taste to say, which of these translations best comports with the notions he has formed of the circumstances that gave rise to these impassioned exclamations; which is most conformable to the natural language of passion. And we hazard nothing in affirming that Mr Noyes's version of the passage is more faithful, and corresponds much more nearly to the versions of the best translators and critics.

Dr Good's governing reason for *shouted* instead of *said*, is, that it is more spirited; but to our ears, it is a term rather too riotous. *Uncloset* is a meaning of remote inference from the primary meaning of the original. *Sunshine irradiate* it, *tempest pavilion* over it, and *extinction* seize it,—are instances of departure from the simplicity of the Hebrew phraseology. ‘Let the tempest pavilion over it,’ is what Mr Noyes renders in the same way as is done in our common version, and with literal exactness, ‘let a cloud dwell upon it.’ *Death-shade*

instead of 'shadow of death,' which last is familiar to every reader of the English Bible, and translated in Latin versions *umbra mortis*, is adopted for no other reason, as we can perceive, but because it is a compound similar to the Hebrew. But 'shadow of death' is the literal rendering, and 'death-shade' is an inversion of the words of the Hebrew compound. *Crush*, in the same line, instead of 'dishonor' or pollute, is substituted from the meaning of a supposed kindred verb in Arabic; a kind of criticism always requiring caution, but very dangerous as it is wielded by Dr Good, and in the present case introduced in defiance of all the rules of etymology, which regard the analogy subsisting between the Hebrew and Arabic letters.

There is a diversity in one line, in the passages cited, between Dr Good and Mr Noyes, and other translators, which is worth remarking as affording an instance of great obscurity in the original; and by no means a solitary instance in this book.

'The blast of noon-tide terrify it!' *Good.*

'Let the deadly heats of the day terrify it!' *Noyes.*

'Let the blackness of the day terrify it!' *Common Version.*

'Horrificent cum dirissima quæque!' *Rosenmüller.*

'Ihn schrecke jegliches Unheil!' *Augusti und De Wette.*

The literal meaning of the word that has given rise to these different interpretations, depends on its derivation; and it signifies, according to the primitive, either *heat* or *bitterness*. The noun is in the plural form, and is followed by the word signifying *day*. Dr Good takes his flight from the *æstus*, or *vapores æstus*, of Cocceius, to *pestilential vapors*, and thence to *black blasts*, and thence to poisonous winds (*videlicet*, Simoom or Samum), till he lights upon the poetical phrase *blast of noon-tide*. Mr Noyes, without superinducing one meaning upon another, takes the sense which naturally flows from the primitive, according to Gesenius (and he might have added, Buxtorf, Cocceius, and others), and adds an epithet not unsuitable to the intensive signification of the word, *deadly heats*. The word used in our common version is authorized by some learned lexicographers. The translations of Rosenmüller and De Wette are founded upon a different supposed primitive—the *bitternesses* of the day—whatever evils could befall it.

We forbear to enter into any minute criticism of the passages, which we have selected from the two versions of Dr Good and Mr Noyes. What we have done is merely from a wish to give the general reader as fair and intelligible a view as we are able in so short a compass, and from a single specimen, of the relative merits of these two translations. For Dr Good's version, with the introduction and voluminous notes, is a large volume, and one of imposing appearance; and when we are calling the public attention to a new English version, the merits and defects of its predecessor come fairly before us. To our taste, Dr Good has too many wayward fancies in his mode of interpretation; he is too much afraid of simplicity, which we should think, from some of his renderings and annotations, he holds to be a word synonymous with feebleness; he is often drawn out of his way by remote analogies, and is so fearful of creeping, that he ever and anon soars aloft with too venturous wings. Though a man of various learning, we have not so much confidence as we could wish, in the accuracy of his *oriental* learning. By his frequent use of it, he would seem to claim some eminence in this department; but from the multitude of errors which might be pointed out in his criticisms, it can hardly be allowed him. Many of these errors were exposed some years since by the Eclectic reviewers; and thus bringing upon themselves a pretty angry attack from the author, they afterwards made very thorough work in the execution of their thankless office; and in their efforts to increase the amount of evidence, sometimes perhaps bordered upon hypercriticism, and sometimes made the critic answerable for all the untractableness of the types. But after the most generous deductions, enough remained to establish the fact, that he was not among the number of accurate and careful critics. And we might proceed to show, what, if we rightly remember, was not remarked upon in those reviews, namely, that his criticisms drawn from languages kindred to the Hebrew, particularly from the Arabic, are often unsound, and sometimes founded in radical mistakes concerning the etymology of words.

Mr Noyes, on the contrary, cautiously feels his way, and if he sometimes errs, as well he may, in his interpretations, it is where there is great uncertainty about the true course. His object is always to give some meaning; and this, especially where no essential doctrines are involved, but only the purpose of giving connexion and intelligibleness to discourse, is certain-

ly better than giving no meaning at all. We may say of Job, what a celebrated translator of ancient classic poets said of Persius; that the most skilful interpreter can only divine his meaning in some cases, and cannot be sure that he has divined rightly. In such cases, it is not the translator's business to make nonsense, or throw about the passage a convenient ambiguity, but, after weighing probabilities, to come as near the author's sense as he can. Such appears to have been the process in producing the Amended Version, which is distinguished by its simplicity and good taste, and bears the marks of patient investigation and good judgment.

In the introduction to this book, there occurs four times a word, which, in the rendering of our common version, has probably struck most readers as a very harsh expression. In the fifth verse of the first chapter, Job says, 'It may be that my sons have sinned, and *cursed* God in their hearts.' In the eleventh verse, Satan says to Jehovah, 'Put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will *curse* thee to thy face;' and again in the fifth verse of the second chapter, 'Touch his bone and his flesh, and he will *curse* thee to thy face.' In the ninth verse of the same chapter, his wife says to Job, '*Curse* God and die.' Now that the same Hebrew word, and a word that constantly occurs in the Old Testament, signifying *bless*, should here seem to require an opposite rendering, has been somewhat of a *crux interpretum*. We remember to have heard of a gentleman, when in a state of pupilage, who was well nigh won by an Oriental Professor to join the Hebrew class, being so appalled with the uncertainty of the language, from the unlucky mention of this case by the professor, that he renounced his purpose in despair. But Dr Good would restore the word to its legitimate and primary meaning in all cases, and remove all the difficulties in the instances here cited. This he does by a process, to speak very gently of it, *parcè detortum*; and by liberties which no critic probably will grant him. He translates 'My sons may have sinned, *nor blessed* God in their hearts.' i, 5. 'Will he then indeed bless thee to thy face?' i, 11, and ii, 5. 'Dost thou hold fast thine integrity, blessing God and dying?' ii, 9. The violence done to the original in the first instance, is that of giving the connective *vav* a negative signification, *nor*, the same as *and not*, while the preceding member, with which this is connected, is affirmative; and with all the latitude which must be

given to this connective, we are confident that the use here supposed by the translator, is unexampled. The second and third instances, rendered interrogatively, are also wholly unauthorized, and are vindicated by no examples. The compound particle used in the Hebrew, implies a strong asseveration; *formula juramenti*, as some of the lexicographers express it. If therefore it admits of an interrogative form, in any case, the negative part of the compound must not be overlooked; and instead of 'Will he then, indeed, bless thee,' we must supply a small word, and read, 'Will he *not* then, indeed, bless thee,' which is an emendation that would not be quite suitable to Dr Good's purpose. The case of Job's wife, as it is commonly understood, is the most revolting of all. Perhaps the notion of an ironical use of the word is not unsuitable in this place; though we should rather favor a similar sense to that in which we think the word is used in the preceding cases. Now if there is a secondary use of the word, not unlike that which often takes place in all languages, which affords an explanation of these passages, such as will approve itself to the judicious, then it is worthy to be adopted. Mr Noyes has given a good summary of the reasons which have induced him, in common with many eminent critics, to adopt the rendering in his Version, in which he has preserved a uniformity in the several texts we have quoted from the common version and from Dr Good's translation.

'Chapter i, verse 5.—*and renounced God in their hearts*; i. e. been unmindful of him, dismissed him from their thoughts, or withheld the reverence and homage which are his due. It is hardly credible that Job suspected his children of *cursing* God. He was only apprehensive lest the gaiety of a festival had made them forget God, and neglect his service and worship. The term בִּרְךְ generally signifies *to bless*. It was the term of salutation between friends at meeting and parting. See Gen. xxviii. 3. xlvii. 10. In the latter use of it, it corresponded to the English phrase, *to bid farewell to*, and like that came to be used in a bad sense for *to renounce*, *to abandon*, *to dismiss from the mind*, *to disregard*. It may imply *disregard*, *neglect*, *renunciation*, or *abhorrence*, according to the connexion in which it is used. *Χαίρειν* in Greek, and *valere* in Latin, are used in the same way. Thus Eurip. Med. 1044.

Οὐ δὴτ' ἐγωγε χαίρετο βουλευματα.

‘And Cicero in a letter to Atticus (viii. 8.), in which he complains of the disgraceful flight of Pompey, applies to him a quotation from Aristophanes; πολλὰ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τῷ καλῷ, *bidding farewell to honor*, he fled to Brundisium. Another instance of this use of *valere* is in Ter. And. iv. 2. 14. *Valeant, qui inter nos dissidium volunt*. Also in Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 44, near the end; *Deinde si maxime talis est Deus, ut nullâ gratiâ, nullâ hominum caritate teneatur, valeat!* See Schultens and Rosenmüller.’ *Notes*, p. 4.

We might proceed to point out many particular instances, in which Mr Noyes has improved upon the common version. In the chapter which contains Job’s execrations of the day of his birth, a part of which we have quoted in another place, is the following passage;

‘Let the stars of its twilight be darkened;
Let it long for light, and have none;
Neither let it see the eyelids of the morning.’ iii, 9.

Eyelids of the morning is an oriental image, literally translated, which we think with Mr Noyes is worth preserving; though some may prefer ‘the dawning of the day,’ in the common version, as being more adapted to the comprehension of most readers. Milton transferred this *oriental pearl* to our language, which circumstance is noticed by Mr Noyes;

‘Under the opening eyelids of the dawn,
We drove afield.’

There is a passage in a succeeding chapter, of doubtful interpretation, which Mr Noyes has left untouched.

‘Behold, man is born to trouble,
As the sparks fly upward.’ v, 7.

The literal meaning of the phrase here rendered *sparks*, is, according to most of the lexicons, *sons of heat*, or of *a live or burning coal*; suggesting as naturally as any thing, sparks. But it is variously rendered *arrows*, *coruscations*, *eagle*, *vulture*, *bird of prey*, *bird-tribes*. It is no want of good judgment in Mr Noyes, since the present version gives as true an illustration of the thought, and as probable a meaning of the words as any other, to suffer it to remain unaltered.

The following passage is rendered in a manner much more clear and intelligible than we find it in the common version.

'But my brethren are faithless like a brook ;
 They pass away like streams of the valley,
 Which are turbid by reason of the melted ice,
 And the snow, which hides itself in them.
 As soon as they become warm, they vanish ;
 When the heat cometh, they are dried up from their place.
 The caravans turn aside to them on their way,
 They go up into the desert, and perish.
 The companies of Tema look for them,
 The caravans of Sheba expect to see them ;
 They are ashamed that they have relied on them ;
 They come to the place, and are confounded.' vi, 15—20.

Caravans is perhaps somewhat objectionable, because it is the mere translation of one oriental word into another, and the translation of an ancient and more general term, into one comparatively modern, and more specific. And it is a little capricious, perhaps, to translate the same Hebrew word, in the second instance, *companies*, and a different word again *caravans*. In neither case, however, does it materially affect the sense. We incline to Mr Noyes's version, 'The caravans turn aside to them on their way,' rather than to our common version, 'The paths of their way are turned aside ;' though critics are not entirely agreed in this case.

We could proceed with a good relish to cite examples through the book, which vindicate its title, *an amended version*. But we should in this way occupy a disproportionate share of room for this article. We shall therefore content ourselves with a remark or two on the Notes annexed to this version. In comparison with those of Dr Good, they are in quantity about one fifth. They are always to the purpose, while those of his predecessor comprehend all imaginable things, supposed to bear upon the subjects of the text. Mr Noyes's notes will be found very useful, not only by enabling the reader to preserve the thread of the discourse, but also by showing the meaning of particular passages, and of apposite metaphors and comparisons ; by illustrating local allusions, whether relating to modes of life and personal occupations, or to peculiarities of country, to climate, and soil, and natural scenery, and natural productions ; all of which serve to give beauty and individuality to the descriptions, and afford those embellishments, which cannot always be understood or enjoyed without something of the critic's aid.

If there is anything of superfluity in Mr Noyes's Notes, it is in the illustration of the sentiment in the text of his version, in some cases where it is not uncommon or peculiar, by citation from the ancient classics. A great portion of these illustrations and coincidences are indeed such as we should be unwilling to spare; and we know that it is so much to the taste of many scholars, that for them there is little danger of excess. In the case before us, however, we consider the remark of consequence rather for caution than for censure. All that we should expunge would make a very slight diminution of the materials of the volume.

We feel in duty bound to say, that the kind of learned labor exhibited in this volume has, in our opinion, fallen into very competent hands; and we have little doubt, that the public mind is prepared, or may easily be prepared to welcome the toils of the learned, who shall succeed in giving a more pure and intelligible translation of the sacred writings, if the same respect is shown to the language of our common version, which Mr Noyes so constantly manifests.

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- ART. III.—1. *Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years 1824-5. Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, Commander.* London. 1826. 4to. pp. x. and 260.
2. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* By WILLIAM ELLIS, Missionary, from the Society and Sandwich Islands. Third Edition. London. 8vo. pp. 480.
3. *Review of the preceding works in the London Quarterly Review, No. LXX.* pp. 419—445.
4. *The Rev. C. S. Stewart's Letters on the Sandwich Islands,* as published in the Boston Daily Advertiser.

THE attentive reader of voyages and travels must have observed a very great diversity in works of this kind. Some, though relating to unpromising fields, contain much to excite attention and reward a careful perusal; while others, in which interesting countries are described by eye-witnesses, exhibit nothing but tedious specimens of barrenness and stupidity.

Among the travellers of the present day are men, who have displayed high qualities of the mind and the heart. Laborious, discriminating, patient, cautious, and possessing a most amiable candor, they have evinced not only a scrupulous regard to truth, but a conscientious fear of doing injustice to individuals, or communities, by hasty and unauthorized representations. A far greater number, however, have written with little knowledge, and less consideration; and have sent their crude speculations and random assertions into the world, without the slightest sense of responsibility. Matter is furnished for the pages of the splendid quarto, with as little deliberation, as is observable in the preparations of the most careless editor of a daily newspaper; and charges, deeply affecting the character of large classes of men, are made with as little ceremony, as by the vehement bar-room politician, against a party to which he is opposed. It is expected, in the mean time, that the splendid quarto will be praised in the popular reviews; and, if it flatters national prejudices, or ministers to national vanity, this expectation is pretty sure to be realized. Thus rash calumnies are propagated, to an indefinite and most injurious extent. Erroneous impressions are made upon the minds of multitudes in all parts of the civilized world; and not a few individuals, who would otherwise have been impartial, form and cherish antipathies which will never be eradicated.

It is obvious, from this view of the subject, that all who wish to obtain correct information, to discriminate between undoubted facts and heedless conjectures, and to avoid becoming the dupes of the shallowest impositions, should first ascertain the character of the traveller, and the means of information which he possessed, and should thus fix his claims to credibility. This may often, but not always, be done by looking at the internal evidences only. In the cases before us, there are other means of judging.

The narrative of Mr Ellis was reviewed in our work.* It was published in this country and in England, contemporaneously; and the third edition issued from the London press, in a little more than a year from the appearance of the first. The second and third editions were successively enlarged by the introduction of much new matter. A portion of these additions relates to the government and usages of the islands; and, as

* No. LI, pp. 334—364.

the information respecting this topic is more authentic and more particular, than any which has heretofore appeared, we make the following extracts.

‘The government of the Sandwich Islands is an absolute monarchy. The supreme authority is hereditary. The rank of the principal and inferior chiefs, the offices of the priests, and other situations of honor, influence, and emolument, descend from father to son, and often continue through many generations in the same family, though the power of nomination to every situation of dignity and trust is vested in the king ; and persons by merit, or royal favor, frequently rise from comparatively humble rank to the highest station in the islands, as in the instance of Karaimoku, sometimes called by foreigners, William Pitt. This individual, from being a chief of the third or fourth rank, has long been prime minister, in rank second only to the king, and having, in fact, the actual government of the whole of the Sandwich Islands.

‘Hereditary rank and authority are not confined to the male sex, but are inherited also by the females ; and, according to tradition, several of the islands have been once or twice under the government of a queen.

‘Four distinct classes or ranks in society appear to exist among them. The highest rank includes the king, queens, and all the branches of the reigning family. It also includes the chief counsellor or minister of the king, who, though inferior by birth, is by office and authority superior to the queens and other members of the royal family.’

The second rank includes the governors of the different islands ; the third, the head men of districts or villages ; and the fourth, very small landholders, and all the common people.

‘Every island is given by the king to some high chief, who is supreme governor in it, but is subject to the king, whose orders he is obliged to see executed, and to whom he pays a regular rent or tax, according to the size of the island, or the advantages it may possess. Each island is separated into a number of permanent divisions, sometimes fifty or sixty miles in extent. In Hawaii there are six, Kohala, Kona, &c. Each of the large divisions is governed by one or two chiefs, appointed by the king or by the governor, and approved by the former. These large divisions are divided into districts and villages, which sometimes extend five or six miles along the coast ; at others, not more than half a mile. A head man, nominated by the governor, usually presides over these villages, which are again subdivided into a number of small farms or plantations. The names of these are generally significant ; as *Towahai*, the waters broken, from a stream which runs

through the district, and is divided near the sea; *Kairua*, two seas, from the waters of the bay being separated by a point of land, &c.

‘Although this is the usual manner in which the land is distributed, yet the king holds personally a number of districts in most of the islands, and several of the principal chiefs receive districts directly from the king, and independent of the governor of the island in which they are situated.’

The governor collects and pays over taxes for the king. He also makes exactions on his own account. The smaller chiefs demand rents and services from their inferiors; so that, by all this process, the poor laborer is kept in a state of abject poverty.

It is manifest, that so far as the principles of christianity are received and obeyed, the government of the islands will assume a more mild and equitable character.

In the last chapter but one of Mr Ellis’s book, and in the Appendix, are numerous facts respecting the language of the Polynesians, and the question of their supposed origin, to which we may advert, in a subsequent part of this article. All the discussions, on these and other subjects, are conducted by Mr Ellis with becoming caution and modesty. His work abounds in matter of deep interest, and sustains a truly respectable rank among books of this class.

What degree of credit is due to the voyage of the *Blonde*, our readers will have some means of judging, when they learn in what manner the book was made up, and how difficult it is to find a responsible author.

A frigate had been sent by the British government, on a voyage of kindness to a remote tribe of uncivilized men, under the command of a nobleman, who had just succeeded to the title of his relative, the most distinguished poet of the age. Under these circumstances, the return of the ship naturally presented to the eager and wakeful mind of a London bookseller, the inquiry, whether a profitable use could not be made of almost anything, which should commend itself to the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, as a voyage under the auspices of Lord Byron, whose grandfather had signalized himself in the Pacific, and whose immediate predecessor in the title, endowed with a genius, which cast all titles into the shade, had recently fallen in the cause of Grecian liberty. Application was therefore made to Mr Bloxam, the chaplain of the *Blonde*,

for such materials as he might be able to furnish. This gentleman kept a journal, but with what regularity, or with what pretensions to accuracy, does not appear. One of the American missionaries saw many parts of this journal, at the time when it was composed ; but of these parts, very few are to be found in the volume before us. The papers of Mr Bloxam, however, such as they were, or at least some of them, were put into the hands of the publisher. The writer could not, or would not, prepare them for the press. He left England in haste, to enter upon the duties of a foreign chaplaincy. We do not believe that Mr Bloxam had unfriendly feelings towards the American missionaries ; or that he would have spoken of them otherwise than in terms of respect. Just as he was about sailing from Portsmouth, he heard of Mr Stewart's arrival in London, from the Sandwich Islands, and immediately sent a friendly note to him, regretting that imperious circumstances would prevent the renewal of their former agreeable intercourse. The ordinary rules of politeness did not require this attention ; and there is no reason to think it would have been shown, if Mr Bloxam had cherished the spirit, which is often apparent in the ' Voyage,' and in the ' Review,' which it called forth.

We have arrived at the first stage in the production of a book of travels. Scraps of a journal are deposited in the hands of a bookseller. These scraps, however, not being judged suitable for the eye of the public, either because they contained too little or too much ; because they wanted connexion or consistency, or would reflect credit on men whom it was not thought expedient to praise ; for some of these reasons, or all of them united, were delivered to a Mrs Graham, a sort of literary *redacteur*, or intellectual mechanic, whose ready services must be of special importance to the trade. In this way, with a few hasty notes for the elements of the composition, travels can be written in London, and suited to every meridian and climate in the world.

In the case before us, however, Mrs Graham was not satisfied with the notes of Mr Bloxam. That it would have drawn too heavily upon her powers of invention, if she had undertaken to fill up all the chasms in the voyage, we dare not assert. She thought it well to apply to some of the junior officers of the *Blonde* for their journals, which they were so kind as to submit to her inspection. She sought an interview

with the American missionary, then in London, who, having heard from her own lips some of the misstatements, which now appear in the work, frankly corrected them; and told her plainly, that if she relied upon some of the authorities, which she had quoted, she would be egregiously misled; for without impeaching the character or motives of the midshipmen, whose journals she possessed, it must be perfectly evident, that, as they knew nothing of the native language, and had few opportunities of learning the condition of the people, or the effects of the mission, and as they must derive much of their information through very suspicious channels, it would be altogether unsafe to send reports forth to the world, merely because they might have been entered in the private diaries of these youthful officers.

To the foregoing particulars, in regard to the origin and manufacture of this book, the public have a right; and it is hoped that they may not be useless as a specimen of the art and mystery of writing travels, especially as taken in connexion with what will appear in the sequel of this article.

On examining the book, it is apparent that very free use is made of Mr Ellis's narrative, which was published only a few months previously. Nearly all the most interesting facts, relating to the traditions of the islanders, and the history of the islands, are taken from this source. Mr Ellis must doubtless consider himself highly honored by such condescension, as the acknowledgment is made in so remarkably courteous a manner, by placing at the bottom of the page, the words '*See Ellis*;' which token of gratitude and respect meets the eye very frequently, though not so frequently as justice would require. It must, also, be quite comforting to the purchaser of a two guinea book, to see that all the best passages are taken from a contemporaneous work on the same subject, which contains much more than the work he is reading, and on incomparably better authority; and which can be had for one third of the money.

It is remarkable, too, that fragments which were furnished by the American missionaries, as illustrations of the language of the natives, and of their skill in composition, are inserted without scruple; and, in return for this politeness to their visitors, the missionaries are treated with contempt and calumny. Acknowledgment is made to Mr Bingham, in the body of the work, for a translation of a native song, which is there

copied ; but as it was deemed convenient, in several subsequent passages, to hold up Mr Bingham to reproach and scorn, another native song, of which he gave a copy, both in the original and in a translation of his own, is inserted in the Appendix, without *any acknowledgment whatever*. It doubtless occurred to the delicate mind of Mrs Graham, that it would not be well to make too free with a name, which she had vilified ; and that some of the literary labors of Mr Bingham, in this department, had better stand to the credit of the joint concern of Bloxam and Co., of which concern she was the factor. In like manner, a particular account of the *pule ana-ana*, or death-prayer, which was copied, by permission, from the private journal of Mr Stewart, is published in the Appendix, with the vague acknowledgment, '*from the missionaries.*' In a word, everything which could be obtained from the portfolios of the missionaries, or gleaned from their conversation, to fill out a dull and disjointed narrative, and impart some sort of animation to heavy pages, was greedily seized and thrown into the small collection of heterogeneous materials for a book, the principal design of which appears to have been, as the principal effect will be, to make prejudiced and ill informed readers think contemptuously of Americans, and of the character and labors of the American missionaries.

To fill the volume, it was necessary to give a long account of the visit of Riho-Riho to London, where he died. Many frivolous things are mentioned, and even the tavern bills of the party are commemorated ; but it is perfectly evident, that the writer had no means of discovering the real views and feelings of this young king and his followers. On her homeward passage, the Blonde touched at several small islands, and at two or three ports on the western coast of South America. Incidents of this kind serve to give some variety ; and we think that, in all these parts, the journals of the midshipmen were used. The last article in the Appendix, is an accurate and officer-like survey of the harbor of Waiakea, or Byron bay, on the eastern coast of Hawaii, by Lieutenant Malden, of the Blonde, with useful notices of other harbors in the Sandwich Islands. This article is of more value, than all the rest of the book, because it may be relied on.

As to the body of the work, if we take away all that Mr Ellis and the American missionaries have been made to contribute ; a few tolerable passages, which doubtless were copied

from Mr Bloxam's journal; and some gross misrepresentations of facts, on which we propose to animadvert; the remainder will exhibit a specimen of as complete inanity, as can well be imagined. There is one good thing about the book, and that is its brevity. After all the labor to collect matter from so many sources, and to make much out of a little, the whole could be printed, and not very closely, in a duodecimo volume of two hundred pages.

If we are asked, who is responsible for the accuracy of the statements in the work, we are happy to say, that Lord Byron *is not*. It does not appear, that he ever saw a sentence of original composition that it contains, or that he directly or indirectly sanctioned the publication. Some anonymous correspondents appear to have had a hand in it; and among them, and the midshipmen, and Mrs Graham, and Mr Bloxam, the responsibility must be divided, according to the skill, judgment, and conjectures of the reader.

That Mr Bloxam is not peculiarly, or especially, responsible for any obnoxious statement or passage, which can be pointed out, we think is plain from the following sentence in the preface. 'The editor is conscious, that some things may have been omitted, and some, possibly, mistaken, notwithstanding every endeavor to do justice to the work, owing to a want of that local knowledge, which Mr Bloxam, as an eye-witness, must have possessed, and with which he would, no doubt, have extended and adorned his narrative, had he fortunately remained to prepare it for publication.' Indeed! '*Some things may have been omitted.*' How omitted? Stricken out of the manuscript of Mr Bloxam? Did not the editor know, that *many things were actually omitted*, in this manner? Or is the meaning, that *some things may be deficient*, which her own imagination could not supply, but which were necessary to explain what was inserted? Again, '*Some things may possibly be mistaken, owing to a want of local knowledge.*' Undoubtedly. The man or the woman, who undertakes to fill up chasms in a book of travels; or to form into one texture shreds and patches, from the journals of different writers, and from hearsay reports, not only *may possibly be mistaken*, but, without a miracle, must *inevitably* fall into error. It is impossible that a work, thus formed, should sustain any character for accuracy.

Mrs Graham calls herself the editor. We should call her

the *fabricator*, not using the word here in the odious sense (which would be to prejudge the question), but in a *mechanical sense*, as accurately descriptive of the kind of smithcraft, which she must have used in connecting the detached links placed at her disposal.

We might here stop, and dismiss the book as nearly worthless ; and we should do so, if its tendency were not highly pernicious. Nor would even this consideration induce us to proceed, were not the evil greatly magnified, by the currency which is given, through reviews and other channels, to what is pernicious, as well as to what is useful, in works which are constantly issuing from the press. It is to be remembered, also, that the exposure of blunders and perversions in one publication, may supersede the necessity of exposing similar blunders and perversions, should they be repeated ; and that some of the greatest benefits of criticism result from its operating by way of example.

The editor (for so we must call her) manifests a commendable zeal to display whatever knowledge is within her reach. In the following instance, she really supposed she had advanced beyond Mr Ellis. ‘The Sandwich Islanders,’ says she, ‘reckon by forties, or, as we may say, double scores ; they call forty *teneha* ; ten *tenehas* is one *lau* ; ten *lau* a *manu* ; ten *manu* a *kini* ; ten *kini* a *lehu* ; ten *lehu* a *nurwanee* ; ten *nurwanee* one *pao*.’ In a note, it is added, ‘Ellis, in his Appendix, says the islanders only count as far as the *kini*.’ It is true that, according to Mr Ellis, the natives count only to five denominations ; that is, to four hundred thousand ; and he had inadvertently transposed the *kini* and *lehu*, putting the *kini* last. The editor would represent the natives as going two denominations further ; that is, to forty millions. Now it would seem somewhat remarkable, that Mr Ellis, after residing two years at the Sandwich Islands, and six years at the Georgian Islands, where a dialect of the same language is spoken, and after conversing and preaching in these dialects, as readily as in English, should not have discovered the extent of the numerals so accurately, as a person who could converse with the natives only by an interpreter, and who probably never even attempted to study the language.

This mystery is explained at once, by a member of the American mission, who has recently returned from the islands. The word *narawali*, improperly written *nurwanee*, means *for-*

gotten, unknown, unthought of; and the word *pau*, wrongly written *pao*, means *all, or the whole*. When the native was questioned, either in London, or at the islands, *What do ten lehu make?* or *What comes next?* he doubtless answered, *Narawali*; by which he meant, *I can go no further, all beyond is unknown*. The unsuspecting Englishman, however, supposed he had got a new denomination; and, in fresh pursuit of another, inquired *What next?* or, *What do ten narawali make?* To which the native answered, *Pau*; *I have said all I can say*; and this was written down as a regular numerical denomination; so that, in conclusion, when the Englishman comes to understand his own system of notation, he will find that ten *lehu* make one *unknown*, and ten *unknowns* go for the *whole*. In what manner the Englishman was made to understand, that the native had actually, and absolutely, arrived at the very *ne plus* of his knowledge, we can only guess. Probably it was by some significant gesture.

One favorite design of the editor, is to make it appear that the Sandwich Islands are under the special guardianship of Great Britain. With the political reasons, which relate to this subject, it is not our design to intermeddle. Whether it would be wise, or unwise, for the British or the American cabinet to desire colonies in the Pacific, we leave for others to decide. There is no doubt, however, that things are now tending toward the occupation of these islands by a foreign power; and this result seems inevitable, unless the natives should become so far civilized, as to institute an efficient police, and cause their rights to be respected.

Though we are so often reminded of the kindness shown to the islanders by the British government and people, there is one passage at least, which indicates that this kindness is not absolutely and purely disinterested.

‘Besides, the commercial interests of England, in the Pacific, are likely to be greatly injured in case the Sandwich Islands should fall into the hands of the Russians or Americans, and it was of some importance to grant the protection the king had come to seek, *for our own sake*, as well as for his.’ p. 72.

Whatever may be thought of the British government taking the Sandwich Islands under its peculiar guardianship, or whatever this relation may imply, there can be no doubt, we should presume, that the common interest of the commercial world

will be promoted, by that elevation of moral and intellectual character, which it is the object of missionary labors to impart. More than a hundred vessels now touch at the principal port in these islands, in a single year. Most of them are large ships, having a full complement of men and valuable cargoes. As the population of North America increases, and especially when the western coast shall be inhabited by civilized communities, the resort to these islands will be incalculably great. If the natives shall then be orderly, industrious, and virtuous, the intercourse may be reciprocally beneficial. It would seem most likely to give satisfaction to all, if a strict neutrality were observed, and all were permitted to pursue commerce and obtain refreshments, on conforming to impartial and salutary regulations. The subject is one of considerable importance, and deserves the particular attention of the Russian and American governments, as it already has the attention of the British.

The account of the religion of the islanders, which is presented in the 'Voyage,' is totally unsupported by evidence, and directly against the testimony of Mr Ellis and the other missionaries. It is just such an account, as might with equal propriety be inserted in any other book of travels among a heathen people ; and, in almost all cases, it would be directly opposed to facts. But let us look at one of these passages.

'The belief of a Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race, was the foundation of their creed, in common with that of all the tribes of men, who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants,' p. 10.

'They deified the operations of nature, and placed between man and the Supreme Creator, a race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings, to support and comfort him. *Ibid.*

Now it will appear, on a very slight examination, that the *creed* here mentioned is a mere fiction, without a particle of evidence to sustain it ; though it has been so often repeated, that superficial writers and credulous readers believe it to be a reality. In some few tribes of North American Indians, there seem to have been traces of a belief in an omnipresent and all powerful Deity ; and in these tribes there was no idol-worship. But among other tribes of our continent, there is not the slightest proof, that the conception of God, as a spiritual being, or as a being who takes an interest in human affairs, ever en-

tered the minds of any of the people. And the same is true of almost all the human family, who have not derived their religious faith, either directly or remotely, from revelation. But to return to the Sandwich Islands. The natives had no idea of a 'Supreme Being, the author of all nature, and the peculiar protector and father of the human race,' nor of a 'race of intermediate and generally benevolent beings to support and comfort man.' The only motives to religious worship, seem to have been a hope of averting the malevolent influence of evil deities, or of directing that malevolence upon enemies, in time of war, or of keeping the common people in a state of servility to the chiefs. The thought of support, or comfort, to be derived from these odious beings, or of moral accountability to a superior power, or of moral principle as applicable to the conduct of either gods or men, much less of a pure, spiritual essence, governing the world and pervading all things,—never entered the mind of a Sandwich Islander, till he derived it from European and American visitors. The ascription of enlarged and sublime thoughts of the Deity to the Polynesian tribes, is as mere a fabrication, as it would be to pretend that they were acquainted with the astronomical discoveries of Newton or Laplace. It is doubtful whether any of their deities were of a higher character, than that of deceased kings and giants. Polyphemus and Enceladus would come up to their standard; and probably Hercules, certainly Neptune, would greatly transcend it.

One great source of error, with writers on this subject, is, that they almost uniformly assume, that heathen nations are now, or have generally been, *in a rising state*. Thus it is said, in the passage above quoted, that the foundation of the Polynesian creed was held by the natives, 'in common with all the tribes of men, *who have begun to think of more than the supply of their physical wants.*' It is here taken for granted, that men gradually rise to juster views of the Deity, without the aid of revelation, by the operation of their own minds. We ask for the proof of this doctrine. All Scripture is against it. Much history is against it. The present state of the heathen world is against it. We have yet to learn, that there has been a single instance, upon the face of the earth, of an ignorant and heathen people, making advances in the knowledge of God, unless they derived aid from some extraneous source. If there is such an instance, let it be produced, and let the mat-

ter be thoroughly investigated. On the other hand, the instances of deterioration are innumerable. They can be found in every period of authentic history. The Indians of our own continent are very striking examples. It can be proved from their languages alone, that they are descended from a highly cultivated race of men. But they have been sinking lower and lower, till, in regard to any theory of morals and religion, most of the tribes have sunk to the very bottom. Far from employing their minds upon such subjects, they never think of them at all. They are in a state of perfect moral darkness, so that, when asked the plainest questions, they reply without the least concern, *We do not know; our fathers never told us; we never think about it.*

After describing a visit to a place formerly used for idolatrous worship, the editor relates the following story, as having been received from a man on the spot, who was once the officiating priest.

‘One morning his father had placed the usual offering of fish and poi before the Nui Akua, or Great Spirit. The son having spent a long day in an unsuccessful fishing expedition, returned, and, tempted by hunger, devoured the food of the gods. But first he placed his hands on the eyes of the idol, and found they saw not; and then his hands into its mouth, but it did not bite; and then he threw his mantle over the image and ate; and, replacing the bowl, removed the mantle and went his way. Being reprov- ed by his father, he said, “Father, I spoke to him, and he heard not; I put my hand into his mouth, and he felt not; I placed tapa over his eyes, and he saw not; I therefore laughed and ate.” “Son,” said the old priest, “thou hast done unwisely; ’tis true the wood neither sees nor hears, but the Spirit above observes all our actions.”’ p. 201.

Now we utterly discredit this story. It has no verisimilitude. Even the children know, that hideous carved images do not see, or hear, or bite. They suppose these images to be *representations*, made according to the skill or caprice of the artist, and designed to present to the eye some memorial of material gods, who go from place to place, in the general form and figure of men, and who occasionally visit the sacred inclosures, where they are worshipped. It was known to all the people, that the food placed before the idols was not consumed by them; and generally, at least, that it was not consumed by the gods, of which these idols were the types; for nothing was

more common, than for these offerings of hogs and fruit to remain from day to day, till they became putrid and decayed. Sometimes it was pretended, we believe, and perhaps often, that the gods came in the night, and consumed the food placed before the idols.

As to the *Nui Akua*, a very doubtful phrase (which if there is anything to authorize it, would be spoken *Akua Nui*), we have never heard, that any *great god*, or *god by way of eminence*, was worshipped in Hawaii; much less, that such a god had a distinct idol made for him. And if there were such a god, there is no propriety in translating the phrase into the English words *Great Spirit*;* for the highest conceptions, which the natives had of any deity, fell as far short of even the Jupiter of the classics, as the shapeless images of wood, stone, and feathers, were inferior to the most finished statues of Phidias or Praxiteles. What then can be said of the use of the word *spirit*, the most sublime in its import (with the exception of *Jehovah*), by which Christians are accustomed to designate the God of the Scriptures. The sentiment, with which the extract closes, that 'the Spirit above observes all our actions,' was never of Polynesian origin. It sounded very prettily to the ears of the London writer, and therefore it was written down.

After these specimens of the editor's acquaintance with the religion of the natives, it may be proper to look a little at her historical memoranda.

In giving some account of Lahaina, in Maui, a choice specimen of eloquence and history is introduced, by way of episode.

The occasion was this; an insurrection broke out at Tauai, in September, 1824, when Karaimoku was on that island. He immediately sent up to the windward for a thousand armed men. A large part of them volunteered at Lahaina. Mrs Graham's account of the matter is as follows;

'At Maui the erees [that is, the chiefs] agreed it would be proper to send two hundred men in canoes; but the chiefs themselves, either dreading a renewal of the bloody scenes which had troubled them in the time of Tamehameha, or moved by the caprice or indolence of half-civilized men, seemed unwilling to join the expedi-

* For remarks on the manner of translating *Akua*, see our former review of Mr Ellis's book, No. LI, pp. 360, 361.

tion, when Kaikioeva, an aged chief, came among them, and learning the cause of their meeting, and their backwardness to go to battle, he lifted up his withered hands and said; "Hear me, ye chiefs; ye who have warred under the great Tamehameha. Karaimoku and I were born upon the same mountain in this island. We were nourished at the same breast, and our boyish sports were in common, and together we breasted yonder foaming waves. In manhood we fought side by side. When Karaimoku was wounded, I slew the chief whose spear had pierced him; and though I am now a dried and withered leaf, never be it said that Kaikioeva deserted his friend and brother in arms in time of need. Who is on Karaimoku's side? Let him launch his war canoe and follow me." This burst of eloquence, from so approved a warrior, aroused the chiefs. In an hour all the war canoes in and near Lahaina were launched, and bore six hundred men to Tauai, in time to join Karaimoku as he marched to attack the fort of Taumuarii.' pp. 99, 100.

It is true, that Kaikioeva was at Lahaina, when Karaimoku sent thither for reinforcements; that he said he would not leave his old friend, or (as Virgil expresses it more exactly) his *æquævum amicum*, unassisted in time of danger; and that this declaration had some effect in hastening the departure of the people. All the rest is either apocryphal, or positively false. Upon this account, we remark,

First, as there were but few chiefs at Lahaina, and of these Kaikioeva was the highest, it is absurd to suppose that the rest determined what to do without consulting him, and that it was only by accident that he became acquainted with what had been determined on. We believe he was governor of Maui at the time; and, if so, all the orders must have proceeded from him.

Secondly, there was not a war-canoe at Lahaina, when this celebrated speech was made; of course none could be launched. And if the shores had been lined with canoes, not one *would* have been launched; because the government possessed much better means of transportation. Not only was this the fact, but the editor *knew it to be so*; for she has recorded it (p. 192) in these words; 'The superior advantage of European vessels has, of course, as soon as felt, *superseded the use of the war-canoe.*' Tamehameha possessed European or American vessels, and profited by them, many years ago; and the use of the war-canoe had been long superseded; and yet, for the sake of a flourish, war-canoes are created at Lahaina,

in September, 1824, and launched in an hour, in sufficient numbers for the conveyance of six hundred men.

Thirdly, these war-canoes arrived at Tauai, it seems, at the very time when Karaimoku was marching to attack the fort of Taumuarii. Now it so happens, that there is but one fort in Tauai, and of that Karaimoku was in undisturbed possession, when the reinforcements arrived. He had been attacked in this fort, when the insurrection broke out; but the assailants were repulsed, and they never repeated the attack. He pursued them across the island; and if they erected any temporary defences, there could have been nothing in their possession worthy of being called a fort.

The rhetorical embellishment of the aged chief '*lifting up his withered hands,*' and calling himself a '*dried and withered leaf,*' is amusing enough to those who have been acquainted with him. Mrs Graham, being so intimately conversant with the Sandwich Islands, and their inhabitants, ought to have known, that he is a perfect model of plumpness and rotundity; that he has a smooth and shining skin; and that no alderman in the British metropolis appears at a greater remove from anything *withered*, than this same governor Kaikioeva. Thus it is, that rhetoric and history, fiction and fact are jumbled together. Many a speech has been written for a savage hero, which, if it could be repeated to him, would make him stare worse than the approach of an enemy.

We have seen in what manner the religion of the islands appeared to the editor; let us now attend to her view of the social and moral character of the people.

In the early part of the '*Voyage,*' we are cheered with the design of purifying the morals and improving the manners 'of an intelligent, cheerful, and sweet-natured people.' (p. 52.) The Quarterly Reviewer goes further, and says, that 'a more cheerful, inoffensive, hospitable, and kind-hearted people, than the Sandwich Islanders, *do not exist in any society whatever.*' And he refers to Mr Ellis's narrative, in which it appears that, among other enormities, *two thirds of the children perish by the hands of their own parents*; generally, soon after they are born, though sometimes after they are three or four years old. The same Reviewer afterwards quotes from the '*Voyage,*' an account of the great council, at which Lord Byron was present, and where 'the heroic Kapiolani then said, that on the lands belonging to herself and her husband, Naihi, she had

used every endeavor to establish laws for prohibiting robbery, murder, and, especially, drunkenness, adultery, infanticide; and, on the whole, she had been tolerably successful.' It would seem to us rather singular, that upon the first dawning of christianity upon so kind-hearted and inoffensive a people, it should be necessary to establish laws against robbery, murder, adultery, and infanticide; and that when these laws were introduced among a little community of perhaps five thousand souls, all that could be said, should be, that the experiment had been *tolerably successful*. We must think, notwithstanding the assertion of the Reviewer to the contrary, that the people of Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States, and of other countries in which christianity has prevailed, are much more inoffensive and kind-hearted, than the Sandwich Islanders in their original state.

In describing the character of a barbarous and uncivilized people, it is not easy to do exact justice, or to leave precisely the right impression. Mr Marsden always speaks of the New Zealanders, as a noble race of men, and as capable of high improvement; yet, taking any one of his journals, and perusing the whole of it, there will be little danger of mistaking their character; which is that of the most cruel, revengeful, treacherous, murderous set of cannibals to be found upon earth. Some of them, and even those who had visited England, persisted in the practice of roasting and eating their prisoners, against the strongest remonstrances of the missionaries residing among them. Indeed, it seemed at one time not improbable, that the missionaries themselves would be murdered, and their bodies used for food, by the very people for whom they were laboring, and whose friendship had been solemnly pledged. These savages, however, or their descendants, it is hoped, may become Christians; and, under the transforming influence of divine truth, may be raised to a civilized condition.

The Sandwich Islanders are not cannibals; though the inhabitants of many islands in the Pacific occasionally eat the bodies of their slaughtered enemies. Excepting cannibalism, it is difficult to mention the crime which was not perpetrated in the Sandwich Islands, without compunction and without shame. The last nine verses of the first chapter of Romans contain a far juster account of the character of the people, than can anywhere else be found in the same number of words. They were not, properly speaking, 'haters of God,'

because they had no knowledge of God, or his attributes ; nor were they remarkable for 'debate,' unless when intoxicated ; but we are unable to mention any other characteristic, in that appalling description, which did not belong to them as a people, when christianity began to exert an influence upon them.

It is said the natives were 'cheerful.' There was doubtless much rude laughter, a sort of heedless gaiety, when they met, either for their obscene songs and dances, or for other amusements. In this respect they much resembled ignorant and thoughtless children, who have been brought up in some debased and dissolute neighborhood, and who, amid their coarse jokes and idle banter, laugh at everything. Though the islanders do not appear to value human life at all, when they can gain any desirable object by killing each other, yet it has always been safe for white men to travel among them. This does not appear to be accounted for, however, by the restraining influence of moral principle. How far the policy of Tamehameha, which induced him to cultivate intercourse with foreigners, and how far the dread of civilized men, which is so common among savages, may have had an effect in this matter, we are unable to say.

The Reviewer, in another place, calls the Sandwich Islanders a 'simple-minded people,' by which we suppose he means, that they are ready to believe what they are told, and that they are frank and honest in their own declarations. This is a total mistake. Distrust and treachery are among the vices of almost all savages. For their distrust, however, they are not so much to be blamed ; because it is the result of their painful experience. This universal want of confidence is perhaps their greatest source of torment ; and it is the great evil with which missionaries have to contend, for a series of years, at the commencement of every mission. So much have savages usually seen, both among themselves and their visitors, of treachery, fraud, and villany, that they do not believe it possible, that any man should be actuated by other than selfish and sinister views. They utterly discredit professions of disinterested friendship ; though they do not always tell you so to your face. They know nothing, either from what passes within their own bosoms, or from what takes place within the range of their observation, which would make them think, that missionaries should leave their homes, and reside in a foreign land, merely for the sake of doing good. But when they have

looked on for a few years, and have witnessed the coincidence between professions and conduct; when they have seen missionaries labor patiently for the benefit of froward and heedless strangers; and when they experience the salutary influence of such labors; it is not uncommon that they yield a confidence unlimited, in the same proportion as it had been pertinaciously withheld. The Reviewer, in the case before us, seeing this confidence reposed in the American missionaries, and not knowing how laboriously, and against how many obstacles it had been won, supposed it was to be accounted for by looking at the simple-mindedness of the natives.

When the first missionaries arrived, in the spring of 1820, the mass of the people were in a state of ignorance, degradation, and misery, greater than can be imagined by any one, who has always resided in a christian country. There is no doubt, that they were much more wretched, than when the islands were discovered by Captain Cook. Two most frightful causes of calamity had been introduced by foreigners; namely, a loathsome disease, and the use of distilled spirits; and both these causes, with many others, had been in such a state of aggravation, as to threaten the islands with absolute depopulation. It is believed, on good grounds, that the number of inhabitants had diminished one half, in little more than forty years; and that the downward course was never more rapid, than at the time here alluded to. The common people were poor in the extreme, almost utterly destitute of clothing, living in hovels, with the loose straw on which they slept, and their matted hair, filled with vermin. To raise up such a people, from their degradation, did the missionaries devote their lives.

But the moral condition of the islands cannot be more forcibly represented by any one fact, than by the notorious practice of celebrating the death of a high chief by Bacchanalian and Eleusian orgies; or, in plainer language, by an unbounded license, extended through several days, for every individual to do what he pleased. One would think that now was the time for a *kind-hearted* people to show their kindness; and for an *inoffensive* people to do no harm; for here was no constraint of any kind. The theory of the custom, or what may be called *the fiction of the law*, was, that the grief of the people was so excessive, that they knew not what they did, and therefore they could not be held responsible for their conduct. In ac-

cordance with this fiction, immediately on the death of a chief being announced, a most ungovernable wailing ensued ; all the people of both sexes crying, screaming, shrieking, and expressing their sorrow by most vehement gesticulations, and working themselves up to a most extravagant frenzy. They tore out their hair, beat their breasts, knocked out their teeth, cut themselves, and struck themselves on the head, with clubs, or any hard substance, which fell in their way. Then followed a universal, promiscuous, public, shameless prostitution of females, from which neither age nor rank was exempt. In these days of riot and debauchery, robberies were perpetrated, every old grudge was remembered, and murders were not uncommon. Language is inadequate to describe the scene.

After such a recital, it is pleasing to add, that christianity has already put an end to these abominations. Keopuolani, the mother of Riho-Riho, died in September, 1823. She was, in point of rank, the highest person in the islands ; and, in pursuance of ancient custom, her death would have been the signal for the greatest enormities. But she had embraced the Gospel ; and, in anticipation, had taken measures to prevent these evils. The people wailed greatly at her decease ; but other extravagances were not witnessed.

When the news of Riho-Riho's death arrived from England, Karaimoku took special pains to abolish what remained of this practice, and was entirely successful.

As to the islanders being so kind and simple-minded, another fact may not be improper. During the slight insurrection, or rebellion, at Tauai, which has been already mentioned, Karaimoku, being then under the influence of christian principles, gave the most humane orders to his armed men, as to the treatment of their vanquished and flying adversaries. But some of the inferior chiefs yielded to their own ferocious dispositions, rather than to his orders, unnecessarily destroying both lives and property ; and there were instances of their shooting and stabbing, out of mere wantonness, infirm, helpless, aged persons, of both sexes, who had not borne arms, and who never even thought of resistance. This was not done by old soldiers, hardened in camps ; but by young men, who had never seen war before, and to whom this was the first opportunity of publicly killing their fellow-subjects, under the color of authority. In former times, as all tradition unites in declaring, wars of extermination were waged ; by which we mean,

that it was common to give no quarter, and to massacre the women and children of the vanquished party. And this mode of warfare has been practised, in other islands of the Pacific, as missionaries have witnessed with their own eyes.

When Karaimoku, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs had begun to learn something of the true religion, and to see the reasonableness of its requirements, their eyes were gradually opened to behold the enormity of their previous character and conduct. And so it was with the common people. None of them pleaded the kindness of their hearts; but all were ready to confess, that their minds had been in darkness, their hearts evil, and their conduct abominable.

Every person acquainted with the human character is aware, that no vice is more destructive of all that is noble and generous in man, and that none leaves a more indelible stain, or brings more deep and thorough debasement, than lewdness in its aggravated forms. Yet this vice is of all others least restrained throughout Polynesia. Of this fact, the editor of the 'Voyage' seems to have been not altogether unapprized. In connexion with some benefits, indirectly acknowledged, as conferred upon the natives by the American mission, we find the following sentence.

'It is to be hoped, also, that the spiritual doctrine that those gentlemen are inculcating, and the habit of universal clothing, which the chiefs, who have travelled, are desirous of introducing, will check the vice and its consequent evils, which have been too often mentioned and lamented by former visitors, to require a more serious notice here.' p. 137.

The most favorable specimen of composition, which we can give from the volume before us, is a description, of part of the funeral solemnities, on landing the remains of the king and queen at Honoruru.

'Having reached the church, which was hung with black on the occasion, the cars were drawn up before the door, and the persons of the procession formed a circle around, while the chaplain of the Blonde read the funeral service in English, and the American missionary addressed the assembly in their native tongue. The procession then, in the same order, marched to the same house, belonging to Karaimoku, where we had been received the day after our arrival.

'As soon as the coffins were deposited on the platform, the band accompanied some native singers in a funeral hymn, which

the missionaries had written and taught them to sing to the air of Pleyel's German Hymn. We could not help reflecting on the strange combination of circumstances here before us. Every thing, native-born and ancient in the isles, was passing away; the dead chiefs lay there, hidden in more splendid cerements than their ancestors had ever dreamed of; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, nor was one obscene memorial made to insult the soul as it left its earthly tenement; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the doctrines admitted that put an end to sacrifice for ever and pronounced the highest blessing on the highest purity. Where the naked savage only had been seen, the decent clothing of a cultivated people had succeeded, and its adoption, though now occasional, promises permanency at no distant period. Mingled with these willing disciples, were the warlike and the noble of the land, the most remote on the globe, teaching by their sympathy, the charities that soften, yet dignify human nature. The savage yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and as the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, uniting the instruments of Europe, and the composition of a learned musician, to the simple voice of the savage, and words, not indeed harsh in themselves, framed into verse by the industry and piety of the teachers from a remote nation, came upon the ear, it was impossible not to feel a sensation approaching to awe, as the marvellous and rapid change a few years have produced, was called up to the mind.' pp. 128—130.

This passage is known to be from the pen of Mr Bloxam, as it is distinctly remembered by the missionary, now in this country, who read parts of his journal. Several expressions in it, such as 'bloody sacrifice,' 'obscene memorial,' and 'the savage yells of brutal orgies,' do not seem to be in very exact agreement, with what was quoted respecting a 'kind-hearted and inoffensive people.'

But to let that matter rest, it would seem that a mighty transformation had taken place,—one which is here celebrated in strains of warm panegyric, and one which might naturally have excited so much respect, if not admiration, for 'the industry and piety of the teachers,' by whose persevering labor it had been effected, as to have secured them from any rude attacks throughout the volume. Such attacks, however, are made; and in such a manner, and under such circumstances, as to require investigation, and to deserve the attention of the public.

In a preceding passage, after describing the first public interview between Lord Byron and the chiefs, when he was in-

troduced to the young king, and the presents of the British government were delivered, the editor, or journalist, adds ;

‘ The ceremonies being over, and the gifts delivered, the American missionary, Mr Bingham, *who loses no opportunity of mingling in every business*, proposed prayers ; and accordingly said what may be called *a long dull grace* to the entertainment, first in English, and then, as it appeared to us, more easily in the Sandwich tongue. As soon as he had ended, refreshments were placed for us on a table.’ pp. 117, 118.

On this passage our first remark is, that we exonerate Mr Bloxam entirely from the least suspicion of having written it, or given his consent to it. Were it correct in point of fact, the expressions are so unsuitable to be used by one minister of the Gospel, in speaking of another who had treated him with kindness and respect, that we should not charge them upon him, unless compelled to do so by irresistible evidence. Happily, the presumption is the other way. The paragraph was written, probably, either by a midshipman, who stood in so remote a part of the hall as not to know what took place, or who received the account by hearsay altogether ; or by a correspondent at the islands, who is laboring to find proofs of Mr Bingham’s interference with politics ; or by the editor in London, who, seeing it mentioned in the journal, that Mr Bingham offered a prayer, may have inferred, that he proposed it himself. We are inclined to think, that the midshipmen must share the authorship of this precious *morceau* among themselves.

Now as to the truth of the statement, we are able to say, that the prayer was *not* proposed by Mr Bingham, but by Karaimoku. This was stated in the journal of the missionaries, written at the time, and since published in this country, and has lately been confirmed to us verbally, by one of them who was present. Soon after the formal introduction of Lord Byron, the delivery of the presents, and the reception of them with suitable acknowledgments, Karaimoku turned to Lord Byron, and, in a very respectful and dignified manner, expressed himself in words, which were interpreted nearly as follows ; ‘ Would it not be well to unite in a prayer of thanksgiving to Jehovah, that he has inclined the king of England to show favor to us poor people, in sending to us the remains of our king and queen, and that he has preserved you safely during the

voyage, and brought you to our islands?' To this proposal, which was made spontaneously, and without any consultation with the missionaries, Lord Byron readily assented. Karaimoku then requested Mr Bingham to offer the prayer, which was a matter of course, as he was the only missionary present who had long been in the habit of speaking the native language; and, indeed, the only ordained missionary, who resided permanently at that place.

It would not be worth while to take notice of such blunders and misrepresentations, were they not made the foundation of serious charges against the mission. It should be remembered, that where there is one impudent writer, there will be many unreflecting readers, who will take him at his word; and that, when men hold so public and responsible a station, as is held by the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, it is a serious evil, that unfavorable opinions should be extensively formed of their character, in consequence of falsehoods and misrepresentations, circulated through what are deemed respectable channels.

We must pause here to apprise our readers of the true grounds of opposition to the labors and character of the missionaries, as it has existed for the last three years. These grounds may be classed under three heads.

1. Among the visitors and foreign residents at the Sandwich Islands, there are not a few whose love of gain is much stronger than their love of morality. These people have the sagacity to see, that if the influence of the mission prevails, so as to discourage or put an end to drunkenness, there will be fewer purchasers of rum; and that, if the mass of the people learn to read and write, and become intelligent, it will not be so easy, as it has been, to make profitable bargains out of them.

2. Most visitors at the islands have been in habits of licentious intercourse with the native females. This intercourse is, through the influence of christianity, becoming more difficult.

3. The remaining cause of obloquy and opposition, is an apprehension that, as the missionaries are Americans, and are exerting a great influence upon the people, this influence will ultimately clash with that right of guardianship and protection, which is claimed for the British. Comparatively few feel the weight of this motive; but these few are very busy, and to

their activity the misrepresentations of the volume before us are principally to be attributed.

An opposition being thus formed, and fed by motives continually and briskly operating, some pretext for it must be assigned; the true reasons not being sufficiently creditable to the opposers. The missionaries had been the happy and voluntary instruments of producing a great change in the moral condition of the people. Drunkenness had been nearly prevented, though four years ago it was more prevalent than among any other people in the known world. Lewdness had been greatly restrained; and foreigners began to apprehend, that they should themselves be compelled to be more moral, or to seek the indulgence of their vicious propensities in some region, which had not experienced the power of christianity. The missionaries, as a natural consequence of their great and benevolent services, were held in high estimation by the chiefs and people. Having uniformly shown themselves to be men of truth and integrity, diligence and disinterestedness, they had established for themselves a character, such as had never been known at the islands before. The chiefs had a great regard for their advice, and would doubtless have received it gladly on any subject, on which they would be willing to give it. As the chiefs had actually made laws, which bore hard upon the vices of foreigners; as these laws had been undeniably prompted by a regard to religion; and as religion had been introduced by the missionaries only, it seems very plausible to assert, that *the missionaries had interfered with the government of the islands*. This assertion has therefore been made, and a thousand times repeated; with what truth will appear in the sequel.

The opposition has been felt toward *all* the missionaries, and their whole system of operations; but as Mr Bingham was one of the little band, who first arrived, and the only ordained missionary permanently residing at Honoruru (the seat of government and the place where foreigners principally resort), it was to be expected, that he should experience a large share of hatred, and should often be selected by name for crimination and reproach.

Beside the charge of interference with the government, there is also a heavy impeachment of the mission, on the ground of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and the numerous religious services, which have been imposed upon the natives.

Both these topics of complaint are displayed in the following long quotation from the Voyage.

‘Unhappily, the good men who, as missionaries, have abandoned the sweets of civilized society, to devote themselves to the improvement of these Islands, and in obedience to the command, “Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them,” are of a sect too austere, as we should think, for the purposes they are so anxious to promote.

‘The old tabus are indeed no more ; but they have called Sunday the *la tabu*, or consecrated day, and nothing in the heathen time could be more strictly tabued. The missionaries forbid the making of fire, even to cook, on Sunday ; they insist on the appearance of their proselytes five times at church every day ; and having persuaded them, that they are the necessary conductors to heaven, they are acquiring a degree of public and private importance, which, but for the situation of the islands, which secures a constant accession of foreigners for the purposes of commerce, would bid fair to renew the Jesuitical dominion of Paraguay. It is true they defend their system by saying, that since the tabu for the false deities was so severely kept, the proselytes might despise our doctrine, did we pay less regard to Him, whom we preach as the true God ; that, as to the not cooking on Sundays, it is no hardship, for it has always been the habit to cook enough for two or three days at a time, and to eat cold meats between the cooking days, because the mode of dressing food by fire-pits and heated stones is so very slow ; and as to the frequency and length of the prayers, the people have nothing better to do. Such are their answers. But other missionaries have found something for their catechumens to do. The Moravians at the Cape of Good Hope have taught the Hottentots, the most degraded race of men, and that nearest, before their time, to the brutes, the arts of civilized life.’ ‘We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see ; but we fear, also, that some of the love of power has mingled with the zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission.

‘We had a striking proof of their power the other night. It was Saturday ; and as Karaimoku was now well enough to enjoy a spectacle, the promise made to Boki of reserving some of the figures of the phantasmagoria, for his friends at Oahu, was recalled, and preparations were accordingly made for its exhibition. As it was a public show, every body was expected to be there ; and if Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited, it was probably because it was supposed they would come, if they

did not imagine the amusement of too worldly a nature. They had certainly due notice of it ; for that very morning one of the party had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject. How were we astonished, therefore, when all things being prepared, the company assembled, and among the rest the little king and princess, notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment ! Accordingly, the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting. Karaimoku and Kaahumanu however staid with us, and were extremely charmed with the exhibition, examining the room after it was over, and exhausting themselves in conjectures as to the manner in which it was produced.

‘The intemperate indecency of this conduct, on the part of the mission, seems to have occurred to the more reasonable among themselves. Mr Stewart was with his wife, whose health is exceedingly delicate, at some distance ; a note was sent to him, we think by Mr Bingham, to tell him what was going on. His sensible advice was, that the missionaries, with their congregation, should adjourn in a body to the theatre, see the show, and then return to prayers. This advice however was not acted upon, and our phantasms played to a thin house.

‘Mr Stewart endeavored to explain the matter as follows ;—It appears that two native teachers, who were highly regarded in the Island, and who had the more influence over their countrymen, as they spoke their own language, and were of their own kindred, had been brought up *in one of the United States*, where the Jewish method of reckoning time is observed, *and the day begins and ends at noon* ; hence the Sunday, the first day of the week, begins at noon on Saturday the seventh day ; and these teachers, having adopted this computation of time, have established Saturday meetings and exercises accordingly. This is very well so far as it goes ; but Mr Bingham, the head of the mission, uses, on all other occasions, the christian measure of time ; and he does not appear to be a person quietly to let two youths intrude with new ordinances on his *cure*.* Indeed, his own explanation admits the fact, that the meeting was of his own planning, and that having called his people together, he left the choice to themselves.’ pp. 145—150.

* ‘We have learned, by the arrival of persons who visited the islands after us, that the *almost open assumption of power by the mission* had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs. The impaired state of Karaimoku’s health rendered them very anxious, and seemed to have opened to the mission the hope of reigning in the name of the little king.’

The Quarterly Reviewer seizes upon the forgoing story with greediness, and repeats it in the following version.

‘There was one point, however, on which Lord Byron appears justly to have felt some uneasiness, and this was the tone, manner, and line of conduct of the American missionaries, particularly one of the name of Bingham. The influence which this man had acquired over the simple natives, and his uncalled for interference in petty concerns wholly unconnected with his mission, were but too manifest on several occasions, but never more openly nor more offensively, than when Boki, one Saturday evening, expressed a wish to entertain his countrymen with an exhibition of phantasmagoria. The young king and his sister, with many of the chiefs and people, had assembled to see the show, when, behold ! a message was received from this Bingham, “that on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment !” and such was the ascendancy which this man had gained, that “the two poor children were carried off in tears, and many of the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting.” Mr Stewart, another of the missionaries, ashamed of the indecency of such conduct, was anxious to explain the matter, by saying, that they followed the Jewish mode of reckoning, and considered Sunday to begin on Saturday at noon.’ No. LXX, p. 438.

We propose to give our readers a brief history of this transaction, as it really took place ; but we must anticipate the narrative a little by saying, that, after the exhibition of the magic lantern, about ten o’clock on Saturday evening, Mr Bingham learned, that the attendance of the chiefs had been small. He immediately wrote a letter to Lord Byron, with a view of explaining the misunderstanding, so far as he was able. This letter is printed in the Voyage ; for what purpose we cannot divine, as it completely falsifies all the allegations of the voyager, which are worth notice. It is preceded by a paragraph, which we first quote.

‘The following is a copy of the letter sent to Lord Byron on this occasion. It is written by the American missionary Bingham. This man is, we have no doubt, *truly zealous in the cause of religion* ; but we cannot forbear to remark, that he has in a manner thrust himself into *all the political affairs of the island*, and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes, director of consciences, *comptroller of amusements*, &c. an interference that some may regard as political, and *tending to establish an American interest in the islands*, and others, as produced by circumstances which Mr Bingham has not the prudence to avoid.’

This letter, which the editor denominates 'curious,' appears to us very suitable, and though written in haste, is such as Mr Bingham has no occasion to regret.*

The Quarterly Review says, with an air of infinite self-complacency, speaking of the American missionaries, that 'they have so little judgment, and are so little acquainted with the human heart, as to let their zeal outrun discretion on many occasions and in many shapes; and this,' adds the Reviewer, 'we knew to be the case before now.' It is to be presumed, that the foregoing extracts furnish some of the strongest proofs of the incompetency of the missionaries, which the Reviewer was able to produce; and, in this presumption, we must invite our readers to examine the subject with some attention.

When the Blonde arrived at Honoruru, just five years had elapsed from the first establishment of the mission. Within that time, the missionaries had learned the language without

* The letter here follows in full.

'Oahu, Saturday Evening.

'My Lord,

I take the liberty to address you a line, simply to acquaint you with the ground of a partial misunderstanding this evening. Though we do not regard Saturday evening as belonging to the Sabbath, yet the people have been instructed, both by Mr Ellis and ourselves, to make preparation on Saturday for the proper observance of the Sabbath. A number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, of their own accord, for social worship among themselves on Saturday evening; and were assembling for that purpose this evening. This will, I hope, account for the apparent reluctance of some of them to receive your truly kind attentions. Several asked our advice; and we told them expressly we would not detain them from the exhibition, which you had kindly proposed to show them, but would have them act their own pleasure.

'This, I assured Mr Ball, was the fact, when he came to my house for Mr Pitt.

'I have taken the liberty to make this explanation, in order to show you, that we would studiously avoid any interference in any of your intercourse with the chiefs; and while I can assure you I entertain a high sense of the honor and the kindness, which you and your honored king and highly favored country have done this nation, I cherish the hope, that those efforts on your part may, in connexion with our feeble exertions, be crowned with happy and complete success.

You will therefore allow me to be,

My Lord,

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

H. BINGHAM.'

To the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron.

those helps, which all their successors will enjoy ; adopted an alphabet ; reduced to some form, a dialect never before written ; taught all the highest chiefs to read and write ; printed elementary books ; established many schools for children and adults ; preached the Gospel to the people in their own tongue ; caused them to understand the plain principles of the Bible ; impressed upon the minds of these uncivilized hearers some just views of the government of God, the reasonableness and perfection of his laws, and the plan of salvation clearly revealed in the New Testament ; and, in short, exerted an influence which seemed likely to bring all the inhabitants into the order and happiness of christian society. Such results had been witnessed by the blessing of God upon incessant labor, endured in the midst of 'weariness and painfulness,' and many privations, in a tropical climate, by men and women, who left inviting situations in their own country, for the sole purpose of raising up pagans and foreigners from the lowest state of debasement, to the dignity of 'fellow-citizens with the saints and members of the household of God.' It would not be amiss for the editor of the 'Voyage' and the Quarterly Reviewer to reflect, that such persons ought not to be impeached before the whole civilized world, unless upon weighty and substantial grounds. And what are the grounds of impeachment, which are spread over so many quarto pages, and transferred, with such scrupulous care, that they should lose nothing, into the widely circulating sheets of the most important review in the British metropolis ? When stripped of verbiage, they all amount to the single charge, that on a certain occasion, *one of these missionaries expressed his opinion, that prayer was a fitter employment for Saturday evening, than an attendance upon an exhibition of the magic lantern ;* and the inferences are, that the missionaries impose an intolerable strictness upon the people ; that they interfere in political measures ; that they domineer over the chiefs ; that they have acquired a threatening influence over the conscience ; that, through this influence, they aim at the government of the islands ; and that, to crown the whole, they are destitute of common sense. Now we insist, in the name of justice, that this whole string of inferences be stricken out of the indictment. Not one of them follows from the mere fact, that a missionary should think an established religious service a better preparation for the Sabbath, than attending an exhibition of phantasmagoria. Even

if the expression of such an opinion were erroneous and absurd, still so long a chain of inferences cannot be attached to it. Supposing Mr Bingham had expressed an opinion, which *seemed* rather indiscreet, would not candor require, that all the circumstances of the case should be known, before sentence should be pronounced against him? Is it probable, that the journalist knew these circumstances? and if not, how could he decide whether the alleged opinion were indiscreet, or not? Mr Bingham may have known very little of the manner in which the exhibition had been invited, or of the inconvenience of delaying it? It is said, indeed, by the voyager, that 'Mr Bingham and friends had due notice of it; for that very morning *one of the party* had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject.' And is this the way of administering justice? Is every member of the mission to be supposed, without any proof, to know every thing, which has been communicated to every other member? Missionaries have many things to do; and, in their numerous avocations, even the proposed exhibition of a magic lantern may have arrested very little of their attention; especially as it was no business of theirs, and they were not even invited to be present.

Again; the voyager could not tell on the spot, nor can we, or the Quarterly Reviewer, tell, how important the religious service was considered by the chiefs, or what consequences were apprehended from their suffering it to be displaced by a mere amusement. But till all these things are known, it is impossible to pronounce a fair and equitable sentence.

The article in the 'Voyage,' and that in the Review, are intended to affect the reputation of the *whole mission*; and this it will do, so far as its representations are credited. But is such a course candid, fair, and honorable? Mr Bingham was but one missionary out of twelve, of whom eight were at that time preachers of the Gospel; and all these preachers, except Mr Stewart and himself, were laboring on other islands. Shall the supposed, or assumed, mistake of *one*, in regard to so small a matter as an evening's amusement, be imputed, as a serious offence to those, who were a hundred miles off, and who, perhaps, will never have heard of the transaction till the Quarterly Review shall meet their eyes?

We have gone thus far upon the admission, that Mr Bingham expressed the opinion imputed to him; but we now deny

the fact altogether. There is not the slightest proof of it; and Mr Bingham's letter affords a strong presumption against it.

It may be well to state here, as briefly as possible, the real facts and circumstances of the case; and, in making this statement, we shall rely upon the published account of Mr Stewart, and upon verbal communications received from that gentleman, who was personally present with Mr Bingham, at the time of his alleged interference; whereas, neither Mr Bloxam nor Mrs Graham, nor the midshipmen, were thus present.

While Boki and his party were on their passage from England, they were amused with the wonders of the magic lantern; and Boki, apprehending that these wonders would be exhausted, begged that the show might proceed no further; and that some part of it might be preserved for the gratification of his friends at the islands. One Saturday morning, when Kaahumanu, a female of high rank and now principal regent, was breakfasting on board the *Blonde*, the magic lantern was mentioned, and the inquiry made, when she would like to see the exhibition. She replied, *this evening*; either not reflecting what day of the week it was, or not adverting to the regularly appointed religious services, to which some of the chiefs had recently begun to attend, on Saturday evening.* Not long after, that is, some time in the forenoon, Lord Byron met with Mr Stewart, and informed him of the appointment; to which Mr Stewart made no objection, saying, that he presumed the chiefs would be highly gratified. Not considering the intimation of Lord Byron in the light of an invitation, he did not mention the fact to the other missionaries. What is more remarkable, Kaahumanu did not mention the appointment to any of the chiefs. This omission was probably the result of mere inattention or forgetfulness.

Toward evening the chiefs began to assemble for their religious service, which had been established and was conducted by themselves alone, and to which some of them were strongly attached. At this moment, the phantasmagoria occurred to the mind of Kaahumanu; and she inquired what was to be done. The general voice was, that the religious service should

* The occasion of the meeting, which interfered with Kaahumanu's appointment, was as follows. Kapiolani and her husband Naihi had recently come down from Hawaii, where a religious meeting for Saturday evening, had been some time established. At their instance, a similar meeting was commenced at Honoruru. The missionaries neither originated nor conducted it, nor were they expected to be present.

proceed, and the amusement should be deferred till Monday night. A messenger was despatched to Lord Byron; but all was too late. His lordship and suite, with the band of music, were rapidly approaching. The messenger met them at the gate; and, not having received any discretionary orders, cried *tabu*, and shut the gate; as much as to say, *You must not come; all ingress is forbidden*. This was, indeed, quite unceremonious, and not very civil to Lord Byron, who had come by express appointment, and merely out of kindness to do the chiefs a pleasure. It was natural, therefore, that he should speak with some decision, and call upon a native interpreter to know the occasion of such treatment. The native, not being able to speak much English at best, and being greatly disturbed by the apprehension that Lord Byron was displeased, did not express himself intelligibly; but could only say something about *chiefs*, and *prayers*, and *tabu*, and *Sabbath*, and *missionaries*. He probably meant something like this; *that, before the Sabbath, the chiefs were in the habit of attending prayers, or of holding meetings of a similar character with those, which were held by missionaries*. On hearing this explanation, such as it was, Lord Byron thought it very strange, that an appointment of a religious service should be made at such a time, and in such circumstances. The chiefs, seeing him discomposed, and wishing neither to give up a solemn meeting, nor to afford any cause of offence, walked to one of the mission houses, where Mr Bingham and Mr Stewart were together. This was the time, when Mr Bingham is stated by the Quarterly Reviewer to have acted so ‘offensively.’ On hearing the circumstances of the case, Mr Bingham declined saying more than that he did not think it wrong for those to attend the amusement, who felt disposed to do so; and that he thought it should be left to the inclination of each individual. The chiefs, acting according to this suggestion, went, some of them to the exhibition, and some to the prayer meeting, which was removed at a little distance. Some left the show in disgust, and retired to the prayer meeting. The young king was persuaded to be present at the entertainment, where he witnessed the whole; and with him Karaimoku and Kaahumanu stayed to the close. The minds of the chiefs were discomposed by the various blunders of the evening. Uncivilized men, of all others, do not like to enter upon a party of pleasure by compulsion, or while in a state of disappointment. The young princess would

not leave her hiding-place ; and, as the voyager correctly says, ' the phantasms were played to a thin house.'

It afterwards appeared, that Lord Byron felt more than any thing else the seeming interference between his intended kindness to the natives and a religious service appointed, as he then supposed, by the missionaries. When he became acquainted with all the facts, and learned the true cause of the disappointment, he declared himself, in a note now in the possession of Mr Stewart, to be perfectly satisfied, and added that the transaction had left upon his mind no impression unfavorable to the mission.

After this narrative, let us advert to the errors in the statement of the voyager. It is not true, that ' notice was given, that, on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment ;' nor that ' the two poor children were carried away in tears ;' nor that ' the chiefs and people followed to the missionary meeting,' as there *was no missionary meeting* ; nor that ' Mr Stewart was at some distance,' he being in the house with Mr Bingham ; nor that ' a note was sent to him by Mr Bingham,' or any one else, ' to tell him what was going on,' as he was, in fact, the only one of the missionaries who previously knew ; nor that he ' advised the missionaries and their congregation to adjourn in a body to the theatre,' as he had no thought of attending the exhibition, and had not even mentioned it to his brethren ; nor that he ' explained the matter by a reference to the Jewish Sabbath ;' nor that the ' native youths were educated in one of the United States, where the day begins and ends at noon.' Mr Stewart did not even know, till the Reviewer informed him, that the Jewish Sabbath began at Saturday noon, nor that the people in any one of the United States followed the Jews in this respect.

Nor does Mr Bingham's letter admit, ' that the meeting was of his own planning.' On the contrary, it implies that the meeting was planned by others, where it says, that ' a number of chiefs have been accustomed of late to assemble, *of their own accord*, for social worship.' The reference to Mr Ellis, and to the general course of instruction on the subject of preparing for the Sabbath, was doubtless intended to show his lordship, that the idea of a religious meeting of some sort, or in some circumstances, on Saturday evening, was no new thing ; and that therefore the chiefs, in commencing and maintaining such a meeting were not acting from mere whim, or

sudden impulse. Nine or ten errors are rather too many for so short a piece of history. The Reviewer adds to the number by saying, without *even the color of authority*, that Mr Bingham sent a message to the meeting ; or, to use his delicate and urbane language, '*Behold ! a message was received from this Bingham ;*' a most inexorable message, indeed, if, as the Reviewer affirms, 'such was the ascendancy which this man had gained, that "the two poor children [the young king of the islands and his sister] were carried off in tears."'

This message, with its appalling consequences to the poor children, and all the portentous evils which were indicated by it, are sheer fabrications.

The voyager says, 'that every body was expected to be there, though Messrs Bingham and friends were not expressly invited ;' and his reasons for expecting every body to be present are, 'that it was a public show,' and the missionaries 'certainly had due notice of it.' It is true that Mr Stewart was told by Lord Byron himself, that the magic lantern was to be exhibited *to the natives, at the solicitation of Kaahumanu ;* and that he replied, that he thought the natives would be pleased. But does this prove that Mr Stewart *knew* that the show was to be public ? or that he was bound to consider this incidental conversation as a notice to attend ? And was the show public in fact ? Were the sea-captains, and other foreign residents, admitted as a part of the company ? The voyager does not say they were ; and, if they had been, we think the house would not have been so *thin*, as it is represented to have been.

The indictment preferred against Mr Bingham is, that he interferes with the petty concerns of the natives, by *controlling their amusements, directing their consciences, &c.* The only proof worth mentioning, produced by the voyager, is the letter of Mr Bingham, by which it appears, that he neither controlled the amusements, nor directed the consciences of the chiefs ; unless it be a direction of conscience to have said, that it was *not a case of conscience at all*, and that he saw no objection to the chiefs *doing just as they pleased*. The accuracy of the statements in this letter is not doubted by the voyager ; and yet he seems to exult in having made out his charge. This is the most remarkable prosecution we ever heard of. The accuser produces no proof in support of his allegation, not a single particle of evidence being brought home to Mr

Bingham; but he volunteers on the other side, and proves, what no accused party is bound to do in order to his complete defence, *a decided negative of the whole charge.*

About three weeks after this affair, a general council of the chiefs was held, at which the young king was confirmed as the successor of Riho-Riho, a regency was appointed during his minority, some salutary laws approved, and a formal approbation given to missionary labors. Lord Byron, his officers, and the missionaries were present by invitation. The chiefs expressed their opinions at considerable length, the substance of which is given in the 'Voyage.'

'Lord Byron was now called upon to speak, when he presented to Karaimoku and the other chiefs, *a paper containing a few hints* concerning their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure, and if they approved of them, to adopt them as their own, but not as the dictates of the British government, *which had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who must be the best judges of what suited the people.*'

pp. 154, 155.

The wisdom and propriety of Lord Byron's conduct, as exhibited in this paragraph, must be obvious to every person; especially in two particulars, his communicating his thoughts in writing, and his expressly disclaiming any right of himself as an agent of the British government to interfere in the political affairs of the country. It would have been well, if every subsequent visiter of the islands had imitated this truly excellent example.

The transactions of the council, *in regard to the mission*, are not accurately related by the voyage.

'A conversation then ensued among the chiefs on the subject of the missionaries; and Lord Byron was asked if the king of England had any objection to the settling of the American mission in the Islands, and instructing the people. His lordship said that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing up a *code of laws for the people*, and to this he *decidedly objected*; but so long as these gentlemen did not interfere with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.

'Mr Bingham, in behalf of the mission, stated, that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the nation; being expressly prohibited by their commission, and their public and

private instructions from their patrons, from any such interference; that they act under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts, for the sole purpose of propagating the Gospel among the heathen; that it is not for the mission to give laws to the nation, nor to interfere with the authority of the chiefs, nor to engage in commercial speculations, nor to be known otherwise than as propagators of the Gospel; but, taking the Bible as their guide, their object in residing in these islands is, to enlighten the nation in the doctrines and duties of christianity, that they may obtain its everlasting rewards. This he repeated in the vernacular tongue; and the council then broke up.' pp. 155, 156.

We are authorized by an eye-witness to say, that Lord Byron did not express any suspicion, that the missionaries would interfere with the political affairs of the natives. He was called upon, as a public man, and perhaps unexpectedly, to declare his opinion of the object and designs of the missionaries, and nothing could be more proper than to ask for a public statement of what that object and those designs were. Such a statement was promptly given by the missionaries, in the English language, and in the language of the natives, and a copy in English was handed to Lord Byron. How much use the voyager made of this written statement, or how closely he adhered to it, we do not know. He is perfectly correct, however, in saying, that the missionaries then disclaimed (as they have uniformly done on other occasions) all interference with commercial pursuits or political measures.

Perhaps some of our readers may not see the necessity of disclaiming particular designs, unless these designs were, at the time, imputed to the missionaries. It may be well, therefore, to say, that profligate and interested men, who hated the moral influence of the mission, and wished to plunge the natives into deeper and still deeper debasement, have made such allegations against the missionaries, without the least regard to truth or probability, as would be likely to have an unfavorable effect upon the minds of these ignorant people. Among the various causes of alarm are to be numbered, the design of the missionaries to get the lands of the chiefs, to transfer the islands to the United States, to get political influence, to meddle with commerce, and, especially, the tendency of their measures to *offend the English*, and to *bring upon the islands the displeasure of the British government*. This last cause of

suspicion was working great evils in the summer of 1822, when it was dissipated by the arrival of the Deputation of the London Missionary Society, who convinced the chiefs, that it was groundless. When Boki arrived in the Blonde, he stated, that the king of England was friendly to the designs of the missionaries; and here was Lord Byron on the spot, a representative of the English government, who might be called upon in public council, to confirm these statements of Boki. The chiefs did not need to be informed what were Lord Byron's private sentiments concerning the mission. They already knew him to be friendly to every social and moral improvement. But they wanted a public declaration, which could be referred to, as a matter of notoriety, for the purpose of repelling future slanders.

After the statement of the missionaries, Lord Byron said, that, so long as they adhered to their instructions, and acted conformably to their professions, they would be highly deserving the patronage and favor of the chiefs and people. His design obviously was, not to intimate any suspicion, that the missionaries would depart from their instructions; but to make *their public declaration* the basis of *his public approval*; and in this manner it becomes every public functionary to act.

The voyager does Lord Byron great injustice, by making him say of the missionaries, '*that he could not object* to their instructing the natives in reading, and in the christian religion.' The fact was, he gave a warm and decided recommendation, founded, as we have said, upon the public declarations, which had just been made.

We have alluded to Boki's report of an interview with the king of England. This took place at Windsor, some weeks after the death of Riho-Riho. Boki stated at the islands, that the king walked with him through many apartments, and talked with him a good deal. Mrs Graham gives the following account of the interview.

'Boki, who had kept a journal during his residence in England, made very full notes of what passed at this audience. Since his return to his native land, he writes, that he has read these notes so often to the different chiefs, that he has become very hoarse. We regret much that a copy of this journal was not procured while Boki was on board of the Blonde.' p. 74.

We are rather incredulous, as to the extent of Boki's notes;

for he never held the pen of a ready writer. Still he was *able* to write in his own language, though rather clumsily. But whether he wrote down the words of George the Fourth, or not, it is certain that they made a deep impression upon his mind. These words he repeated publicly, and often. He said, that when he inquired of the king, whether preachers were good men, his Majesty answered, 'Yes; and they are men to make others good. I have always some of them by me; for chiefs are not wise like them. We in England were once like the people in your islands; but this kind of teachers came, and taught our fathers; and now you see what we are.' And again; 'You and your people must take good heed to the missionaries; for they were sent to enlighten you and do you good. They came not for secular purposes, but by a divine command, to teach you the word of God. The people would therefore all do well to attend to instruction, and to forsake stealing, drunkenness, war, and everything evil, and to live in peace.' This advice certainly well became the ruler of an enlightened christian nation; and it would be happy, if all the king's subjects would imitate the liberality, which is indicated by this advice of their sovereign.

After all that we have said, respecting the positive errors and misrepresentations of the '*Voyage*,' the faults of omission are scarcely less remarkable. There is, in many cases, a studied silence respecting the missionaries, which can only be accounted for, by supposing either the voyager, or the editor, to have been actuated by a most unmanly jealousy towards them; either because they were Americans, or because they were not clergymen of the church of England. The Blonde first touched at Lahaina in Maui, where Boki and his suite first landed. Lord Byron conversed for an hour or two with Mr Richards, the missionary residing there, and made many inquiries respecting the islands and the mission. How natural it would have been for a voyager, who was evidently in the most pressing want of materials, to record some of the information thus collected? How natural for a man, who had been eight months within the sides of a ship, to mention his satisfaction at finding a gentleman of intelligence and education, with whom he could converse on the state of these interesting islands. It is highly probable that Mr Bloxam had something of this kind. It seems scarcely possible it should

have been otherwise. But not even the name of Mr Richards is mentioned in the book.

After the *Blonde* had been at Honoruru in Oahu several weeks, and Lord Byron was about to visit Waiakea, on the eastern side of Hawaii, accommodations were kindly afforded to Mr and Mrs Stewart, that they might accompany him in the frigate. The occasion of this polite and generous attention was the ill health of Mrs Stewart, which, it was hoped, might be relieved by a short voyage. During this voyage, of a month in duration, Lord Byron was always affable, and frequently conversed with Mr Stewart in the most free and familiar manner. They went to the volcano together; descended into its immense crater at the same time; and together beheld the terrific glare of its fires by night. Yet no mention is made by the voyager of this generous conduct of his commander; nor is it even intimated, that Mr Stewart was ever on board the *Blonde*. This is the more strange, as Mr Bloxam and Mr Stewart showed their journals to each other; and Mr Bloxam wrote some complimentary verses, which have appeared in Mr Stewart's journal, as printed in one of our periodical publications.

While at Waiakea, a party was formed to ascend the highest mountain on the island. Mr Goodrich, the missionary of the place, was one of the party. Some of the officers of the *Blonde* also belonged to it. The rest of the party failing from fatigue and cold, Mr Goodrich continued to ascend, and reached the highest peak alone. This general account is given in the 'Voyage;' but the name of the missionary is suppressed; nor is the nature of the enterprise described. The fact is, that Mr Goodrich performed an exploit, which Baron Humboldt would have celebrated with enthusiasm. He travelled many miles in the night, after leaving his exhausted companions; continued to ascend till the atmosphere was so rare, as almost to forbid further exertion; passed over large tracts of frozen snow, which was so slippery as to make walking dangerous; found difficulty in deciding which was the highest peak; at last succeeded in selecting and climbing it; and there, at three o'clock in the morning, the moon shining brightly, he stood in that sublime solitude, upon the top of a vast cone, rising out of the Pacific to the limits of perpetual congelation. But this was not thought worthy of being mentioned in the 'Voyage;' the small talk, which is introduced

into that meagre volume, being considered as of more importance.

The last time that Lord Byron was on shore, he breakfasted at Mr Bingham's by invitation. This was perhaps eight weeks after the phantasmagoria, and six after the council, at which so much coldness and jealousy of the mission would seem, from the accounts of the voyager, to have been apparent. At this last interview, on the very day of his leaving the islands, Lord Byron made himself very agreeable; said many civil things; and appeared to enjoy the society around him. Being more acquainted with Mr Stewart, than with any other missionary, he inquired confidentially in private, what, in Mr Stewart's opinion, had been the effect of the visit of the Blonde upon the minds of the chiefs, and the missionaries. This inquiry was frankly answered by the declaration, that a most happy impression had been made, and that Lord Byron would leave the islands with the affectionate respect, the prayers, and the blessing of the missionaries. He replied that, should he arrive safely in England, it would give him pleasure to meet the inquiries of the christian public with a decided testimony to the usefulness and success of the mission. This pledge was honorably redeemed, immediately on his lordship's arrival in London, before a large assembly, the late Joseph Butterworth, M. P. in the chair. Mr Stewart arrived in London soon afterwards, there met Lord Byron, and received from him the same courteous treatment as at the islands. And yet, unless we are mistaken, it does not appear from the '*Voyage*,' that this commander *ever* *deigned to speak to a missionary*; or *that he ever did a kindness to any member of the American mission*.

Nor would it seem, that the chaplain had any more intercourse with the missionaries, than his captain had. Is it possible, that Mr Bloxam should have written a journal, in which there is not a single mention of his having spoken with ministers of the Gospel, who were almost daily in his company for more than two months; and who were employed in the greatest and most honorable labors, to which human agency is ever applied? and when these labors were cheered with prospects of the most encouraging and delightful nature?

There is another strange deficiency in this compilation from the journal of a chaplain. While the Blonde was at the islands, the principal chiefs were proposed as candidates for making a

public profession of religion, after having long had the subject under consideration, and being thought to give sufficient evidence that they understood, and cordially embraced the great principles of the Gospel. Two of these chiefs, who had the greatest influence, namely, Karaimoku and Kaahumanu, are frequently mentioned in the 'Voyage;' and always in terms of respect. Not a word is said, however, about their religious character, or their knowledge of the New Testament. This is the more remarkable, as Mr Bloxam was on board the frigate with Kaahumanu and her sister Piia during the short voyage which has been mentioned. On the whole, the chaplain either had a singular taste, as to the selection of interesting facts to be entered in his journal, or the best part of his lucubrations has been omitted.

The voyager, for the sake of telling a good story, has related, in very glowing language, the visit of a chief woman, Kapiolani, to the crater of the great volcano; and the Reviewer, being ignorant of all the principal facts and circumstances, has made this story the foundation of a series of remarks, designed not only to disparage the labors of the missionaries, but to cover their characters with contempt. We cannot afford room for quoting the obnoxious passages; but affirm that the whole is a misrepresentation.

It is worthy of notice, that when missionary attempts are just beginning, the general opinion of philosophical writers seems to be, that *nothing can be done*; that the superstitions of the heathen are so inveterate, and their minds so besotted and obtuse, and the customs of fifty generations so irresistible, that it would be vain to attempt a reformation. The condition of these ancient nations cannot be altered. The children must be like the fathers, through all the future ages of the world. But when, after years of patient toil, and many discouragements, a moral revolution has been effected; after the debased idolater, and the cruel savage, have been raised to the dignity and comfort of civilized life, and brought under the pure and holy influence of religious truth, it is then found out, that this mighty transformation is one of the easiest things that was ever conceived of. The change itself is ascribed to some trifling cause; and the missionaries, far enough from receiving any credit for what they have done, are unmercifully chastised for not having done more, in less time, and in a more easy, rational, and agreeable manner. It were to be wished,

that cold, unfeeling critics, who sneer at the labors of missionaries without knowing anything about them, would set the world an example of what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, could accomplish. This they have not yet condescended to do ; but there are multitudes of men, on whom they could make the experiment ; and every philanthropist will rejoice to see light beaming forth from any quarter, however unexpected.

In one of the quotations, which we have made from the ' Voyage,' much is said of the strict observance of the Sabbath, and of the unauthorized and unreasonable requirements of the missionaries. We have a strong suspicion, that these charges were compiled in London, not from anything written by Mr Bloxam, or the midshipmen ; but that they were derived from a source entirely independent of the Blonde. Our principal reasons are, that none of the officers of that frigate were known to entertain or express opinions so entirely at variance with fact, as those in the paragraph alluded to ; but an individual now residing at the islands has frequently, since the Blonde left them, made numerous statements of the same general nature with these, and distinguished equally by a settled hostility to the mission, and a total disregard of truth. But let us recur to the charges. It is said, in substance,

1. That the missionaries induce the natives to observe the Sabbath with unnecessary rigor. The only proof adduced is, that the natives are forbidden to make a fire for cooking on that sacred day. Mr Stewart has sufficiently explained that matter by saying, that the work of preparing food and cooking it, is the work of a large part of a day. This work is not ordinarily performed by the people more frequently than once in three, four, or five days ; and therefore it is obviously proper that it should not be performed on the Sabbath. The missionaries do indeed desire, that the Sabbath should be consecrated to those religious purposes, for which it was designed.

2. The missionaries are said to '*insist on their proselytes appearing at church five times every day.*' Were it not that this charge is carefully distinguished from the one, which relates to the Sabbath, we should be inclined to the charitable conclusion, that the writer intended, by the phrase *every day*, no more than *every day of religious worship*, that is, *every sabbath*. But, as the words now stand, such a construction cannot be admitted. It would not be true, indeed, if it were confined to the Sabbath ; but the falsehood would not have

been so glaring. Did the writer expect to be believed, when he said, that the missionaries *insisted* on their proselytes appearing at church *thirtyfive times a week*? Mr Stewart says, there were but three public meetings in a week, designed for the people generally; namely, two on the Sabbath, and one on Wednesday evening. Beside these assemblages, there were Sabbath schools, catechetical exercises, and various other more retired meetings, as in Great Britain and America. As to the reasons, which the voyager puts into the mouths of the missionaries, it is superfluous to remark, that they have received a coloring, which destroys their identity. Something may have been said, which was taken as the occasion of these apologies; but in so different a connexion, and with so different an application, as to make the use of them here an utter perversion.

We have now done with the 'Voyage,' and shall direct the attention of our readers for a few moments to the Reviewer. He does not confine himself to the Voyage of the Blonde, but has had access to letters of Captain Beechey, commander of the sloop of war Blossom, who touched at the islands in the spring of 1826, on his way to meet captain Franklin, beyond Bering's Strait. This captain is said to be a man of intelligence; but, owing to his national prejudices, or some other cause, he was most egregiously imposed upon by the individual, to whom many slanders against the missionaries can be directly traced. We speak advisedly here; for we can prove in a court of justice, that some of the stories, told by Captain Beechey, were told before his arrival at the islands, *and in the same words*, by the individual referred to; and what is more, we can prove the stories to be utterly false.

The substance of Captain Beechey's charges is, that the missionaries, by the multiplicity of their religious observances, are withdrawing the people from agricultural labors, and thus leading them into poverty, misery, and civil war. Now it might have been well if the captain had inquired, whether, in the history of the human race, it has ever occurred that learning to read and understand the Bible has produced such effects as these. But let us examine his facts. 'Thousands of acres of land,' says he, 'that before produced the finest crops, are now sandy plains.'

The mission began to exert a considerable influence in the year 1824, about two years before Captain Beechey's arrival.

This is rather a short time for producing an effect so deleterious, as to change a fruitful country into sandy plains. But it happens, that all the sandy plains seen by Captain Beechey, or his informer, have been in the same situation as at present for many years. Some of them are mentioned by voyagers in the year 1804, which was sixteen years before the arrival of the first missionaries. There is no doubt that more land was formerly cultivated than at present, and that the islands were far more populous than now. There is as little doubt, that the depopulation was occasioned by the original vices of the people, greatly aggravated by the vices derived from Englishmen in the first instance, and Americans afterwards. If this depopulation should continue, it will not be owing to the Bible, or the missionaries, but to the opposition of abandoned white men to the only principles, which are of sufficient efficacy to redeem and save a sinking people.

Probably Captain Beechey does not know, that the natives, before the missionaries arrived, were accustomed to spend whole weeks together, congregated by thousands, for public games and dances, during which seasons of revelry, the most disgusting licentiousness prevailed. Is it credible, that such a people should be rendered more idle and improvident, by exchanging their games of chance for reading and writing, and their public dances for the intelligent worship of the true God?

Again, we are told by the captain, that 'provisions are so extremely scarce, that not long since the king sent to beg a little bread of the American consul.' It is curious to observe what sort of evidence is here relied on. The king, a boy thirteen years old, asked of an American a little bread, a foreign article; and this is to prove an extreme scarcity of provisions! Suppose one of the English nobility, who once lived at Rome, or Naples, but who now resides in London, should send to one of his acquaintance, and beg a little vermicelli, would it prove the existence of famine in the British metropolis? Mr Stewart expresses the opinion, that the present king, boy as he is, has never seen a day, since he received the title of king, in which he could not immediately provide for a thousand men.

During the year 1826, the port of Honoruru was visited by more than a hundred foreign vessels, many of them having large crews, and staying one, two, and three months. After long voyages, the men consume large quantities of fresh

provisions, vegetables, and fruits; and, on going to sea, they take from forty to sixty barrels of potatoes, taro, &c. for each vessel. It would not be strange, if, in such circumstances, there should be a scarcity of those provisions, which are most in demand; especially when it is considered, that the people have never been encouraged to industry, by having the fruits of their labor at their own disposal. But what is the fact? In the year 1822, the mission had produced little effect upon the mass of the people. The same port was visited that year by less than fifty vessels. The price of provisions was dearer than at any time since; and almost twice as dear, as at the time when Captain Beechey was predicting a famine. Christianity is now pleading for the rights of the common people, and inducing the chiefs to be mild, and merciful, and just to them; and, in this way, unless the benevolent designs of the missionaries are frustrated by ill disposed foreigners, the encouragement to industry will be so great, as to secure an abundance of the productions of the soil. This, while it essentially aids the natives in the process of civilization, will afford a most grateful supply to the numerous ships which traverse the Pacific.

The Reviewer supposes, that the idleness, poverty, misery, and the forebodings of future evil, so strongly described by Captain Beechey, were brought upon the poor simple natives, by the missionaries having preached against neglecting *the one thing needful*; thus inducing the people to spend all their time in religious pursuits, and leaving no time for the concerns of this world.

Again, says the Reviewer, 'the apprehension of civil war, expressed by Captain Beechey, appears to be owing to another text of Scripture, which says, that in the kingdom of heaven none is before or after another, none is greater or less than another; which, as the American teachers apply and expound it, is exactly to tell these poor creatures, that "all men are equal," a doctrine which Mr Bingham's countrymen are more ready to preach than to practise.' The Reviewer has not given us chapter and verse for the text, that prompted to so mischievous and seditious an exposition; which is the more to be regretted, as, in the course of our reading the Bible, we have never fallen upon any such passage of Scripture. But is the Reviewer seriously afraid, that men should be taught that they have rights? The Gospel has delivered many

nations from cruel bondage ; but it has never yet enslaved any, nor authorized or prompted sedition and violence. Its pacific tendency has already been felt at the islands, in more instances than one.

As to Captain Beechey's stories about Tahiti and Tubuai, they are all second hand, and were coined in the same mint with the others. He was so far imposed upon, as to believe that many of these islanders had died, because they were too lazy to cook oftener than once a week, and were therefore in the habit of eating sour food. This produced 'complaints in the stomach, and carried them off.' Such is the story. The fact is, however, that the Sandwich Islanders, and probably other islanders of the Pacific, keep their food, till it has fermented, because they prefer it in this state. And as to health, there probably is not a more nutritious diet in the world, than that of the people at the Sandwich Islands, of which sour *poi* (an esculent vegetable, cooked, pounded, made into paste, and fermented) is the principal article. The chiefs, who always have an abundance of this food, are men of enormous size. We are informed in the 'Voyage,' that Kuakini (John Adams) then only twenty-seven years old, weighed three hundred and sixty-four pounds, avoirdupois. He is six feet three inches high, and so well proportioned as not to have the appearance of great corpulency. Several of the chief women are said to weigh more than three hundred pounds each ; and yet they have been eating sour *poi* all their lives.

After all, Captain Beechey 'admits,' says the Reviewer, 'that the missionaries are entitled to every credit, for having succeeded in abolishing human sacrifices and the prevailing crime of infanticide.' Indeed ! Entitled to every credit ! And shall not those, who have shown themselves capable of accomplishing the greater, do something toward accomplishing the less ? Will men, who have weakened, and finally broken the bands of a depraving superstition, and raised up the most abject of their race to dignity and virtue, be found inadequate to the task of inculcating the duties of social and civil life ? It would not have been amiss, if Captain Beechey and the Reviewer had patiently inquired what the missionaries had done, and in what manner they had done it, before they were stigmatized as wanting in common sense.

There are, in the course of the Review, several glowing descriptions of the good done by missionaries, in numerous

islands of the Pacific; but they were *native missionaries*, sent from islands, previously converted to christianity, to other islands remaining in their idolatrous state. They were instructed, however, and fitted for their work by missionaries of European origin; and this should have led to some favorable conclusions respecting the labors of those, who first introduced christianity into Polynesia.

The Reviewer, taking the hint from a passage in the 'Voyage,' which we have already quoted, commends the example of the Moravians, and eulogizes their labors, at the expense of all other missionary efforts. We are very sure that these writers have not a higher opinion of the Moravians, and their persevering and faithful exertions, than we have long entertained. It has, however, been the fashion of late, with those who dislike missions generally, to praise the Moravians highly, on two accounts, which are set forth as peculiar to them; namely, their declining to preach the higher points of doctrine, and their teaching their converts to be industrious. The title of these good missionaries to praise for the first reason, is more than questionable; for no men were ever more assiduous in proclaiming what they deemed the peculiar doctrines of christianity. On these they build their hope of success; and they fortify themselves by the results of experience, now extended nearly through a century. Their industry is indeed worthy of high commendation; and though it may not have been surpassed, it has been successfully imitated by missionaries of several other denominations.

If the Moravians had attempted to benefit the Sandwich Islanders, they would have labored to make piety, temperance, justice, purity of mind, and chastity, as well as industry, universal. Had they succeeded according to their desire, no lewd, abandoned, fraudulent visiter, could have touched at the islands, with the least hope of gratifying his brutal or selfish desires. And how would this state of things have been relished? Would it not have called forth slander, abuse, misrepresentation, and malignant opposition? The Moravians have not been without experience of these evils. In the course of the last century, among other enterprises of benevolence, they commenced a mission to the Indians, in the borders of what is now one of the United States. Here they were traduced and vilified by their white neighbors, almost as much as Mr Bingham and his associates have been slandered at the Sand-

wich Islands. The Moravians were also accused of interfering in politics ; and this brought great odium and severe persecution upon them ; though the charge was utterly groundless.

We will here take occasion to say a word on the manner in which the islands of the Pacific became inhabited. It is found that the natives of Polynesia, from New Zealand to the Sandwich Islands, are one people, having the same manners and customs, and speaking the same language ; and this fact is sufficient to silence forever the infidel objection, that mankind could not have descended from one pair, because the different parts of the earth could not have been thus peopled. If the islands of the Pacific, whose inhabitants are all ignorant savages, are descended from a common stock, as they certainly are, we need not be greatly troubled about the alleged impossibility of peopling any part of the world with the descendants of Noah. The question *how* these islands were first settled, is not very easy of solution. Tradition is nearly silent respecting it. History discloses nothing. The Reviewer is not at all puzzled, however, with any difficulties of the case. After deciding that the people are oriental, he says, ' their dispersion over the Pacific is easily accounted for, by the constant easterly winds, which at various times, and in various directions, may have blown fishing canoes from the Asiatic islands to those scattered over the Pacific, and from one of these islands to another ; which last accident, indeed, is constantly happening at the present day.' Let no man despair of a theory to suit any exigency after this. The *constant easterly winds*, which are commonly called trade winds, have, it would seem, the astonishing property of blowing canoes from the west to the east ; so that, by this new species of attraction, these canoes, against the will of their owners, against the waves and currents, and *against the winds themselves*, have traversed the wide Pacific, and carried the ancestors of the present inhabitants to every island.

Just before the number of the Quarterly Review, containing the article on the Sandwich Islands, issued from the press, a letter was received in London, which, as it reiterates the charges against the American missionaries, the Reviewer was very eager to introduce, though at the distance of more than a hundred pages from the principal article. The letter purports to have been written by Boki, governor of Oahu, and brother of Karamoku. It is unquestionably a forgery, and a very glaring

one; though the Reviewer pledges himself that it is genuine. The letter and the introductory paragraph are as follows;

‘Since the preceding pages have been struck off, we have been favored with the following literal copy of a letter of Boki (which we pledge ourselves to be genuine), confirming what we have stated with regard to the conduct of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands.

Islands of Woahoo, Jan. 24, 1826.

‘Sir,—I take this opportunity to send you thes fu lines, hopping the will find you in good health, as ples god the leve me at present. I am sorrey to inform You that Mr Pitt (Karaimakoo) has gon thro four opperashons since you sailed from here, but thank god he is now much better, and we ar in hops of his recovery, and I am verrey sorey to tell you that Mr Bingham the head of the Misheneres is trieng evere thing in his pour to have the Law of this country in his own hands. all of us ar verrey happy to have sum pepel to instruct us in what is rite and good but he wants us to be entirly under his laws, which will not do with the natives. I have don all in my pour to prevent it and I have don it as yet, Ther is Cahomano wishes the Misheneres to have the whol atority but I sholl prevent it as long as I cane, for if the have ther will be nothing done in thes Ilands not even cultivation, for ther own use. I wish the peppel to reid and to rite and likewise to worke, but the Misheneres have got them night and day old and young so that ther is verrey little don her at present. The pepel in general ar verrey much discetisfied at the Misheneres thinking they will have the laws in their own hands. Captain Charlton has not arived from Otiety which makes me think sumthing has hapned to him. Mr Bingham has gone so far as to tell thes natives that nether king George nor Lord Biron has any regard for God, or aney of the English cheefs, that they are all bad pepel but themselves, and that there is no Redemson for aney of the heads of the English or American nations. God send you good health and a long life.

‘Mrs Boki sends her kind love to Lord Biron and Mr Camrone and the Hon. Mr Hill.

(Signed) NA-BOKI.’

We do not suppose, that the Reviewer suspected this letter of being a forgery; but, with a moderate share of perspicacity, he *would* have suspected it; and the least suspicion should have prevented its publication. With what contempt would the Quarterly Reviewers look upon a Greek or Latin epistle which should be vouched for, as having been written in

the days of Xenophon or Cicero, but which, on the slightest examination, should prove a literal translation of a modern English letter, such as an ordinary youth of fifteen would now write on a common subject? What would they think of a letter written by a Frenchman, represented as so ignorant of the English language as not to be able to spell it, and yet expressing himself entirely in the English idiom, without a single word or phrase, that indicated a foreign origin? But neither the Greek, the Latin, nor the French is so different from the English, in idiom and train of thought, as is the Sandwich Island tongue.

The only disguise of the letter under consideration is bad spelling, which is really no disguise at all; for a half instructed foreigner would learn to spell the English language right much sooner, than he would learn to use words in their proper meaning, or to form them into proper phrases and sentences. A foreigner learns to spell by the eye, and therefore he spells correctly the new language which he is writing. He consults his memory, or his dictionary, well knowing that the ear is to him no guide at all. What Englishman, for instance, ever undertook to spell the French language merely from hearing it spoken? This is not mere theory. We have seen numerous letters written by imperfectly educated foreigners; and the spelling is uniformly, in such cases, much more correct than the composition,—the use of words, the arrangement, the idiomatical phrases. Since the article in the *Quarterly Review* appeared, a respectable clergyman has shown us an original letter, written by a youth from the Sandwich Islands, who was then under the tuition of several students in the Theological Seminary in Andover. The occasion was this. Mr Mills, whose name is dear to every friend of missions and of Africa, was absent from Andover, and had just been afflicted by the death of a beloved mother. The youth in question had received much kindness from the mother and the son, and was advised to write a letter of condolence; which he did, in the following words; in copying which we shall follow his spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals.

‘Andover January 1810. Dear Sir. Mr. Samuel J. Mills. Now I no Father and no mother. and your mother very good to me. now I hope she go to God. so I mind what she say so I must be a good man if I come to good man I hope I see her again. she

very kind to me now I lost my mother and my friend your mother. Behold I am not feel very well. I am,

HENRY OBOOKIAH.'

In the pretended letter of Boki, the whole is English, as to thought, style, and idiom ; and even the errors in spelling are those into which an illiterate Englishman would fall, but which are very different from the errors of an ignorant foreigner. It is obvious, also, that no person would speak of his own people as 'the natives,' and 'these natives;' nor would he speak of them as a party, or a community, distinct from himself.

These things are plain to any reflecting man, though he may know nothing of Boki, except that he is a Sandwich Island chief. But the Reviewer had been treating of a book, in which there is no proof that Boki ever spoke English, while there is frequent mention of the *interpreter* for the party, while they were in London. To those, who are intimately acquainted with the state of things at the islands, it is known, that if Boki had written the letter, he would have spelled the proper names in his own language rightly. Four of these occur, and not one of them is rightly spelled ; though all the natives, who have learned to write, are in the constant habit of spelling them correctly. In the spelling of these four names, there are *thirteen* mistakes, nearly all of them such as Englishinen and Americans actually make ; the natives never ; because they use an alphabet, which preserves them from the ordinary causes of error in spelling other languages. The English names, Pitt, Bingham, Charlton, George, and Hill, are all spelled correctly ; which is singular enough for a writer, who could not spell his brother's name, in his own language, without making two mistakes.

But to bring the matter to a close at once ; Boki cannot understand, or speak English, except a little, in short broken sentences, on the most common subjects. He transacts all business with Englishmen and Americans, by the aid of interpreters ; and his ignorance of the English language is so well known to all, that, in the autumn of 1826, plain sentences, uttered by Captain Jones of the United States navy, were designedly misinterpreted to him in public, and without any fear that he would detect the error. Nor was he able to do it. Had it not been for the kind interposition of Providence, much injury would have resulted from these attempts to deceive him.

As to *writing* English, the thought never entered Boki's mind. He never learned to *read* it; and such parts of sentences as, 'trying everything in his power to have the law of this country in his own hands,'—'nothing done in these islands, not even cultivation for their own use;'—'no redemption for any of the heads of the English or American nations,'—would be utterly beyond his comprehension, if written by another.

It is highly probable, that the letter was signed by Boki, a specious account having been given him of its contents. There are strong reasons for thinking, that it was antedated six or eight months, in order to render the imposition more effectual.

If such a forgery were committed merely as a matter of sport, without any malicious intention, it would be extremely reprehensible; but what act can be more dishonorable or wicked, than to make a deliberate fabrication the vehicle of false charges, the object and tendency of which are to prejudice the world against the exertions of men, who have made no ordinary sacrifices in devoting their lives to a most arduous task, and thus materially to impede a work, upon which the moral and intellectual progress, the present and future happiness, of many tribes and nations are depending?

ART. IV.—*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus;*

No. I, THE MRICHCHAKATI, or THE TOY CART; a Drama.

No. II, VIKRAMA AND URVASI, or THE HERO AND THE NYMPH; a Drama. Translated from the original Sanscrit by HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 8vo. pp. 204 and 105. Calcutta, 1826.

MR WILSON appears, either by way of Introduction to these Specimens, or in some separate work, to have written *A General View of the Hindu Dramatic System*, principally derived from the *Das'a Rûpaka*, which we take to be a Sanscrit work on the same subject. This 'General View' we have not had the advantage of seeing, and are consequently obliged to review these translations, without the light it would no doubt have afforded us.

The knowledge of the Sanscrit drama was first imparted to the nations of Europe, by Sir William Jones. Before his arrival in India, it was not known that the Hindu literature was enriched with that species of composition. Sir William informs us, in the preface to *Sacontalá*,* that his attention was first called to the subject, by a passage in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, to the following effect ;—‘that in the north of India, there are many books called *Nāṭac*, which, as the Brahmans assert, contain a large portion of ancient history, without any mixture of fable.’ It was some time before Sir William could find out what the nature of these *Nāṭacs* was. ‘At length,’ says he, ‘a very sensible Brahman, named Rádhácánt, who had long been attentive to English manners, removed all my doubts, and gave me no less delight than surprise, by telling me that our nation had compositions of the same sort, which were publicly represented at Calcutta, in the cold season, and bore the name, as he had been informed, of *plays*.’

Sir William Jones expresses the opinion, that dramatic literature must have been extremely ancient in the Indian empire, inasmuch as the invention of it is usually ascribed to Bharat, ‘a sage believed to have been inspired.’ The name, by which India is called by the natives of that country, *Bharata-vashta*, would seem, in fact, to indicate a connexion between this inspired dramatist, and the very *incunabula* of the Hindu people. Sir William, however, considerably adds, that this opinion of the origin of the Hindu drama is rendered very doubtful, by the universal belief, that the first Sanscrit verse ever heard by mortals, was pronounced, in a burst of resentment, by the great Válmīc, who flourished in the silver (antediluvian) age of the world. He adds also, in additional derogation from the claims of Bharat, as the inventor of the Indian drama, the following ‘wild story,’ as he calls it, of the production of the first regular Sanscrit play. It was composed by Hanumat or Pávan (a singular *alias*) ‘who commanded an army of Satyrs, or Mountaineers, in Ráma’s expedition against Lancá. It is added, that he engraved it on a smooth rock, which (being dissatisfied with his composition) he hurled into the sea; and that, many years after, a learned prince ordered expert divers to take impressions of the poem on wax, by which means the drama was in a great measure restored.’—‘My

* Sir William Jones’s Works, VI. 203. Quarto edition.

pandit,' continues Sir William Jones, 'assures me, that he is in possession of it.' Considering its history, one might look in honest Hanumat's play, for some specimens of the bathos.

The publication before us contains the translation of two Sanscrit plays, which, with the 'Sacontalá' of Cálidása, already translated by Sir William Jones, are the only entire specimens, we believe, of the Hindu theatre, which are before the public. Of these two plays, the second, *Vikrama and Urvashi*, is also the production of Calidasa, 'the Shakespeare of India;' but as *The Mr̥ichchakati*, or *The Toy Cart*, is contained in the first number, and is the performance of a poet not hitherto introduced to the western world, we shall make it the first subject of remark.

The introduction of *The Toy Cart* itself ascribes the composition to a royal bard, Sudraka by name. The first question that arises then, in order to ascertain the age of this drama is, when did his sacred majesty Sudraka reign. As the solution of this question presents a pretty good specimen of the manner, in which points of Hindu, and we may add, Chinese antiquity, are sometimes settled, we shall enter a little more particularly into it.

Although 'the name of Sudraka,' we are told, 'is very celebrated in Hindu history,' yet it is a matter of controversy, whether he lived one hundred years before, or one thousand years after, the christian era! It seems to be admitted, that he preceded Vicramáditya (we use Sir William Jones's orthography, Dow and Polier read it Bickermagit*), but whether it be the Vicramaditya, who died fifty-six years before our Savior, and whose death is the beginning of an era in India, or another king of the same name, who flourished in the eleventh century of the christian era, is questioned.

Colonel Wilford, however, is satisfied with neither date, and assigns another of his own, to the royal dramatist, to whom we are indebted for *The Toy Cart*, namely, the year of our Savior 192. Colonel Wilford's deduction of this date deserves quoting as a chronological curiosity. It is almost as good as Lord Shaftesbury's descent from king Pepin. It is as follows. Puliman, the last king of Magadha, of the Andhra dynasty, died A. D. 648, and *is said* to have reigned 456 years after the first king of the same dynasty, who must

* Heeren's Ideen. Th. I. Abth. II. s. 407.

accordingly have flourished A. D. 192. Now *it is said*, that in one of the very ancient religious books of the Hindus, there is this *prophecy*; that in the year of the *Kali* 3,300 minus 10, a great king (it appears not where) would reign, named *Sudraka*. The year of the *Kali* 3292, is A. D. 192; hence *Sudraka* is the king already alluded to, as the first king of Magadha of the Andhra race. It is true, this founder of the Andhra dynasty is, in the Hindu *histories*, called by a totally different name; but then as the Hindu prophecies *foretold*, that *Sudraka* would reign about the same time, there is no doubt, according to Colonel Wilford, that we possess, in *The Toy Cart*, a play in ten acts, really written by the individual, who deposed the last sovereign of the Kanwa family, and reigned over Magadha in his stead.

It is with some concern, after we have thus been at the trouble of fixing his majesty's era, that we are informed by Mr Wilson that there is 'but one prince so named, *of any note*, in the annals of the Hindus.' That it was written by *the one*, who is so remarkably notorious, as to have the period of his reign unsettled, by about eleven centuries, does not appear.

The only additional fact communicated with respect to the author of this piece, is the duration of his reign, which extended, *it is said*, to one hundred years, and which terminated by what is courteously styled 'voluntary cremation.' In plainer phrase, it appears that his majesty, soon perplexed with the cares of empire, after reigning but a single century, burned himself to death; a striking instance of want of ambition! There are few of his majesty's predecessors of that age of the world in India, who did not cling to their sceptres, their three and four hundred years. Our royal bard, at the close of a poor century, takes himself off; not indeed 'throwing a firebrand into the Magadha empire,' but lying down peaceably upon his own funeral pyre.

But it is time to pass from the king himself to the burning words of his tragedy. After a solemn benediction in the name of *Seeva*, the manager enters on the stage, and apprizes the audience, that his company are prepared to enact the drama entitled *The Toy Cart*. This name arises from an incident in the play, to which we shall allude in its place. He informs the audience, that 'there was a poet, whose gait was that of an elephant, whose eyes resembled those of the partridge, whose countenance was like the full moon, who was of stately per-

son, amiable manners, and profound veracity, well versed in the *Rig* and *Sâma Vêdas*, in mathematical sciences, in the elegant arts, and the management of elephants.' After this glowing description of the author of the play, the manager proceeds in part to open its plot to the audience.

In Avanti (the modern Ougein, the capital of Scindiah) lived a young Brahman of distinguished rank and excellent character, but reduced to poverty; his name was *Chârudatta*. A lady (sustaining the same relation to society in Avanti, that Aspasia did in Athens), *Vasantasênâ* by name, becomes enamored of Charudatta, and, although the worthy Brahman already enjoys the blessing of a faithful and virtuous wife, the business of the play is to effect an additional union (which the manners of India permit) between Vasantasena and Charudatta.

After hinting at this plot, the manager enters into a dialogue with one of the actresses, and subsequently with one of the characters of the piece, *in propria personâ*, and then goes off. By way of illustrating the dramatic taste of the Hindus, it may be observed, that the greater part of the prelude has no possible connexion with the play; not even *such* a connexion, as that which the 'Induction,' that precedes the 'Taming of the Shrew,' has to the body of that comedy.

The play opens with a dialogue between the impoverished Brahman, Charudatta, and his friend *Maitreya*, the *Gracioso*, or, as the Hindu criticism styles it, the *Vidûshaka* of the piece, a character of mixed shrewdness and simplicity, with an affectionate disposition. Charudatta, while engaged in the performance of the evening sacrifice, falls into a lamentation with Maitreya on the evils of poverty. They are interrupted by the sound of pursuing voices, and Vasantasena the beautiful, wealthy, and virtuous courtesan, the heroine of the piece, rushes upon the scene, in front of Charudatta's house, followed by *Samst'hânaka* (the brother-in-law of the Rajah, an ignorant, frivolous, and cruel coxcomb), who, enamored of Vasantasena, and attended by his tutor, a Parasite (the *Vita* of the Hindu stage), and a servant, are pursuing her through the streets. This lady, having seen Charudatta, in the court of a temple, had conceived a strong attachment for him, of which, however, Charudatta himself was ignorant; as was Vasantasena that she had been pursued to the door of the man, who had inspired her with the tender passion. In the dialogue, which takes place between Vasantasena and her

pursuers, the former incidentally learns, that she is in front of Charudatta's dwelling ; and, as it is now the dusk of the evening, she immediately escapes into it, thus eluding their pursuit. To account to Charudatta for this visit, and at the same time to ensure a farther intercourse, Vasantasena tells him, that she has been pursued by robbers, for the sake of her jewels, which she accordingly begs him to accept, for safe keeping ; and then to conduct her home. This Charudatta accordingly does, but not till he had learned (in a scene with the pursuers without the door), what before he was ignorant of, that he was the object of Vasantasena's affections. The first act closes with Charudatta's return from conducting Vasantasena home.

The second act opens with a scene curiously illustrating the Hindu manners. A *Samvāhaka* (or joint-kneader) an important personage in the bathing establishments of the East, having lost at play ten *suvernas*, which he cannot pay, escapes by flight from the gaming house, pursued by the master of the house and the gamester to whom he had lost the money. To elude their pursuit, he walks *backwards*, like Cacus, into an open temple, and places himself on a pedestal, as the deity of the temple. The pursuers enter, and immediately recognise him. Not daring, however, to force him from the sanctuary, they shake and pinch him, affecting to think him an image of wood or stone. This scene doubtless gave no little scope for the practical wit of the Hindu stage. In order to lure the Samvahaka from his stand, the gamesters sit down on the floor, and begin to throw their dice for a stake. The poor Samvahaka, like a warhorse who hears the trumpet, unable to resist the tempting sound of the dice, proves too soon, that he had not yet 'forgot himself to marble,' and leaps from his pedestal, to watch the progress of the game. He falls of course into the hands of his merciless creditors, and being unable to acquit his debt to them, is carried off to be sold to slavery ; the Hindu form of *mesne* process. While they are carrying him off for this purpose, another gamester, *Darduraka*, comes in ; takes pity on the sad plight of the Samvahaka ; picks a quarrel with his creditors ; and in the *mêlée*, gives the Samvahaka a chance to escape for his life ; which he does to the house of Vasantasena, near which these occurrences take place.

Having entered the house and the presence of this lady,

and having received her promise of protection, never denied to a suppliant in the East, the Samvahaka effectually secures to himself the favor of Vasantasena, by disclosing the fact, that he had been in the service of Charudatta, before the decline of this person's fortunes. The love, which the lady bears to Charudatta, makes her eager to be useful to the Samvahaka, his former servant; and hearing, without doors, the clamors of his pursuers, she sends a jewel to them, in the name of the Samvahaka, and in acquittance of his debt. Disgusted with the occurrences, which had befallen him at the gaming table, the Samvahaka avows his determination to abandon the worldly life he had hitherto led, and become a mendicant, or wandering devotee of the faith of Budha,—a faith not as yet proscribed in Hindustan.

At the commencement of the third act, Charudatta and his friend Maitreya are represented as returning from a concert, the former in ecstasies at the voice of a skilful singer *Rebhila*; while Maitreya expresses himself in a manner calculated to lead one to suppose, there was the same difference among men, as to the taste for music, under king Sudraka, three or four thousand years ago, that there is in this transatlantic republic at the present day;

‘Now for me,’ says this surly censor, ‘there are two things, at which I cannot but laugh; a woman reading Sanscrit, and a man singing a song. The woman snuffles, like a young cow, when the rope is first put into her nostrils; and the man wheezes, like an old Pundit, who has been repeating his bead roll, till the flowers of his chaplet are as dry as his throat. To my seeming it is vastly ridiculous.’

After something more in this strain, and after Charudatta has particularly entrusted Maitreya with the charge of Vasantasena's casket of jewels, the two Brahmans drop asleep. While they are asleep, a dissipated blade, named *Servillaka*, breaks in upon the scene, on a burglarious errand, and adroitly plunders the sleeping Maitreya of the casket of jewels; which he designs as a present for *Madaniká*, the handmaiden of Vasantasena, with whom he is in love, and whose freedom he hopes to purchase with this treasure. A servant soon enters, who, discovering the robbery, awakens her master and his friend. Charudatta is of course dismayed at the loss of the rich casket, which he had received as a pledge, and which, in consequence of his poverty, he fears it will be thought he has him-

self secreted. The servant carries back to her mistress, the wife of Charudatta, the tale of her master's sorrow, at the loss of the casket ; and this excellent lady immediately determines to give up to her husband a string of diamonds, the last remnant of her bridal treasures, to enable him therewith to make some compensation to Vasantasena, for the loss of her jewels. With this string of diamonds, accordingly, Maitreya is sent, in the name of Charudatta, to the house of Vasantasena, with the message, that Charudatta, having rashly engaged in play and lost the casket at the gaming table, was now desirous of making compensation with a string of jewels.

Meantime, however, and before this errand is performed, Servillaka, the *innamorato* of Vasantasena's handmaiden, having, as we have seen, stolen the casket, comes and presents it to the said maiden, Madanika, in order that with it she may purchase her freedom of her mistress Vasantasena. On his acquainting Madanika with the manner of acquiring the casket, the latter, immediately recognising it as the property of her mistress, confided to Charudatta, easily convinces Servillaka of the necessity of returning it, either to her lady or Charudatta ; and between them they devise the plan, that Servillaka should pretend to be a messenger sent by Charudatta to restore it to her. While this little device is arranging, Vasantasena, unknown to the lovers, overhears it all, from the upper part of the room. Thus let into the secret, Vasantasena approaches, and with all imaginable gravity receives the casket from Servillaka ; and having informed him that it was agreed between her and Charudatta, that whenever the casket was returned, the messenger, who brought it, should receive Madanika for his pains, she bestows the maiden on Servillaka. The lovers, from this act of generosity, perceive that Vasantasena was, they know not how, in possession of their little secret, and aware of their fidelity to her in restoring the jewels.

In this part of the play, the underplot is first brought into notice. The king, *Pálaka*, is universally detested as a tyrant, and is particularly odious to the Brahmans. A prophecy is current that *Aryaka*, the son of a cowherd, shall ascend the throne in his place ; and alarmed by this prophecy, the king sends out to apprehend Aryaka and his followers, and cast them into prison. Among these followers are the gamester Darduraka (whom we mentioned above, as having interfered in behalf of the Samvahaka), and also Servillaka. Servillaka has no soon-

er received Madanika from Vasantasena's hand, than the public crier comes round, proclaiming that Aryaka is in prison. Servillaka determines to go and rouse his friends, to relieve him, and meantime sends his newly acquired mistress, for safety, to the house of the aforesaid Rebhila, the singer.

By this time, Maitreya, the friend of Charudatta, arrives at Vasantasena's house, to bring the string of diamonds, in compensation for the supposed lost casket. Here an extraordinary scene is set forth, and one which, if the resources of the Hindu scene-painters are on a level with the poet's genius, must have been in representation truly splendid. Maitreya is taken through eight successive courts, composing the house of Vasantasena; and pausing in each, the servant who guides him, and Maitreya, describe in dialogue, the various parts of the domestic economy, display, and furniture, connected with each court. They at last get access to the lady herself, the mistress of all this magnificence. She takes the jewels from Maitreya, not betraying to him, that she has already received back her casket; and informs Maitreya, that she shall visit his friend in the evening. Maitreya, who is somewhat misanthropic, conceives that the object of this visit is to extort from Charudatta some further compensation for the casket.

We have now reached the fifth act; but a Hindu play is not so soon disposed of. The visit of Vasantasena, promised in the last act, now takes place, in spite of an impending storm. Imitating the fabricated message, which Charudatta had sent her, relative to the loss of the casket, she tells him, that having staked the necklace he had sent her, at play, and lost it, she had come to make him compensation; and presents him the aforesaid casket of jewels. Charudatta then learns how she became possessed of it; and the storm having meantime increased, Vasantasena yields to Charudatta's invitation, that she would pass the night at his house.

The next act represents Vasantasena preparing to proceed, in Charudatta's litter, to the public flower garden, *Pushpakaranda*, whither Charudatta has already repaired. Before leaving the house, Vasantasena sees the child of Charudatta, drawing his earthen *toy cart*, and weeping for a golden one, such as he had seen in the possession of a playmate, the child of a rich landholder. Vasantasena takes off her jewels, and putting them into the child's earthen cart, bids his nurse take him to buy a golden cart, from the sale of the jewels. This

incident has an important connexion with the catastrophe of the piece, and gives it the name of *The Toy Cart*.

While Vasantasena is getting ready to repair in Charudatta's litter to the public flower garden, the litter of her old but detested suitor, Samst'hanaka, the Rajah's brother-in-law, passes by, on his way to the same spot. The driver leaves the carriage for a moment on the stage, to go and assist a peasant, whose wagon he had forced into a slough. While he is off the stage, Vasantasena hastily enters, mistakes the litter of the Rajah's brother-in-law, for that of Charudatta, which she supposed to be in attendance, gets into it, and draws the curtain. The driver, *St'havaraka*, now returns, and not knowing that Vasantasena is in the vehicle, drives on to the flower garden.

At this juncture, Aryaka, the aspirer to the throne, having escaped from prison, by the aid of Servillaka, whom we left engaging in his relief, appears upon the stage, followed by officers in pursuit at a distance. Charudatta's litter at this moment, designed to take Vasantasena to the flower garden, comes in; and Aryaka adroitly enters it, undistinguished by the driver, who believes it to be the lady that enters, and thus drives off to the flower garden, with the fugitive state-prisoner and pretender to the throne, concealed in the vehicle.

On the way to the garden, the vehicle is arrested by two captains of the guard, one of whom, however, *Chandanaka*, is friendly to Aryaka's cause. Chandanaka undertakes to search the litter, and reports to *Viraka*, his comrade, that it contains the lady Vasantasena. His comrade, however, who is hostile to the cause of Aryaka, has his suspicions awakened, and insists upon searching the litter himself. This Chandanaka will not let him do, and an affray takes place between them, in which Viraka being worsted, flies to the palace to denounce Chandanaka. After he is gone, the latter gives Aryaka a sword; and Aryaka drives off, promising friendship and protection to Chandanaka, in the event of his own success. Chandanaka retires to collect his friends and relatives, in order to go to court, to meet the accusation of Viraka.

The seventh act introduces Charudatta and his friend Maitreya, arrived at the flower garden, and anxiously awaiting the approach of Vasantasena. Charudatta's carriage arrives, and Maitreya going to assist the lady in alighting, finds, to his astonishment, that it contains not the lady, but the fugitive Aryaka. He implores the protection of Charudatta, who

(bound by duty to a suppliant) accords it, and removes the fetters from Aryaka's feet. By this action, of course, he lays Aryaka under infinite obligations. Deeming it, however, unsafe, after such a transaction, to remain on the spot, he gives up the appointment to meet Vasantasena, and goes home.

The eighth act opens with the appearance of our old friend, the Samvahaka, or joint-kneader, now transformed into a Buddhist, or medicant devotee, who enters the flower garden. The Rajah's brother, the abandoned Samst'hanaka, with his attendant, follows shortly after, and wantonly maltreats the poor Buddhist, who takes refuge from his blows, in the recesses of the garden. Presently the carriage of Samst'hanaka comes on, into which, as we have already seen, Vasantasena had inadvertently thrown herself. She is now, therefore, in the presence of her old pursuer, Samst'hanaka, whose passion for her she returns by the most decided aversion. Samst'hanaka approaches her with expressions of respect, but she spurns him with her foot. This treatment converts his passion into deadly hatred, and he resolves to destroy her. He first endeavors to persuade his tutor, and then the driver of the carriage, St'havaraka, to kill her; they both, however, refuse to execute the cruel act, and leave him. Stung by the continued scorn of the lady, he seizes and strangles her himself, and leaves her for dead. His tutor returning, and finding the cruel deed accomplished, forswears the friendship of Samst'hanaka, and flies to attach himself to the cause of Aryaka. Samst'hanaka, after covering the body of Vasantasena with leaves, goes off to court, to denounce Charudatta for having murdered her, in order to get possession of her wealth. The poor Buddhist, who has been concealed in the recesses of the garden, now comes in, and accidentally discovers the lady; who, not having been wholly suffocated, revives by his assistance, and is conducted by him to a neighboring convent.

The ninth act opens with the hall of justice, in which a court is held. Samst'hanaka appears and denounces Charudatta, for having murdered Vasantasena. While this trial is proceeding, Viraka, the captain of the watch above mentioned, enters the court, and lays his complaint against Chandanaka for the assault. From Viraka's complaint, it appears, that Vasantasena had been reported to be in the carriage of Charudatta, shortly before her assassination. As Charudatta had already, in the course of the trial, denied any knowledge, where

she was, the fact thus disclosed awakens suspicion against him. This suspicion is confirmed by another unfortunate occurrence. It will be recollected that Vasantasena had filled the earthen toy cart of Charudatta's child with jewels, to enable him to buy a golden one. The child's mother, however, refuses to permit the child to keep the jewels, and gives them to Maitreya to take back to Vasantasena. While on the way to perform this errand, Maitreya enters the court, and, having there learned the state of things, falls into a controversy, and finally into an affray, with the accuser of Charudatta, Samst'hanaka, the king's brother. In the personal struggle between them, Vasantasena's jewels drop from Maitreya's girdle. That lady's mother, who is present in court, as a witness, recognises the jewels as her daughter's. This last point of circumstantial evidence, is regarded by the court as proving Charudatta's guilt, and he is accordingly convicted. Being a Brahman he is not liable, by the Hindu law, to capital punishment. It is the duty, however, of the Rajah to pronounce the sentence, and he, in violation of the law, and of the sacred rights of the Brahmins, orders Charudatta to be impaled.

At the beginning of the tenth act we have the preparations for the execution of Charudatta, who is conducted towards the scaffold by two executioners, whose demeanor is very much in the style of that of the grave-diggers in Hamlet. The fatal procession passes under the windows of Samst'hanaka's palace. His servant, St'havaraka, the driver aforesaid, who had refused to kill Vasantasena, and who had seen his master do it, and is now confined by his master to prevent his appearing in court, hears the proclamation, announcing Charudatta's guilt and sentence. He determines to attempt to save him; and, unable to burst the door of his apartment, leaps from the window. He appears before the executioners, and the assembled crowd, declares the innocence of Charudatta, and the guilt of his master, Samst'hanaka. The crowd, with whom Charudatta is a favorite, joyfully believe his testimony; but Samst'hanaka succeeds in casting suspicion on his servant, as a runaway slave, and the preparations for the execution draw to a close. At this critical moment, the mendicant devotee comes forward, leading in the lady Vasantasena herself. The executioners refuse, of course, to take the life of Charudatta, for having murdered her. Thus restored to each other, Charudatta avows his purpose of making Vasantasena his wife, the

Hindu law imposing no obligation of monogamy. At the same moment Servillaka appears on the scene, and communicates the intelligence, that the political revolution is completed, the Rajah killed, and Aryaka seated on the throne in his place. Samst'hanaka, arrested by the incensed people, is now dragged forward, in chains, but, by the magnanimity of Charudatta, is again set at liberty. Another trouble now presents itself. The wife of Charudatta, supposing her husband executed, prepares to burn herself, as becomes an affectionate Hindu widow. Fortunately, however, her design is discovered; and her husband and the other *dramatis personæ*, repairing to the funeral pyre, which is already kindled, prevent the execution of her purpose. The happy wife is of course overjoyed at finding her husband alive, and restored by political changes to prosperity and power, and kindly embraces Vasantasena as a sister. The new king, Aryaka, requiting his obligations to Charudatta, raises Vasantasena to the rank of his kinswoman, and Servillaka, throwing a veil over her, elevates her from the place of a courtesan, to that of a Brahman's wife; and thus the piece ends.

Such is the story of *The Toy Cart*; and the reader who has attentively perused the foregoing sketch, will feel that it is full of incidents, judiciously combined. Almost every occurrence, however slight, is important in the business of the piece. The unities of time and place are neglected; but that of action is admirably preserved; and the translator justly remarks, that 'the connexion of the two plots is much better maintained, than in the play we usually refer to, as a happy specimen of such a combination, *The Spanish Friar*.'

It is, of course, unfair to look, in the translation, for a specimen of the style of the original. 'The music of the Sanscrit composition,' says Mr Wilson, 'must be ever inadequately represented by any other tongue.' We may add, that in no composition is it more completely out of the question, to convey an idea of style, in a translation, than in popular drama, painting scenes of real life, in a distant region, and at a remote period of time. *The Toy Cart* is unquestionably a performance of great antiquity. Many points of manners, touched upon in the course of the play, appear, from Mr Wilson's quotations of the Sanscrit commentary, to be now obscure, even to the Hindus. Whoever will ask himself the question, how Shakspeare would probably read, one or two thousand

years hence, literally translated into the language that may then be current in Calcutta, may judge of the disadvantage to which a Sanscrit play, written at least a thousand years ago, is read in a literal English version, at the present day.

It is time, however, to say something of the other specimen of the Hindu theatre, presented us by Mr Wilson. It is entitled *Vikrama and Urvashi*, or *The Hero and the Nymph*, and is comprised in five acts. This play is the production of the renowned bard of ancient India, Calidasa, one of whose dramas, 'Sacontalá,' as we have before observed, is already so well known to the world, in the version of Sir William Jones.* At the time he published the translation of 'Sacontalá,' that play and the present were supposed to be the only dramatic productions of the 'Indian Shakespeare.' Mr Wilson, however, mentions the present drama, as one of the *three* attributed to Calidasa.

The common opinion makes Calidasa the chief of the nine poets who flourished at the court of Vicramaditya, whose death, fifty-six years before our Savior, makes an epoch in Indian history. This corresponds pretty nearly with the age of Lucretius at Rome, who died the day that Virgil was born, and to this coincidence there is a beautiful allusion, in Mr Grant's 'Poem on the Restoration of Learning in the East,' in the following lines ;—

'Hail, happy years ! when every lyre was strung,
And every clime with mirth and music rung.
While Asia's voice her Calidasa blest,
Hark, kindred spirits answered from the West.
There all his lofty notes Lucretius gave,
And epic transports burst on Mincio's wave ;
While roved the matin bee o'er sweetest flowers,
And all Hymettus bloomed in Tibur's bowers.
Oh, could some god have rent the veil away,
And joined in one the masters of the lay !'

It ought to be observed, however, that Mr Bentley, who places the reign of Vicramaditya in the eleventh century, finds a poet Calidasa in the same period, and thus robs the bard of a full half of his two thousand years. We profess not a sufficient acquaintance with the subject to give an opinion of the

* 'Sacontalá' was republished in Boston, some years since, in a periodical work entitled *The Emerald*.

importance of these doubts, as to the antiquity of Hindu literature. It is somewhat strange that such a doubt should be started. The only man, into whose head a similar doubt ever entered with respect to classical literature, Father Hardouin, was immediately reputed, *quoad hoc*, insane. No one ever took the trouble to refute the suggestion. Mr Bentley's sentiments were offered to the world in the 'Asiatic Researches,'* and rest partly on astronomical calculations. It is a matter of just surprise, that the series of the historical and other literature of the Hindus should not instantly present the means of refuting, or establishing, so important a suggestion.

Our limits do not allow us to introduce an analysis of the play of Calidasa, of which Mr Wilson has afforded us a translation. This we the less regret, as the play of 'Sacontalá' affords an adequate specimen of the poetry of its author. It is not, like *The Toy Cart*, a scene from real life, but is borrowed from the mythology of India; and its personages are partly derived from the divinities and demigods of the Hindu Pantheon. The commencement of the first act may serve as a sample of the performance, and particularly of the manner of the translator, Mr Wilson. The scene is laid on the top of the Himálaya mountains.

'Enter in the Air a Troop of Apsarasas or Nymphs of Heaven.

Nymphs.

Help, help, if any friend be nigh,
To aid the daughters of the sky.

Enter Purúravas † in a heavenly car driven by his Charioteer.

Pur. Suspend your cries, in me behold a friend,
Purúravas, returning from the sphere
Of the wide glancing sun; command my aid,
And tell me what you dread.

Rembhá. A demon's violence.

Pur. What violence presumes the fiend to offer.

Menaká. Great king, it thus has chanced; we measured back
Our steps from an assembly of the Gods
Held in Kuvera's ‡ hall—before us stepped
The graceful Urvási, the Nymph whose charms
Defeated Indra's stratagems, and shamed

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii.

† Purúravas is a king of high descent, being sprung by his mother Ilá from the sun, and his father Budha from the moon, being the grandson of the latter, and great grandson of the former.

‡ The god of riches.

The loveliness of *Sri**—the brightest ornament
Of heaven : when on our path the haughty *Dánava*
Kési, the monarch of the golden city †
Sprang fierce and bore the struggling nymph away.

Pur. Which path pursued the wretch ?

Sahajanyá. 'Tis yonder.

Pur. Banish your fears.

I go to rescue and restore your friend.

Rembhá. The act is worthy of your high descent.

Pur. Where wait you my return ?

Rembhá. Here—on this peak

The towering *Hemakúta*.‡

Pur. (*To the Charioteer.*) Bend our course

To yonder point, and urge the rapid steeds

To swiftest flight—'tis done ; before the car

Like vollied dust the scattering clouds divide ;

The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye,

And double round the axle seems to circle ;

The waving chowrie on the steed's broad brow

Points backward, motionless as in a picture ;

And backward streams the banner from the breeze

We meet—immovable.—We should outstrip

The flight of *Vainatéya*, § and must surely

O'ertake the ravisher.

[*Exeunt.*

Rembhá. Now sisters on, and blithely seek

The golden mountain's glittering peak ;

Secure the king extracts the dart,

That rankles in each anxious heart.

Menaká. We need not fear ; his arm can quell

The mightiest of the sons of hell.

What makes he here—but aid to bring

From mortal realms to *Swerga*'s king ;

And is not to his valor given

Command o'er all the hosts of heaven ? (*they proceed.*

Rembhá. Joy, sisters, joy, the king advances ;

High o'er yon ridgy rampart dances

The deer-emblazoned banner—See

The heavenly car rolls on ; 'tis he.

* The wife of Vishnu, goddess of prosperity and beauty.

† *Hiranyapur*, is the name in the text.

‡ The Golden, or Snowy Peak.

§ Garura the son of Vinatá.

- ART. V.—1. *A Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America, containing important Particulars relative to its Productions, Manufactures, Customs, &c. with an Account of its Conquest by the Spaniards, and a Narrative of the principal Events down to the present Time.* By D. DOMINGO JUARROS. Translated by J. BAILY. 8vo. pp. 520. London. 1823.
2. *Constitucion de la Republica Federal de Centro-América, dada por la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente en 22 de Noviembre de 1824.* Guatemala. 1825.
3. *Constitucion del Estado del Salvador.* S. Salvador. 1824.
4. *Constitucion Politica del Estado de Nicaragua, decretada y sancionada por la Asambléa Constituyente en el Año de 1826.* Guatemala. 1826.
5. *Mensaje del C. MANUEL JOSE' ARCE, Presidente de la Republica de Centro-América, al Congreso Federal.* Guatemala. 1826.
6. *Discursos de JOSE' DEL VALLE, en el Congreso Federal de Centro-América de 1826.* Guatemala.
7. *El Liberal. El Indicador. El Centinela del Salvador. Redactor General.* [Newspapers printed in Central America.]
8. *Proyecto de Reforma del Sistema de Hacienda y Erection de un Banco Nacional de Centro-América, por J. M. R. [S. JUAN MANUEL RODRIGUEZ.]* Guatemala. 1827.
9. *Manifiestos y Decretos del Gefe del Estado de Guatemala y del Presidente de Centro-América; Cartas de los Gobiernos del Salvador, de Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica, &c. &c.* 1826–7.

THE ancient kingdom of Guatemala, now the Republic of Central America, the least known of the great political fragments of the Spanish empire in the West, is by no means the least important. Destitute of commercial relations with the United States, and the maritime powers of Europe, and less distinguished than other portions of Spanish America, by the possession of abundant mines of gold or silver, it remained, until the period of its independence, in comparative obscurity.

Long after the stormy course of the revolution had begun to convulse Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, consigning them to the ravages of hostile invasion, or the scarcely more tolerable effects of civil discord, Guatemala continued tranquilly subject to the dominion of the mother country. Even the disturbances in the contiguous government of Mexico, failed to interrupt its repose, or produce any manifestation of the revolutionary spirit among its inhabitants. Guatemala appeared to be overlooked in the all-absorbing interest, awakened by the career of its more powerful neighbor, in whose fate its own was inevitably involved.

Such was the situation of Central America, when the act for acknowledging the national existence of the new republics, that proud testimony of our country's public justice and political magnanimity, was passed, with the unanimous approbation of the people. But those circumstances, which induced the Council of the Indies, to give Guatemala a separate government, influenced the inhabitants in their choice of a political system, when the yoke of colonial servitude was finally broken. They desired that independence as a nation, which they had always enjoyed in substance as a province, and which their population, geographical extent, resources, and local position, gave them reasonable pretensions to demand. Fortunate in one respect, beyond most of their compatriots, they have had no foreign armies to struggle against, for the achievement of their freedom; and, although nearly the last to raise the standard of independence, they have been among the first to complete the organization of constitutional forms of government. Availing ourselves of the information contained in the publications, enumerated at the head of this article, we shall present our readers with a brief account of the past and present condition of the new republic.

As regulated before the revolution, Guatemala comprised most of the isthmus, which unites North and South America, stretching along from Yucatan and Tabasco to Vera-gua, with the Atlantic ocean on one side, and the Pacific on the other. The Republic of Central America is intended to cover the same territory, and for the purposes of the confederation is divided into the five states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. To these the province of Chiapas properly belongs, and has been united, we believe, since the adoption of the federal constitution by the

other states. It needs only the bare inspection of a map to show how favorably this region is situated, in a geographical point of view, for cultivating commercial intercourse, either with other parts of America, or with the nations of both Asia and Europe. Although the seacoast on the Atlantic side is insalubrious, like that of Mexico, and subject also at certain seasons of the year to violent storms, yet it is accessible on each sea by means of numerous harbors; and rivers, communicating with the interior of the country, intersect it in every direction. Whilst Guatemala lay buried in the darkness of Spanish colonial administration, the advantages of its position, although known to the world, were held of little account, because it required the intervention of a revolution to create the possibility of converting them to any useful purpose. Its revenues hardly sufficed to defray the expenses of its provincial government. The Spanish king, * who neither knew where Honduras was, nor what were his own possessions there, probably knew still less of Guatemala; and his successors, bred in equal imbecility and ignorance with himself, might never have heard of its existence, but for the superior excellence of the cocoa produced in Soconusco, which was gathered to be made into chocolate for the especial use of the royal table. And although in Guatemala we discover fewer traces of the horrid tyranny, which the Spaniards exercised over many parts of America, yet the single fact, that so fine a country remained until lately with its resources unappreciated, and almost unknown, speaks volumes against the barbarous maxims of misrule, to which its prosperity was relentlessly sacrificed. Guided by the principles, and stimulated by the invigorating spirit of liberty, we may, perhaps, hope to see Central America one day become the point of union for the commerce of of both oceans.

Next to the position of Guatemala, the most remarkable of its natural features is the number of its volcanoes. Of these the volcano of Ometep is worthy of note, for its situation upon an island in the great lake of Nicaragua. That of Tajumulco, in the old province of Quezaltenango, is subject to frequent eruptions, notwithstanding which there is a considerable village at its base. Near the village of Masaya, in Nicaragua, is the volcano called Nindirí, which discharged a torrent of lava into

* *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 17.

the lake of Masaya, in 1775, destroying the fish in the lake, and heating the lands adjacent to its course, so that the cattle pasturing on them perished. Not far from the village is an extinct volcano, called *Infierno de Masaya* by the *Conquistadores*, in whose time it was the most remarkable one in the kingdom of Guatemala. If the historians of that day may be credited, the crater of this volcano was constantly filled with molten lava, or with metallic substances in a state of fusion, which frequently boiled up, and emitted a brilliant light, illuminating the country for miles around, and distinctly visible twentyfive leagues off at sea. But these volcanoes are now all insignificant, compared with those in the neighborhood of the city of Guatemala.

The site of the capital, it should be premised, has been twice changed. Originally it was built on the spot called Ciudad Vieja, from whence it was removed in 1541, about a league to Old Guatemala, and in 1776 was finally established at New Guatemala. These successive removals were the consequence of disastrous earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions, which frequently occurred in the tract where the old cities were founded. Ciudad Vieja stood at the foot of a lofty mountain, called Volcan de Agua, northeast of which is Old Guatemala. This mountain is of a conical shape, covered with a fertile soil, and surrounded by villages, and valleys producing the most luxuriant crops. Standing on its summit, the spectator can embrace at one view the most sublime and splendid prospect in nature. Near at hand are the mountains of Pacaya, and Volcan de Fuego, amid rich farms and numerous hamlets, the city of Guatemala, the village and beautiful lake of Amatitan, and a country remarkably picturesque in its features. Farther off may be seen the Atlantic ocean on the north, the Pacific on the south, and on each hand a vast extent of land from the city of San Salvador to the plains of Chiapa. Every thing attractive and delightful, which the bounty of nature affords, is profusely lavished over this charming region, which yet is visited by a curse that renders all its blessings unavailing. It forms the roof of a range of subterraneous vaults, teeming with pent up fires, which often convulse the earth, and occasionally burst forth in most terrific explosions.

At the summit of the mountain, called Volcan de Agua, is a kind of crater, although no tradition exists of its having ever emitted fire. But in the morning of September 11, 1541,

after long continued rains, and eruptions from the Volcan de Fuego, accompanied by violent shocks of earthquake, an immense torrent of water rushed down from the crater, forcing before it enormous fragments of the mountain, which overwhelmed the ill-fated town of Ciudad Vieja, and buried many of its inhabitants under the ruins of their dwellings. Their removal to the site of Old Guatemala afforded them but a short respite from calamity. Besides being visited, from time to time, by dreadful epidemics, which raged with fatal malignity, the city was again and again half destroyed by earthquakes, attending volcanic eruptions from the mountains of Volcan de Fuego and Pacaya, between which it stood. Each of these mountains is divided into three peaks at its summit, having several openings. Earthquakes occurring every week for a year or two at a time; vast clouds of ashes and smoke that obscured the sun and rendered artificial light necessary in the city at midday; fire pouring forth incessantly for months together; showers of heated stones;—such are some of the horrors, to which the vicinity of the volcanoes of Guatemala is subject. On one occasion, in the year 1664, the crater of Pacaya vomited forth a pillar of flame so enormous that the city, at the distance of seven leagues, was illuminated at dead of night by a light scarcely inferior to that of noon day. It was one of these tremendous convulsions of nature, continuing at short intervals throughout the latter half of the year 1773, that completely destroyed the city of Old Guatemala, and compelled the inhabitants to abandon their homes, that they might escape the repetition of the terrible catastrophe.

Previous to the Spanish conquest, Guatemala was peopled by various nations of Indians, whose descendants still compose the great mass of its population. No less than twenty-six different languages are enumerated, as peculiar to the various tribes dwelling in this region. The predominant people were a tribe of the same Toltecas, who subjugated Mexico, and extended their conquests far into Guatemala, subduing the Chichimecas, the primitive inhabitants of the country.

It requires careful and repeated perusal of the prolix and confused statements of Juarros, thrown together with scarce any pretensions to method or connexion, to obtain a correct idea of the aboriginal history of Guatemala, and its subsequent political vicissitudes. But from his scattered details we may

gather that, according to the Indian traditions, a large body of of the Toltecas left Tula, in Mexico, under the guidance of Nimaquiche, in quest of less crowded settlements, and, after various wanderings, established themselves near the lake of Atitan. Nimaquiche, having died previously to this, was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who caused his tribe and country to be distinguished by the name of Quiche, in honor of his father.* He divided his conquests into three parts, fixing his own capital at Utatlan, as the head of the Quiches. To his first son, Jiutemal, he gave the kingdom of the Kachiqueles, or Guatemala ; and on his younger son, Acxiquat, he bestowed that of the Zutugiles, or Atitan. This partition subsisted, after many alterations of more or less extent, until the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, when a prince, named Tecum Umam, reigned in Utatlan.

Our author relates these facts on the authority of manuscript histories, by caciques of the Quiche, Kachiquel, and other Indians, who, like the son of Montezuma in Mexico, and the Inca Garcilasso in Peru, busied themselves after they were made acquainted with the Spanish language, in the melancholy duty of recording and preserving the traditions, whether fabulous or true, of their ancient victories, and their departed grandeur and independence. Our readers would not thank us for our pains, if we should attempt to narrate the petty wars and civil vicissitudes, of which the history is thus obtained. The absurd story related by several of the Indian caciques, ascribing the origin of their race to the dispersed ten tribes of Israel, would shake our faith in the whole of the early traditional history of Guatemala, were not the main facts confirmed by other evidence less capable of error and distortion, than mere scattered traditions.

Guatemala was subdued by Pedro de Alvarado, acting under commission from Cortez. He left Mexico on this expedition in 1523, accompanied by three hundred Spaniards, and a large body of auxiliary Mexicans, Tlascaltecas and Cholutecas, having the tried officers, Pedro de Portocarrero and Hernando de Chaves, as second in command. They could not effect the subjugation of the country without many sanguinary battles, in which, it is true, most of the loss was on the

* The name of *Nimaquiche* is analogous to that of Charlemagne, signifying *Great Quiche*.

side of the Indians, but the Spaniards themselves did not escape unharmed. The chief part of these engagements occurred in the districts of Suchiltepeque and Quezaltenango, where the Indians still preserve a lively recollection of their ancient disasters. A river flows into the Pacific, through these two provinces, called Siguila in the beginning of its course, which at the close is changed to Zamalá. An intermediate part of it bears the name of Xiquigel, which signifies *the river of blood*. It was in the neighborhood of this stream that the Quiche Indians made their most resolute stand. They killed great numbers of the Mexican and Tlascaltecan allies; and attacked the Spaniards with the fury of desperation. Immense bodies of them pressed around the Castilian cavalry, their bravest even clinging to the legs of the horses, and endeavoring to drag them and their riders to the ground by main force. But the mailed Spaniards (Teules, or divinities, as the unfortunate Indians termed them) opened a fire of musketry upon the dense multitudes around them, and inflicted the most dreadful slaughter upon the half-clad Quiches. A series of six of these desperate actions was fought in a short space of time, and the waters of the Zamalá, reddened by the carnage of the victors and vanquished, acquired the melancholy name of 'the River of Blood.'

A succession of similar battles ensued, before Alvarado was able to break the resolution, and dissolve the union of the Quiches. And when their king, Tecum Umam, was slain in battle, and their best and bravest had fallen by his side, they had recourse to a stratagem, only to be matched in vigor and dignity by a similar effort in our own times. They decoyed the Spaniards, under pretext of submission, into the city of Utatlan, the court of their princes, abounding in sumptuous edifices, hardly surpassed in splendor, according to the concurring testimony of writers, by the Indian palaces and castles of Mexico and Cusco; a city so populous, that *it is said* seventy thousand combatants were drawn from it to oppose the Spaniards. It was a walled city, having but two points of approach, one by a causeway, the other by a narrow flight of steps; and the buildings stood high and compact. The Quiches devoted this their principal city to the flames, in order to destroy the Spaniards lodged within it; and but for the untimely treachery of the Indians of another tribe, Alvarado and his followers would have been buried beneath the smoking ruins of Utatlan.

But the genius of the Spaniards prevailed; and Alvarado added victory to victory, until he was completely master of the country. Owing to the peaceful reception he met with from the Kachiquel tribe, after he had subdued the Quiches, he had it in his power to establish his government at Guatemala, in 1524, calling his capital, Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala. Having fixed his headquarters here, he proceeded, with greater facility, in subjugating the remaining tribes, who yielded, one after another, to the universal ascendancy of the Spanish arms.

To enter into the condition, or character, of the aboriginal inhabitants of Guatemala is beyond our purpose. That they, like the Mexicans and Peruvians, had attained to partial civilization; nay, that a people had gone before them, of no contemptible degree of refinement, is sufficiently evinced by the vestiges, which remain of their permanent structures. Near the village of Palenque, in the province of Chiapa, are the ruins of what must once have been an opulent city; the capital, perhaps, of an empire, whose very name is lost to history. 'This metropolis,' says Juarros, 'concealed for ages in the midst of a vast desert, remained unknown until the middle of the eighteenth century, when some Spaniards, having penetrated the dreary solitude, found themselves, to their great astonishment, within sight of the remains of what had once been a superb city, six leagues in circumference; the solidity of its edifices, the stateliness of its palaces, and the magnificence of its public works, were not surpassed in importance by its vast extent; temples, altars, deities, sculptures, and ornamental stones, bear testimony to its great antiquity.' He afterwards mentions the remains of an aqueduct here, of sufficient dimensions for a man to walk upright in it; and other like ruins are to be seen near Ocosingo, in the same district.

The celebrated circus, and other structures in the valley of Copan, in the state of Honduras, are, in part, undoubtedly of later date, because they abound with sculptured figures in the Spanish costume. The circus, so called, consisted of a circular space surrounded by stone pyramids, about six yards high, having in its centre an altar, or elevated place of sacrifice. Near it, suspended between two small pyramids, swung a hammock containing two human figures with the Indian dress, all constructed of stone. In the same valley is the cave of Tibulca, hollowed out of the base of a hill, in the form of a temple,

adorned with columns, and other architectural ornaments. In the district of Solola, we read of the great city of Uatlan, already mentioned; and of other ruins of cities elsewhere; such as Patinamit, near the village of Tecpanguatemala; and Mixco, in the valley of Xilotepeque. And the vestiges and foundations of many large fortresses are still to be seen in the province of Quezaltenango. Of all these buildings, the palaces and castles of Uatlan, appear to have been the most remarkable, especially the grand alcazar of the kings of Quiche, having three hundred and seventy-six paces' length in front, and a depth of seven hundred and twenty-eight, and constructed of hewn stone. After making all reasonable allowance for the exaggerations of Torquemada, Fuentes, and other Spanish writers, enough will remain to show, that the Indians of Guatemala had risen to no inconsiderable height of power and refinement.

Under the government of the *Conquistadores*, and their successors, the native inhabitants, exchanging the condition of independent tribes, for that of a subdued, an inferior, and a depressed race, lost much of their original force of character. As Guatemala, however, was an agricultural, not a mining country, its primitive inhabitants were not subjected to those excesses of grinding despotism, which disgraced the conduct of the Spaniards in Peru and New Granada. Their spirits were not broken here, nor their numbers swept off, by the horrible cruelties of the *mita*. Oppression fell upon them, when it came at all, in the mild form of agricultural labor. And as the Indians of Guatemala had less cause to complain of the whites, than the tribes of their race in other parts of Spanish America, so the Creoles suffered less from the misrule of the mother country, and its greedy emissaries. The government was nominally placed under that of Mexico; but the captain-general of Guatemala, did not acknowledge a very close dependence upon the viceroy of New Spain. To this, and to the peculiar occupations, and spirit of the people, it is owing, that the kingdom of Guatemala was almost the last to embrace the cause of liberty.

But whilst an obstinate struggle for independence was convulsing the neighboring provinces of Venezuela, it is not to be supposed, that the inhabitants of Guatemala were entirely tranquil. Still, the Spanish rule, pressing less heavily upon them, than upon other regions of America more accessible to its in-

fluence, or more stimulating to its cupidity, they had not the same urgent inducement to draw the sword, which actuated the Colombians; nor, if they had set the example of armed resistance to the mother country, could she so readily have made them feel the extremity of her vengeance. Previously to 1821, men of intelligence and influence had been gradually preparing the minds of the inhabitants for a declaration of independence; and in September of that year the decisive step was taken, contemporaneously with the revolutionary movements in Mexico. Unfortunately, however, for Guatemala, the usurper, Iturbide, resolved to make it a part of his empire; and by combined deceit and violence, gained over most of the towns in the province. But Salvador, and part of Nicaragua, refused to submit from the beginning; and when the downfall of the usurper left the other districts free to act, they resumed their original purpose of forming an independent republic, as at present organized. A constituent assembly was immediately called together, which completed the constitution of government for the confederated states, November 22, 1824. Of the five states, Salvador established its constitution first, in June, 1824; Costa Rica followed in January, 1825; Guatemala in October, 1825; Honduras in December, 1825; and lastly, Nicaragua, in April, 1826.

Central America, it is well known, adopted, like Mexico, the political system of the United States, as a model in the formation of its constitutions. A comparison of the two systems, however, while it demonstrates the closeness of the imitation, discloses many remarkable discrepancies, which will best appear, from a brief exposition of the constitution of the confederacy, and that of some one of the individual states.

The federal constitution is not preceded by a declaration of rights, or general principles, but commences by defining the nation, its territory, government and religion, and the conditions of citizenship. It expressly reserves to each state all the power, which it does not confer upon the federal authorities, as the basis of its political system. It establishes the catholic religion, to the exclusion of the public exercise of every other. In respect to citizenship, its provisions are very peculiar, inasmuch as it pronounces every inhabitant of the republic free, and that none are slaves, who claim protection from its laws; none citizens, who traffic in slaves. Every person, past the age of eighteen, or married, is declared a citizen, provided he

exercises any useful profession, or has any known means of subsistence ; but the privilege is lost by the acceptance of hereditary titles, or pensions from a foreign country, or by being convicted of an infamous crime ; and it is suspended during an indictment for such a crime, or by being proved a fraudulent debtor, by notorious profligacy of conduct, by physical or moral incapacity, or by living in the condition of a domestic servant.

For the purposes of elections, each state is divided into *popular juntas*, *districts*, and *departments*. Each popular junta, consists of not less than two hundred and fifty, nor more than twentyfive hundred inhabitants, who choose a primary elector for every two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The primary electors from every popular junta in a district, form the *district junta*, who choose a district elector for every ten primary electors. The district electors of a department united compose the junta of the department ; and these last juntas elect the senators and representatives, and the supreme executive and judicial authorities of the republic.

The legislative power resides in a Congress, composed of representatives, elected annually, in the ratio of one to every twelve district electors, that is, one to every thirty thousand inhabitants. For every three representatives, one substitute also is elected. This body assembles annually the first day of March, continuing in session three months ; and to it belongs, in addition to the powers vested in the Congress of the United States, express authority to regulate education, to declare war and make peace, to ratify treaties negotiated by the executive, and express authority to construct great roads and canals of internal communication. It belongs to the Senate to sanction (*sancionar*) or reject all laws passed by the Congress, which, when thus passed and sanctioned, it is the duty of the executive instantly to promulgate.

The senate consists of two members and one substitute for each state, elected annually by thirds, to whom it belongs to give or deny sanction to laws, to watch over the integrity of the constitution, to advise the executive authority, to propose a triple list to the president for his nomination, of the principal civil and military officers of the republic, and to declare when there is cause for the impeachment of the public servants.

The president is elected for the period of four years, and exercises the executive power as usually understood in this

country, excepting the right of a *veto* upon laws, and the other qualifications of his authority, before mentioned. The Supreme Court, composed of either five or seven members, to be elected every two years, but capable of perpetual reëlection, in addition to the ordinary powers of such a tribunal, constitutes a high court of impeachment upon information of the senate.

After these provisions for the organization of the government, there follow in the constitution sundry guaranties of personal freedom, as they are termed, and limitations of the legislative authority, in which the fundamental principles of liberty are embodied. Such is the frame of government for the whole republic. Some peculiarities of the state constitutions deserve to be mentioned.

The federal constitution delineates the outline of the form of government to be adopted by the several states, by which means great uniformity is secured, and the constitution of one sufficiently explains those of the rest. We take that of Salvador, the first that was finished, for an example. The legislative body, called a Congress, consists of not less than nine, nor more than twenty-one deputies, elected to serve two years, whose acts are subject to the revision of a representative council, elected for three years; the executive power residing in a governor, denominated supreme chief (*gefe supremo*), whose term of service is four years. Each department is governed by an intendant, appointed by the supreme chief. The constitution of the other states is substantially the same, all of them following the model set, and the general outline prescribed, in the constitution of the whole republic.

Some of the provisions in these systems of government are sufficiently singular, and suggest several useful topics of reflection. We pass on, however, to the subject of the actual condition of Central America, and the progress which the government has made, since the accomplishment of its republican organization. Its foreign relations present nothing of moment for consideration; but internally the unsettled state of the country contradicts the favorable presages, drawn from the bloodless commencement of its career of independence. The general confidence entertained in the character of the president, Manuel José Arce, gave strength and extensive currency to those anticipations of prosperity. But the end has by no means corresponded to the beginning.

The patriots of Guatemala seem, like those in all the South American governments, but with less of plausible reason, than most of their brethren in the other republics can allege, to have proceeded on principles radically erroneous, in their financial affairs. The revenue of Central America arises from maritime duties, from the monopoly of tobacco and gunpowder, and from the post-office. These funds, managed as before the revolution, did not yield enough to cover the estimated expenses of the first year, by eight hundred thousand dollars. Instead of improving the established sources of public revenue, so as to draw from them enough for the public exigencies ; or if that could not be done, manfully facing the difficulty, and providing fixed means to meet it permanently ; the government resorted to the ruinous expedient of contracting a loan for seven millions and a half, which will prove a serious embarrassment to the infant republic. It is said, indeed, that for the sake of conciliating the popular good will, other productive taxes were inconsiderately abolished at the time of the revolution ; the plain ultimate good of the country being sacrificed to promote the purposes of the moment. Nothing could have been more grossly ill judged. At the crisis of the revolution, the finances might have been placed upon a sure foundation, amid the numerous other fundamental changes, which the condition of the people underwent ; and any judicious regulations respecting the revenue would easily have passed into the fabric of the government, along with the great mass of political innovations effected at the adoption of the constitution. Least of all ought any of the existing sources of revenue, to which the people were familiarized by long use, to have been abandoned for the destructive substitute of a foreign loan. The violation of these self-evident maxims of political economy must either involve the republic in acts of bad faith, lead to political convulsions, or compel the government to resort to burthensome contributions to replenish the treasury ; either of which is greatly to be deprecated. Honduras and Nicaragua, it is represented, are unable to subsist upon their own resources ; and can ill afford to yield a contingent for the expenses of the general government, which must fall therefore upon Costa Rica, Salvador, and Guatemala with redoubled weight. It is reasonable to anticipate, from such a state of things, the same disorders which financial embarrassments have produced in other parts of Spanish America.

Unfortunately, too, the resources of Central America are not of such a nature, that she can easily and successfully contend with pecuniary difficulties. It is true, that her government was more economical, until recently, than those of her sister republics, and was enabled to meet the national exigencies with a smaller amount of expenditure. It is true, also, that the resources of the country, if they could be called forth, are not inconsiderable. But the extreme unhealthiness of the northeastern coasts, the badness of the roads, and the absence of water communication capable, at present, of affording convenient means of intercourse with the interior, have depressed the commerce of Central America. Its maritime revenue, for the first year, was not estimated to exceed three hundred thousand dollars. Until a better system can be introduced, the country must, of necessity, continue poor, with little commerce, no manufactures, and scarcely more agriculture than the wants of the people require to supply their home consumption.

Extraordinary advantages, it is well known, have been anticipated for Central America, by the construction of an *Oceanic Canal*, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific seas through the lake of Nicaragua. The idiom of exaggeration, so peculiar to the Spanish tongue, has been racked by the Guatemaltecos for terms of magnificent description, in depicting the beneficial consequences that are to flow from this celebrated project. We fear the time is far distant, when the boasted utility of the canal of Nicaragua will be realized. It is quite certain, at all events, that this canal will not soon be made. The success of the state of New York, in extending her noble canal through a tract of country, more favorable for the purpose, perhaps, than any other in America, has given encouragement to wild speculations on the subject of canals. Especially has it induced our brethren of the South to believe, that no undertaking is too arduous or expensive for the enterprise of North Americans. We read, for instance, in a piece published in Guatemala, exhorting the government to patronize the canal of Nicaragua, such a sentence as the following; 'The United States of the North have entertained *the project of opening a communication between the two oceans, by a canal of a thousand leagues*, connecting the waters of the Columbia and Mississippi rivers; and we tremble at the idea of cutting through

a plain of five leagues !' * A project, truly, which we imagine it would stagger the bold enthusiasm even of Captain Symmes to conceive. And yet to raise a stock for a canal over the Rocky Mountains, and for the canal of Nicaragua, on the conditions proposed by the government of Central America, would, we apprehend, be equally practicable. The public expectation having been unduly raised, relative to this matter, by the partial contract made by the government of Central America with Mr Beneski in behalf of Mr Palmer of New York, we deem some explanation of the circumstance proper here, that the credit of our country may not suffer among those, who, from ignorance of the precise nature of our political institutions, do not rightly distinguish between the acts of the nation, and of its individual citizens.

By a resolution passed June 25th, 1825, the Congress of Central America voted, that the canal of Nicaragua should be opened for the vessels of all neutral and friendly nations, and solicited proposals for the undertaking, which were to be rendered to the Executive. Proposals were accordingly made by an agent for the Messrs Barclay of London, and another for Mr Palmer of New York, which resulted in a contract with the latter, concluded in June, 1826. When the question whether this contract should be ratified, came before the Congress, it encountered much opposition; and strong reasons were urged against its ratification by José del Valle, a deputy of distinguished talents, who had been high in station under Iturbide, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the office of first president of the republic. He alleged, that it was premature to contract for the construction of the canal, before it had been ascertained to be practicable; that no surveys had been made of the river San Juan, the lake of Nicaragua, or of the land between that and the Pacific; that all the plans and charts of this region were inaccurate and defective; that however useful such a canal might be, if feasible, yet that the present time was altogether unsuitable for the undertaking; that it was extremely ill advised to have the canal, and with

* 'Los Estados Unidos del Norte han ensayado el proyecto de la comunicacion de los mares por un canal de mas de mil leguas, uniendo las ramificaciones de Colombia y el Misisipi; y nosotros temblamos para cortar un plano de cinco leguas !' *El Liberal* (de Guatemala), Mayo 17 de 1826.

it the command of all the resources of the country, in the hands of foreigners; and that, besides, the government had no precise information of the credit or circumstances of the contracting house. If a navigable ship canal should be constructed, he conceived that, being the readiest road to India, it would tempt some foreign power, Great Britain for instance, or an enemy of Great Britain, to seize on Nicaragua, and occupy the fortifications at the mouth of its canal, as a fit position for another Elsinore or Gibraltar. Central America itself was in no settled condition; disputes concerning boundary was still pending with Mexico on the one hand, and Colombia on the other; and serious disturbances existed in the very state of Nicaragua, where the excavations were to be made. He, therefore, urged the Congress to wait until the requisite surveys and calculations could be made, and not to leap into the contract blindfold, but rather, if the project, on satisfactory examination, should be found practicable, to reserve the benefit of it for the republic itself, or its own citizens.

Notwithstanding the cogency of these reasons, the contract was ratified, but clogged at the same time with such onerous conditions, as would almost create a belief that the government did not feel very anxious to have it fulfilled. By the proposals originally presented to the president, a privilege was claimed of navigating the canal by steamboats for thirtyfive years; the contractor was to have one half of the proceeds of the tolls for fifteen years after the capital invested should have been reimbursed; and the capital invested was immediately to be charged upon the republic as a debt, payable at all events by the people, if the project should fail to prove profitable to the undertakers. The enterprise, even upon these terms, would have been very hazardous, because the cost being converted into a loan, might very possibly reduce the nation to bankruptcy, and thus ruin the contractors. But in Palmer's contract, the privilege for steamboats was limited to twenty years; and half the tolls for seven years only, instead of fifteen, was conceded. The republic, moreover, incurred no responsibility for the capital invested, but, on the contrary, immediately on the completion of the canal, was to receive one third of the tolls, leaving but two thirds as a fund to reimburse the contractors.

In fact, they made themselves entirely dependant on the government, which might at any time resume the grant, by

refunding the principal sum laid out, with ten per cent. interest and one half the tolls for seven years. Add to this, that two hundred thousand dollars were to be forthwith advanced, to be expended in the construction of fortifications, and the contractors remained subject to be called upon for further advances, without any limitation as to the amount, or any security for repayment but the remote prospect of uncertain profit. These unanswerable objections proved fatal to the enterprise; because no capitalists did, or could, consider it anything less than extravagant improvidence to adventure in a speculation loaded with such conditions. Had the contract for the canal been made on the terms proposed by the firm of Barclay, and had it been thrown into the English market, when the mania for mining and other joint stock enterprises was at flood, this stock *might* have been subscribed for, at least with such chance of success as other bubbles of the day enjoyed. But we do not believe, that even the daring speculators of that infatuated period could have imparted credit and stability to the stock, on the conditions of the contract as finally concluded.

Having entered so fully into the preceding topics, we shall abstain from relating minutely the circumstances of the unhappy civil dissensions, which have continued to agitate Central America for the past year. This will be the less necessary, because the newspapers have from time to time contained intelligence of the events as they occurred. But the origin of the disturbances not being so generally known, and many misapprehensions having gone abroad in consequence, respecting the motives of the contending parties, we shall simply state the commencement of the troubles, as we find it explained in the papers before us, without vouching for the integrity, either of the government or of its opponents.

The inhabitants of Salvador have long been jealous, it seems, that a strong *central* party existed in Guatemala, the capital at the same time of the most powerful of the confederated states, and of the confederacy itself. They charged the president with having digested a plan of changing the government from the federal to the central form. Even during the session of the first congress, in March, 1826, the Salvadoreños indicated the jealousy in question, by representing to the Congress the necessity of transferring its sessions, and the seat of the executive government, to some place distant at least forty leagues from Guatemala. Petitions to the same effect came

from the towns of Aguachapam, and Metapan, in the state of Salvador. The regular session of Congress closed in June; and in August following, the senate, exercising the discretion conferred upon it by the constitution,* appointed an extraordinary session of the congress to be holden at Guatemala, the established seat of government, on the first day of October ensuing, to deliberate upon various important subjects demanding immediate attention. At the time fixed for the meeting, only sixteen members attended. As twenty-one were required by the constitution to constitute a quorum; the members convened could not of course legally transact any business, but such as related to their regular organization. In the discharge of this duty, they examined and discussed the reasons assigned by the absent members for not attending, and took measures for procuring their presence.

It soon became apparent, that the members from Salvador designed to refuse attendance at all events. One of them, Marcellino Mendez, sent in a memorial, in which he signified his determination not to attend, unless the Congress was convened at some other place, denied that the decree of the senate set forth any sufficient cause for convoking the Congress, and complained, that among the subjects for its consideration, they had omitted to insert the question, left undecided by the preceding Congress, whether the seat of government should be removed. This document was justly regarded as a kind of public declaration of the feelings of the people of Salvador, whose unfriendly sentiments towards the Guatemaltecos (whether justly conceived or not, we do not judge) were otherwise sufficiently known. The result of the whole was, that the legislature of the state of Guatemala authorized the levy of a body of militia, under the name of defenders of the constitution.

Meanwhile the members of the Congress had continued their preparatory sessions, until October tenth, when the president of the republic issued a decree, ordering the convocation of an extraordinary congress at Cojutepeque, in the state of Salvador, to consist of two delegates for every thirty thousand inhabitants, and to be invested with unlimited authority to provide for the national necessities, and preserve the public tranquillity. This

* *Constitucion de Centro-America*, T. vi, s. 2, art. 101. 'Convocará al Congreso en casos extraordinarios.'

decree was immediately declared unconstitutional and void, by the Supreme Court; and being communicated to the regular Congress, they also voted that it was an act of arbitrary power on the part of the president, and that they could not observe it, either as individuals or as public functionaries.

Guatemala, on the one hand, yielded a qualified submission to the president's decree, and proceeded to elect delegates for the extraordinary congress. Salvador, on the other hand, took the lead in opposing it; and had she confined her opposition to the constitutional means of resistance, the affair might have terminated without bloodshed. But various events occurred, having a tendency to exasperate the minds of all concerned, and the breath of party spirit fanned the flame of discord, till it broke forth into a civil war. Early in 1827, the government of Salvador levied troops, and caused them to be gradually concentrated upon points convenient for invading the territory of Guatemala. This measure was the signal for actual hostilities. The Guatemaltecos considering themselves threatened with an attack from the Salvadoreños, prepared for the worst. After various intermediate movements, the troops of Salvador marched upon the city of Guatemala, amounting to twelve or fourteen hundred in number, and headed by Nicolas Raoul, Isidoro Saget, and Cleto Ordoñez. An engagement ensued in the neighborhood of the capital, which resulted in the defeat and dispersion of the invading force, and the complete triumph of the Guatemaltecos. Such was the origin of the unfortunate dissensions, which have agitated the new republic, and the present effects and future consequences of which, may prove disastrous to its prosperity. We sincerely hope, however, for that entire reëstablishment of the constitutional government, and that permanent restoration of peace and good order to the nation, which the latest accounts encourage us to expect.

ART. VI. *Specimens of Polish Poets ; with Notes and Observations on the Literature of Poland.* By JOHN BOWRING. London. 1827. 12mo. pp. 227.

THOUGH we noticed Mr Bowring's Servian translations in our last number, we cannot resist the temptation of bringing him again before our readers ; and we have more reasons for doing this than the mere wish to praise him. This however is, we confess, a strong one ; for the writer who can move gracefully under the restraints of a foreign idiom, and give us the spirit of foreign poets, without the second-hand air of translations, must possess a rare talent. We have even suspected, that Mr Bowring can do more than this ; that he can sometimes, like our Stuart, raise his portraits to the dignity of pictures, by throwing into them an expression of mind and character, which nature had neglected to give them. A man of such powers must do some violence to his own ambition, by condescending to the office of translator. It is true, he is repaid by admiration ; but it must be remembered, that he was obliged to create the taste, which he is now gratifying. We had before occasionally seen some of the wild flowers, which grew under the leaden skies of the north of Europe, and as there was known to be no lack of misery in those regions, it was supposed, of course, that there must be poetry also ; but no one had thought of a polar expedition to collect it, and we believe that Mr Bowring may claim the ground by the right of discovery, as well as successful cultivation. We remember well, that when he gave us his beautiful specimens from Russia, and from Servia (a country which might almost have been blotted from the map without our knowing it), we were almost as much taken by surprise, as by the ode, which Major Denham brought from the court of his colored majesty of Bornou.

But a better reason for noticing Mr Bowring is, that he is aiding the cause of philanthropy. By making the nations acquainted with each other's efforts in the department of imagination, he is creating in them a reciprocal interest, which at present nothing else could do. Commerce does not tend so much as might be expected, to remove the prejudices, which lead men to strife ; for they have not yet learned, that the gain of one nation is not necessarily loss to another. Science seems

to have put on a martial aspect; for who does not know what a tempest the name of *quadrant*, or *compound blow-pipe*, has awakened? But the works of imagination are welcomed every where, without jealousy, censorship, or suspicion. Nations seem to have a bowing rivalry with each other in doing homage to foreign genius. The Frenchman devours the novels of his natural enemy, and groans in admiration of Young; and England welcomes painters from America, without upbraiding them for their unnatural rebellion fifty years ago. These mutual courtesies augur well, and such sympathies may serve, in the absence of better, to bring men together, to give them common interests and pleasures, and to make them delight in these harmless displays of power, as the Greenlanders are said to fight out their quarrels, without savage meetings in the field of blood.

Certain grave men may think we attribute too much to the imagination; but truly, if national dissensions derive their strength from the imagination, we do not see why that power should not heal as well as destroy, nor why the same imagination of honor, which can muster thousands to danger, should not be able, if rightly directed, to keep them quiet at home. When a land is lighted up by the universal fire of poetic imagination in all its valleys and hills, it is no longer foreign, nor its people strangers to any other. We know and share their sentiments and feelings, and cannot feel at enmity with them. This may hereafter be the case with all the nations, and we think Mr Bowring is aiding to bring about the result, when this sword of the breast, if not beat quite into a ploughshare, shall at least be made an instrument for extending liberty, humanity, and happiness, and for breaking down the bars and boundaries, which now separate men from each other, as if their nature and real interests were not the same, as if man might have substantial reasons for not being at peace with man.

Perhaps we must hope more humbly than this; we trust, then, that by making the nations acquainted with each other's poetry, Mr Bowring is aiding the cause of freedom. Poetry naturally speaks the language of freedom, and it cannot, however *laureated*, lisp the courtly phrase without blushing; it is much more at home when bearing free sentiments from kingdom to kingdom, and stretching through them all that electric chain, from which, touch it in any part of the world, the same fire sparkles, and the same shock is given. No small portion of men feel that they are oppressed; some, like the Poles, by

tyrants without ; others, by tyrants within ; and they take courage when they hear their own strong feelings expressed in the languages of different lands. Certainly a mention, like that of Poland in "The Pleasures of Hope," must be reviving to a suffering people ; it gives them a pledge, that millions of hearts are on their side. Thus every Pole, who desires to be free, grows bold when he hears poets, if not politicians, say, that the second Holy Alliance is no better than the first ; that their pretence of putting down anarchy is the same, which Catharine made for dismembering Poland ; and that it is quite too much for their patience, to see a gallant nation destroyed by a profligate old woman, aided by an Austrian devotee, and a Prussian hero, which last name will cease to stand so high, when it pleases the world to open its eyes.

We have neither room nor materials, at present, for a history of Polish literature. The Poles (so called from *Pole*, a plain, which is a word descriptive of their soil) are the best descendants of the ancient Sarmatians. This was a name given to the vast and shifting population of northern Europe, which was continually rising with a swing, like that of the ocean, against the bounds of the Roman empire. We know nothing of their attempts at poetry, and are not disposed to lament the loss. If it be true, as was said of them, that their architecture was inferior to that of the beaver, we could not expect to find the sister arts in a very exalted state. But in later ages, the nation sustained a proud character ; it was called the rampart of the christian world ; the people were full of romantic daring, and exercised their courage against the Turks on one side, and the barbarous Russians on the other. A Polish army under Sobieski, drove the former from the gates of Vienna in 1683 ; and in the preceding century, Stephen Bathori bombarded the great Muscovite city of Moscow, as we are assured by Captain Dalgetty, though he was not present on that occasion. So late as the seventeenth century, a Czar was carried prisoner to Warsaw, and the son of a Polish king placed on the Russian throne, at least as firmly as Henry of England on that of France. As the poets are a race, who love to sun themselves in their country's glory, it might be expected that they would celebrate these memorable deeds ; but other circumstances were unfavorable to their existence. Possibly this very renown of the Poles for courage, prevented some nation from doing them the favor, for which England was indebted to the

Normans, who, in atonement for their intrusions, gave flexibility to her language, and romance to her poetical inspirations. The literature of Poland suffered under an invasion of another kind. When christianity was introduced, its teachers were generally foreigners. By their influence, the Latin was made the prevailing language, while the Polish became vulgar; and as they were the only writers, scarcely anything was published in the native tongue. This despotism lasted till the sixteenth century, when Rey of Naglowic, and Kochanowski, gave the language the ascendancy and form which it now retains. It by no means deserved to be thus neglected; Schaffarik compares its sounds to the vibrations of a guitar. Mr Bowring tells us, that it is the most polished of the Sclavonian dialects, but when written, the difficulty of accommodating twenty-four Latin letters to thirty-six Sclavonian sounds, gives it an uninviting aspect, and the accent always falling on the penultimate syllable, forms a stumblingblock in the way of versification.

But though its language was thus depressed, Poland was not behindhand in improvement. Kochanowski, of whose writings specimens are given, lived in the sixteenth century; and, excepting Chaucer, what distinguished name could England boast before that time? Wyatt and Surrey were poets, it is true; but no one would think of giving their works to a foreigner, among a few specimens of English poetry. In the sixteenth century, almost every considerable town in Poland had its printing press. The Zaluskan library, lately removed to Petersburg, contains more than twenty thousand works in this language alone; and the poets are found in an unbroken line, from the time of Sigismund Augustus, the patron of Kochanowski, down to the present day. We cannot help wishing, that the plan of placing Sir Philip Sidney on the throne of Poland, had been less a dream of romance. The character of the English Bayard was precisely fitted to charm such a people; it might possibly have added elegance to their literature, and grace to their stern virtues; and, if he could not have given a happier turn to the destiny of the nation, he would at least have been a magnificent subject for their heroes to imitate, and their bards to praise.

Some may think, that the misfortunes of a country are more quickening to poetry, than its triumphs; and it is sometimes true, that the fountains of inspiration, which run low in the prosperous summer of a nation, are filled to overflowing by

the storm. But time must first soften the painful recollections ; poets do not find their materials in the raw chiliness of the new-made grave, nor the blackness of the recent ruin. One of the living poets of Poland has appealed to the feelings of his countrymen with great power ; but they must be heart-sick, while they remember by what a series of low villany they were undone ; it would have been less humiliating to fall a sacrifice to the fame of some illustrious destroyer, than to sink under the plotting knavery of emperors and kings. We are glad to be informed, that misfortunes have not broken their literary spirit ; three universities, beside innumerable other literary institutions, are sending knowledge through the country, and may give them an intellectual existence when the outline of their territory shall be forgotten.

It is doubtful whether their present sovereigns, if they could avoid it, would allow them even this. The three millions, who were thrown into the hands of Austria by the partition, were not tortured with attempts to break down their national distinctions ; the Austrian sovereign oppressed them in a more characteristic way, by plunder and taxation. The Emperor went so far as to rob the churches of their gold and silver, and even to despoil of their ornaments the royal tombs at Cracow. This individual has not yet made any attempts to prevent the advance of knowledge ; but as his views with respect to literature are known to resemble those of Jack Cade, it cannot be expected to flourish under his administration. Nearly two millions were subjected to the Prussians, whose blows at the national existence were more direct ; they decreed that the German language should supersede the Polish ; and thus their despotism, though less rapacious, was more grating to the Poles, because more humbling to their pride. But the Russians professed to respect property ; and when the statue of their king was erected in a Polish city, '*sum cui*' was engraved on the pedestal ; an excellent rule, if not intended wholly for the benefit of others. But the effect of the Russian government on Poland is by far the most important ; it extends directly to a million and a half ; and three millions and a half are included in the Russian kingdom of Poland. The Russians have not harassed the Poles with new political institutions, but as Russian civilization is confined to the higher orders, like a Corinthian capital surmounting a shapeless block, or the laced hat of an African monarch exalted above no other

drapery than that of nature, it cannot be supposed, that the communication of the Poles with the brutal and ignorant officers and soldiery sent among them, will have any propitious effect on their intellectual character. Surely no man can wonder, that the Poles, ground to the dust by the various burdens of oppression, should have sprung with one heart, to the service of Napoleon. The moment there was a glimpse of hope, that he might restore their country, eighty thousand Poles engaged in his service; they were last in the disastrous retreat from Moscow, and clung to his broken fortunes when the rest of his allies had left him; for though he did not prove a benefactor, nor friend, he was their avenger; and therefore they cheered him onward in the 'blaze of his fame,' and mourned for him when he had fallen.

We must not look for anything very national in the specimens before us. It would be pleasant, certainly, to see a nation's character reflected in its poetry; but it is no more to be expected, than in that of individuals, where few will do the writer the kindness to believe, that his life is as pure as his song. The national poetry does not seem to depend much on the history and manners. The greater historical events will be duly commemorated, and the natural scenery will enter the service in the capacity of metaphor; but the stream of inspiration cannot retain all the images, that may have colored its waters as it flows, nor are poets, after all, the men most seriously affected by the condition of their country. In a rude age, like that of the Troubadours, when poetry is meant directly for the audience, and must charm at a first hearing, or not at all, poetry may give an exact idea of the manners and taste; but not so, when the general refinement requires more labor to please, and at the same time furnishes a supply of various materials for the poet, beside opening paths to fame, which do not require him to watch the attention of an audience, or flatter its vanity. Without pretending to give a summary character of Polish poetry, we should say that it was not remarkably national; but this may be explained by the fact, that the glory of Poland was on the wane before the age of inspiration began. It is plaintive and thoughtful, sometimes powerful and inspiring; less characteristic than the Servian, less imposing than the Russian; but by no means destitute of interest and beauty.

We give the following lines from the patriarch of their poets, Kochanowski, who died in 1584.

' Sweet sleep ! sure, man might learn to die from thee,
 Who dost unravel all death's mystery ;
 Come spread thy balmy influence o'er my soul,
 And let it soar, beyond the world's control,
 Up to the realms where morning has its birth,
 Down to the abyss whence darkness wraps the earth,
 Where time has piled its everlasting snows,
 Where parched by sunbeams not a fountain flows ;
 O let it count each bright and wandering star,
 Or chase its mazy pilgrimage afar ;
 Sit in the centre, while each circling sphere
 Pours its ærial music on the ear ;
 Drink of the o'erflowing cup of joy and peace,
 While the tired body sleeps in weariness ;
 No dreams to hang upon its mortal breath ;—
 And so—undying—let it taste of death.' p. 55.

Zimorowicz lived in the polemical reign of Sigismund the Third, and died in 1629, at the early age of twenty-five ; literature was at that time neglected for monkish Latin, and considering the prevailing intellectual darkness and depravity of taste, we cannot help being struck with his writings. Apart from their simplicity and beauty, we may admire them as night-blooming flowers. The following song is finely expressive of the jealous fears and sorrows of a lover.

' I saw thee from my casement high,
 And watched thy speaking countenance ;
 With silent step thou glidedst by,
 And didst not cast a hurried glance
 Upon my mean abode nor me.

Then misery smote me ;—but for Heaven
 I should have fallen scathed and dead,
 I blame thee not,—thou art forgiven ;
 I yet may hear thy gentle tread,
 When evening shall o'ermantle thee.

The evening came,—then mantling night ;
 I waited till the full moon towered
 High in the heaven.—My longing sight
 Perceived thee not ;—the damp mists lowered ;
 In vain I sought thee anxiously.

Didst thou upon some privileged leaf
 My name record, and to the wind
 Commit it,—bid it charm my grief,
 Bear some sweet influence to my mind,
 And set me from despairing free ?

Where are the strains of music now,—
 The song, the dance that morn and eve
 Were heard about my house,—when low
 And sweet thy voice was wont to heave
 Soft sighs and gentle thoughts for me.

'T is past, 't is past—and in my heart
 Is sorrow,—silence in my ear ;
 The vain world's wonted smiles depart ;
 Joy and the springtide of the year,
 Fond youth ! are scattered speedily.

Thou hast not said, Farewell ! No sleep
 Shall close my mourning eye—the night
 Is gloomy now ! Go, minstrel, weep !
 For I shall weep—and sorrow's blight,
 That scathes my heart, shall visit thee.' pp. 86, 87.

We select a few verses from another of his songs, that well represents the graceful importunity of love.

'It is not gold that I entreat,
 I would not have thy riches, sweet !
 I supplicate no gems from thee,
 I want no rings of brilliancy ;—
 But give me, give me, lovely maid !
 The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

When thou didst plant those flow'rets, thou
 Didst pledge the wreath to bind my brow ;—
 The wreath is woven ; now convey
 The wreath to me, as thou didst say ;
 Come, give me, give me, lovely maid !
 The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

'Twill fade ere long,—the summer sky
 Will blast its bloom—its flowers will die ;
 Though suns be cool, and winds should sleep,
 Soon autumn's chill will o'er it creep.
 Come, give me, give me, lovely maid !
 The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.

O is it not a praise, a bliss,
 For such a trifling gift as this,—
 A few frail flowers that soon must die,
 To find a friend—eternally ?
 Then give me, give me, lovely maid !
 The rosemary wreath that crowns thy head.'

pp. 90, 92.

Sarbiewski is so well known, by his name Casimir, for his Latin poetry, that we pass to more modern writers. Of these, Niemcewicz is distinguished as a historian and tragedian, as well as poet. He is perhaps still remembered in some parts of this country, as the companion in exile of Kosciusko. After his return from America, he published a *Life of Washington*. Mr Bowring has given some eloquent specimens of his prose writing. We could do no justice to his poetry by an extract, and we regret that the length of the specimens prevents us from inserting the whole of one of them. But we must hasten to Casimir Brodzinski, also a living poet, and a man of striking genius; whose works must have great power in his own land, where their tragic talent and perfect simplicity make them accessible and interesting to all, the humble as well as high, and the patriotic feeling, which bursts out everywhere, must, like the Swiss *Ranz des Vaches*, go to the hearts of men, who are enduring all the miseries of banishment, in their own country. Brodzinski's patriotism is not mere language, but a deep and burning passion; his works are not hung with black, like mourning-pieces, but the remembrance of his country's wrongs gives a solemn energy to every sentiment. We do not know whether he is old or young; possibly he may remember the short but brilliant existence of his country's freedom; he may have 'sat by its cradle, and followed it to the grave;' and though it would seem, that nothing less than a miracle can revive it, we doubt not, that if the changes of the world ever afford a gleam of hope, he will raise a trumpet-call to his countrymen, to which every heart will reply. The first specimen of his poetry alludes to the celebrated 'Polish Legion,' the remnant of Kosciusko's army, which cut its way to Italy to join the French republican forces, and afterwards served so faithfully in the campaigns of Napoleon. 'The Legionist' is a dialogue between a young Polish soldier, and an old Italian, who welcomes him as a stranger. The careless desolation of the Pole, the sorrowful revenge that swallows up every other feeling, his indifference to the luxurious climate and the perfect and ruined monuments of art, are finely contrasted with the gentle courtesy and indolent epicureanism of the Italian, who is quite unable to comprehend a character so young and so determined. It closes thus;

'Nought to me

But the harsh clarion's clang is harmony;

That only can awake my country's sleep;
 That let me hear when sinking in the deep
 Dull cave of long forgetfulness. If e'er
 Age should call back the blighted wanderer
 To his own home; how sweet beneath the shade
 Of the pale lime-tree—on the green turf laid—
 To mingle with my country's sorrow, thought
 Of triumphs by her exiled children bought.
 Our cities are in ashes; from the block
 Our youths ne'er chiseled gods; yet on the rock
 By the way-side our heroes' tombs we see,
 Uttering their deeds to time and history.

THE ITALIAN.

Thou fair-haired youth! these tones, so sad and stern,
 Become not life's gay spring. Let old men mourn,
 But thou, be joyful. Let thy country be
 In God's high hand—the King of kings is he;
 But thou, the black-eyed, sweet-voiced maiden take,
 Forget thy griefs, thy gloomy cares forsake;
 Round her thy children and thy home shall bloom,
 For all the world is love and virtue's home.

THE POLE.

Nay! I have shed hot tears for her I love;
 Nought but my country could our hearts remove.
 Whene'er I close my pilgrimage, I'll bear
 To my old sire my sword—my heart to her.
 One common land has bound us;—this our vow,—
 "Freedom and unchanged faith,"—I swear it now!

He spoke—the Ukrainian *Dumas* met his ear;
 On the dark hills the Polish ranks appear;
 And like an arrow with his steed he sped,
 While Rome's old burgher wondering bent his head.'

pp. 180—182.

The next specimen, 'Wieslaw,' is decidedly the most interesting in the book. It gives us a picture of the Polish peasantry, who, judging from this, bear some resemblance to the Scotch in their general simplicity, and occasional shrewdness; above all, in their religious feeling. The heroine is a maiden, who was lost to her parents, when Poland was laid waste, and was found and brought up in a distant village. An old peasant suspects that he has discovered her parentage, and though she left her home in very early childhood, he resolves to ascertain it by taking her to her native place, without however communicating his suspicions to her. The troubled recollections that dawn

upon her mind, in a region which she thinks she sees for the first time, remind us of Bertram at Ellangowan; the effect of the village bells is admirably described. She is sad and thoughtful during the journey, but as they come near the village,

‘What joy, what gladness lights Halina’s eye !
 Why talks she now so gay and sportively !
 They cross the planks—the brush-wood maze they thread,
 The sheep and shepherds play upon the mead ;
 She listened to the artless pipe ; her ear
 Appeared enchanted. Was it that her dear
 And now far dearer Wieslaw, had portrayed
 This scene when singing to the enamored maid ?

John watched her looks intensely.—Was the scene
 One where her early infant steps had been ?
 Now rose the village steeple to the view ;
 The vesper-bells pealed loudly o’er the dew ;
 They fell upon their knees in that sweet place ;
 The sun-set rays glanced on Halina’s face,
 And she looked like an angel. Every vein
 Thrilled with the awakened thoughts of youth again,
 And longings which could find no words. The bell
 Had burst the long-locked portals of the cell
 Of memory ; and mysterious visitings
 And melancholy joy, and shadowy things
 Flitted across her soul, and flushed her cheek
 Where tear-drops gathered. To a mountain peak
 They came ; the village burst upon their view,
 They saw the shepherds lead their cattle through
 The narrow bridge ; the ploughman gaily sped
 From labor’s cares to labor’s cheerful bed.
 The village like a garden reared its head,
 Where many a cottage-sheltering orchard spread ;
 The smoke rose ’midst the trees ; the village spire
 Towered meekly, yet in seeming reverence, higher
 Than the high trees. The yew-trees in their gloom
 Hung pensive over many a peasant’s tomb ;
 And still the bells were pealing, which had tolled
 O’er generations mouldering and enrolled
 In death’s long records. While they looked, old John
 Bent on his stick and said, “Look, maiden, on
 Our village ; doth it please thee ? Wieslaw’s cot
 Is nigh at hand.” She heard, but answered not ;
 Her looks were fixed upon one only spot ;—
 Her bosom heaved, her lips were dried, her eye
 Spoke the deep reverie’s intensity.

Remembrance of some joy had bound her soul ;
 She breathed not, but moved on ;—a cottage wall
 Soon caught her eye, and near, a cross appeared ;
 'Twas ivy-clad and crumbling ;—for 't was reared
 In the old time ;—a willow-tree—a sod,
 Where the gay children of the village trod
 On holidays, were there. She could no more ;
 She dropped o'erpowered upon the grassy floor,
 And cried, " O God ! O God !—'t was here, 't was here
 I lived ! Where is my mother ? Tell me, where ?
 If she be dead, I'll seek her grave, and weep
 My orphan soul away to rouse from sleep
 Her blessed form.—'T was here I played of old ;—
 'T was here I gathered flowers ; but I behold
 My mother's cot no longer,—thought flies o'er
 Its memory ;—but that cot exists no more."'

pp. 214—216.

This extract is a long one, but we trust that none of our readers will wish it shorter. The longer specimens are better than the lyrics for giving an idea of the poetry in general. We cannot help wishing, that Mr Bowring had acquainted us with his own sentiments, as to the various character of his originals ; the few extracts he affords may mislead us in our judgment of the whole ; at least they are not numerous enough to sustain a decided opinion. The metopes would not give us much idea of the Parthenon, unless we knew their place and proportion. Mr Bowring has little of the book-making propensity about him ; but it is not our business to find fault with what is generally a virtue. He is now employed, we understand, on a history of the literature of Bohemia, which is intended to embrace *Specimens of the Popular Songs of the Moravians, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and other Slavonic Races*. This work promises to be one of much interest. The author relies not on materials gathered at second hand. Warmed with a genuine enthusiasm, he travels in the countries themselves, and plucks his flowers fresh from their native stems. Translations of Finnish, Laplandish, and Esthonia poetry will follow in due time. We heartily wish him success in his perambulations amidst these novel fields of imaginative literature, which he has hitherto explored with so much credit to himself, and so much benefit to the reading world.

ART. VII. *Speeches in Congress, as published in the Newspapers; 1826, 1827.*

THE range of the human mind is almost infinite, but the particular departments to which it may be directed, especially in most branches of literature, will sooner or later be filled, and no resort remain but to repetition. Some critics have asserted, for instance, that epic poems, which would be read, can no longer be produced. Homer, Virgil, Milton, Tasso, and Camoens, without citing more recent names, have exhausted the process. Tragedy also has no field untouched, and though the French, with their crowds of theatre-going idlers, now and then sustain a new one for a few nights, by the aid of an occasional political allusion, which seriously alarms the court and the police of that volatile nation, it falls into oblivion with the modes of the season. Even comedy, which perhaps has more numerous combinations, in the proportion that the ridiculous bears to the terrific in human character, yet even every principal comic emotion, pursuit, situation, or trick, has been exhausted in the many thousands of comedies, which Spain, France, and England have produced, without taking into the account other nations ancient and modern. The result is, that formal epics are abandoned for irregular lyrical narratives, while tragedy and comedy have given way to melodrama and pantomime.

Forensic oratory and parliamentary debating seem to be quite as much exhausted; the great masterpieces of Greece, Rome, and England, together with some specimens in our country, have gone over all the great topics, exhibited all the masterly resorts of rhetoric, and nothing remains to make a debate endurable, but the accidental occurrence of some really powerful, momentary excitement; which, however, is too often attempted to be raised by the mere feverish turbulence of partisans, while their insipid commonplaces, and mock attempts at dignity that neither they nor the subject possess, occasion their harangues to fall stale, flat, and unprofitable, on a tired, disgusted audience.

The evil, though carried to greater extent with us, is not confined to our country. The abuse is very great in England, and the public there seem equally tired of it; and as the ministers in that country have a seat in one or the other house, it

falls with oppressive weight upon them. Indeed, we recollect a few years since, when a great many changes had been rung on the same question, though under the form of a different motion, being prolonged through many nights, that the Lord Chancellor seriously insinuated, that there seemed to be a determination to incapacitate his majesty's ministers for performing their duty during the day, by harassing them every night with a debate. There is an opinion on this topic, expressed in a posthumous letter of Lord Byron, which is by no means confined to him. After briefly describing, with admirable discrimination, some of the chief contemporary speakers, he concludes; 'But among all these, good, bad, and indifferent, I never heard the speech which was not too long for the auditors, and not very intelligible, except here and there. The whole thing is a grand deception, and as tedious and tiresome as may be, to those who must be often present.'

Yet the aristocratic and arrogant habits of the British parliament keep down the evil in part; it is only a chosen few, who have fought their way through many a combat, whom the majority will yawn at with forbearance. If a man unknown to fame, a mere prosing, jury-confounding arguer, or vain, tiresome country gentleman, or conceited cit, should attempt a display, he would be coughed and scraped down; and all these classes, which dilate with impunity among us, would be compressed into silence.

Though to some we may appear to write with too much frankness, we apprehend that a majority of the nation will agree with us, and would be glad to have the proposition established; that, speeches in Congress have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. The House of Representatives are the natural, immediate guardians of the people,—but who are to guard the guardians? Undoubtedly there is more than one member of that important body, who would be startled at a charge of abuse against it. They indeed have their professed censors and tribunes, who are perpetually imputing corruption and abuses to other branches of the government. They are constantly smelling and winking, and on the eve of detecting some enormity. From the excessive salaries of the secretaries—(we must save our feelings by speaking strait forward in a parenthesis—the despicable, parsimonious stipend paid to the highest labor, and most intense anxiety, not equalling the gains of mediocrity in many of the ordinary

professions of life), from these splendid emoluments, down to the moderate, decent remuneration of the clerks, no winter escapes without some magnificent attempt at reduction, some huge effort at economy. Now we really believe our government in all its branches to be freer from abuses, than any other in the world; and this arises from our having no ancient malpractices consecrated by time, no privileges radicated beyond the power of extraction; and, besides, to its being subject to a publicity the most unsparing and uncontrolled. Yet we are equally of opinion, that in the abuses which do creep in, by far the largest and the most costly proportion is to be found in the legislative branch; in the department occupied by the guardians and representatives of the people's rights.

We allude not now to the paltry considerations of their daily pay, of their expenses of printing, &c. &c., but to the evils produced by this pestilent abuse of debating. We ask the nation to judge between their representatives and us poor critics; we ask men conversant with public affairs, to look back for a few sessions, and see how many great measures of national importance have been delayed, or are still postponed, by this vile prurience for debate. And if these questions are too general to be felt, we come to suffering individuals, with real or imaginary claims, who have journeyed from distant parts of the Union, wasted month after month in expectancy, and at last have been put off to another and another session, because there was no time for investigation!

This evil has gradually gained upon the Senate, until it is almost as much infected as the other house; and the course is still more unwise in them. Surely they may disdain the poor display, the ignoble triumph of common disputation. When the smallness of their number, the independence, the bodies and interests represented, and the functions of which they constitutionally partake, are considered, we think it no exaggeration to say, that they are the most respectable parliamentary house in any government. True it is, a temporary shade has passed over them, but this, like other shadows, will leave no mark. If, then, this body would relinquish the superfluity of debate, their greater progress in public business would be a salutary check on the other house, and goad them to a more punctual and efficient discharge of public duty.

If any person should think these remarks unfounded, and

that this abuse of what Bentham would call *speechification*, does not exist, we refer him to the speeches of the members for any one session; he will see that they themselves are conscious of their offences, and that three out of four begin with an excuse, or some attempt to excite commiseration by complaints of ill health, but that their sense of public duty is so strong, that they will speak, though they sink under the effort. It would be something gained, if ill health could be considered as an excuse, or enforced as a disqualification. There is no aristocratic remedy, as in England, of scraping and coughing; but they connive at and bear each other out, having the same object in view; and there is no intrepid reformer to take the part of the nation, and ask them, Why do ye so?

The obvious remedy for the evil would be found by not publishing the speeches *in extenso*. Because, in most cases, it is not the effect of the speech in the house, that the debater thinks or cares about. His object is to get his speech into the newspaper, and besides its circulation in that shape, the printer, for a trifling fee, breaks up his endless columns into a dingy, pamphlet page; and these precious missives the member despatches to sundry of his constituents, who stare with pleasure at the efforts of their representative, and have their pride gratified in receiving a communication '*free*.' Were the postage demanded, most of them would be inhumed in the dead-letter office, and come back to that bourne, the general post office, whence they proceeded. If only the substance of the speech was given, the real arguments of the speaker stated, as there would be the three grains of wheat in the five bushels of chaff, a most salutary corrective would be applied, and the editor besides enabled to devote a large part of his paper to useful and entertaining miscellanies, and his readers would get a much clearer insight into public affairs.

But the printers also are partly interested in the abuse, as this great repository of words furnishes them matter, without the pains of selecting or originating more valuable materials; and, besides, the same types undergoing the easy evolution of change of column, and broken up into little octavo or duodecimo squads, are paid for by the garrulous member, for the purpose of being distributed as we have before mentioned; and this fictitious new edition gives its emolument. But the journal, by becoming more valuable, would in the end gain more by giving the abstract we have recommended, fairly stating all

the arguments, and omitting merely the excuses, the declamation, and the sad inanity of faded commonplaces. The public unquestionably would be better instructed, their passions would be less excited, and they would understand more clearly, and judge more wisely of the chief topics of national concern. In this manner one column would condense and rectify the bewildering confusion, that now spreads over four; while the journal would become brighter, more varied, more edifying, more valuable. The very appearance would be worth the alteration. We appeal to nine out of ten of the subscribers, to the metropolitan journals, during, and for some time after, a session of Congress; we ask them with what emotions they see those wide, folio pages of a desolating debate, unbroken, unvaried as a wild heath or interminable prairie, with no apparent resting-place, or object in relief, whether they are not glad to thank misery for a change, and hail with delight the appearance of one of those treaties in which '*Eho-che-nunga, the Madman,*' or '*Sho-mon-e-ka-sa, the Prairie Wolf,*' assents to the exterminating progress of civilization.

We repeat it, the common routine of parliamentary speaking is no longer tolerable. The forms of oratory are as much used and worn, as the epic, the tragic, or the comic. The evil we deplore is increasing; the nation must set their faces against it, insist on having their business attended to, and not trifled with in debates. There will still be ample space left in the caucus, or in the courts of the country. There, in serving as jurymen, from which none are exempt, we may submit to the hammerers, and splitters, and spinners, who satisfy litigants that they earn their fees by laboring in their vocation, and as quiet citizens be resigned to our fate, when our turn comes to hear law, justice, and equity 'so bethumped with words.' But the same individuals must not transfer the same habits into the halls of congress. Nothing, however, short of a general rising in public feeling, will intimidate the offenders, and produce a reform; because, though there are some who have a better sense of the matter, there are many among them, who, it would seem, from their simplicity, confined reading, and a social intercourse limited to very narrow circles, really think they are making a pretty display, and are quite unaware how jejune, tedious, and ridiculous these harangues appear to persons of larger experience. Let them inquire of some one who is willing to tell them the truth, and they will be astonished

to learn, like Molière's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, that in these labored discussions they have been most sadly prosing all the time.

We have already hinted at some mechanical checks, which it is in the power of the printers to interpose in behalf of the nation. But we have an idea, that whenever some original mind with adequate talent and sagacity, takes up this subject, that a great and favorable change may be produced by striking out an entirely different course, and M'Adamizing the worn-out, jolting path. We cannot go further now than throw out the hint, from the fear of being tiresome, a quality, which reviewers should bear in mind is not confined to speaking; and also from our plan being as yet imperfectly conceived; and because we may possibly be in a situation to attain the glory of introducing it ourselves. However, to put those whose eyes are still bandaged in the right direction to grope for it, we will refer them to the study of Franklin, who fortunately could not make a speech, yet not only enjoyed great influence from his wisdom, but produced most powerful effects on assemblies by the mode of illustration he adopted. Let them reflect on this subject, and see if they cannot invent a new style of persuasion, introduce a very eloquent if not oratorical method, and cause the abandonment of effete, exhausted practice. If none of them will take advantage of these suggestions, we shall be half tempted, from patriotic motives, to make the reformation ourselves; and, should we succeed, we should wish no higher claim to gratitude, than to have it inscribed on our tablet,—*He reformed the congressional mode of debating, so that it was compressed into one fourth of the space it formerly occupied.*

ART. VIII. *Lettres sur l'Angleterre*; par le BARON DE STAEL-HOLSTEIN. 8vo. pp. 428. Paris. 1825.

THE author of this work is the son of the celebrated female writer, with whose name we have so often had occasion to adorn our pages, and whose premature loss we so lately regretted. With her illustrious title, he seems also to have inherited some of her most valuable qualities, and exhibits already

the elevation of thought and feeling, the attachment to literary pursuits, and the generous passion for liberty, that so honorably distinguished the daughter of Necker. Avoiding the frivolous and merely sensual pursuits, that exclusively occupy the attention of the greater part of the young European nobility, he devotes his life and ample fortune to the cultivation of science and letters, and the encouragement of every project that tends to diffuse knowledge, promote civilization, and improve the condition of society. We may venture to add (if it be not indelicate to mention the name of a lady, who has not yet voluntarily introduced herself to the public), that his sister, the Duchess of Broglie, is not less distinguished by all the accomplishments and virtues that grace the walks of private life in its highest and most polished circles. It is known that Madame de Staël bestowed much attention upon the education of her children, and was fortunate enough to obtain the aid of one of the most eminent German scholars, Baron A. W. de Schlegel, in the direction of their studies. The success, which has attended her efforts, does great honor to her judgment and maternal affection, and in general to the intellectual and moral character of all the parties. While we regard with strong disapprobation the European system of hereditary magistracies, we cannot but view the lineal transmission of the real nobility of nature, namely, preëminence in worth and talent, as one of the most agreeable spectacles which the moral world affords. It seems to relieve, in some degree, the distress with which every benevolent mind must be affected, by observing how much immorality and even gross depravity are almost unavoidably produced by the influence, that vicious parents necessarily exercise over the character of their offspring.

Baron de Staël was advantageously known to the literary world, before the publication of the present work, by several political pamphlets, and by an edition of the works of Necker, with a life by himself. The 'Letters on England' are, we believe, the first independent essay of much extent that has proceeded from his pen. Without pretending to the character of an elaborate and standard production, it has nevertheless merits of a high order, and affords a fair promise of what may be expected from the maturer labors of the author, should he continue—as we trust he will, and as his illustrious mother and grandfather did before him—to cultivate the field of letters with increasing

zeal and assiduity, as he advances in years. The present work is in substance a series of political and philosophical essays on the theory and practice of the British government; and belongs of course to a class of writings, which, when executed with a talent corresponding to their importance, rise above the level of ordinary travels. The author displays throughout a thorough and intimate acquaintance with his subject, as well as a wide investigation of others that are naturally connected with it, together with the rare endowments of a power of original thought, and a truly liberal and philosophic temper. The style is pure, unaffected, and simply elegant. It has little or none of the warm poetical coloring that illuminated, sometimes to excess, the pages of the author of *Corinna*. The genius of the son may perhaps, in this respect, be different from that of the mother; or he may possibly have considered an attempt at rhetorical beauty of language, as inconsistent with the sober discussion of the gravest subjects, which forms the staple of the work, and may reserve his flights of fancy and his 'words that burn,' for future and more suitable occasions.

It would be superfluous to enlarge at this time of day, upon the intense interest that attaches itself to every well conducted inquiry into the principles of the British constitution, the great model of all the forms of free government, including our own, that have been established within the last half century in Europe and America. It is also not a little extraordinary, considering the extreme importance of the subject, as a theme of philosophical examination, that it should be still not only not exhausted, but we may almost say, unattempted. The essay of *Delolme* is the only one that has acquired any considerable notoriety; and this, although it has been found useful on the continent, as a sort of directory to mere external points, is entirely superficial, and is in fact a work of jurisprudence, rather than of politics. During the last fifty years, the attention of the British public has been constantly occupied by the controversies between different parties respecting the spirit and principles of the Constitution; but notwithstanding the large supply of cultivated talent that seems in that country prepared to meet, and even anticipate every demand that can be made upon it, no duly qualified pen has undertaken to settle, or rather to prevent these debates, by establishing beyond dispute the elementary truths of political science, as exemplified and

practised in England. This is one of the striking proofs of the neglect into which the great subject of moral philosophy, in all its departments, has now fallen, in the country of Bacon and Locke ; and of the extent to which the whole mass of British intellect is occupied, in ministering to the pursuits and pleasures of merely practical life. Baron de Staël has not attempted to supply the deficiency alluded to, but has selected a few of the most interesting questions connected with the subject, which he successively discusses, each in several letters. These are the *state of property*, and its influence on the welfare of the nation ; the *state of the press* ; and finally the effect of the *public assemblies* of various kinds that are constantly meeting for political objects, including the two houses of Parliament among the number. In connexion with this last point, the author examines the question of *parliamentary reform*, and the peculiar opinions of the Whigs and Radicals respecting it. We shall briefly review his remarks upon each of these topics, interspersing occasionally such observations of our own, as may be suggested by them.

In one or two letters, which serve as a sort of introduction to the rest, Baron de Staël touches on the difficulties that attend an inquiry into the principles of the British government, and notices particularly the singular fact alluded to above, of the exclusively practical character that distinguishes all the debates and other political discussions of every description, written or verbal. We are tempted to quote a part of his remarks on this head, as they tend to confirm our own opinion, and illustrate what we think a curious feature in the present moral aspect of the mother country. Our author contrasts, in this respect, the habits of the British statesmen with those of the French, who are perhaps too much accustomed to indulge in general inquiries, especially in connexion with the practical despatch of business.

‘ Our philosophical writers and speakers,’ says the Baron, ‘ rise to loftier heights of speculation, and lay down general principles with much more precision than those of England. I was one day reading some of our late pamphlets, most remarkable for vigor and expansion of thought, with Sir James Mackintosh, whose philosophical reputation is too well established to require any aid from my pen, and I took the occasion to inquire what impression they made upon him. “ They are admirably done,” replied he, “ but in our country *we take all this for granted*.” In fact, what

is still problematical with us, is reduced to axioms with the English; and they employ in acting, the time which we spend in demonstrating or teaching. This is an immense advantage which they have over us, for axioms or settled principles may be turned to account by any one; while very few persons are able to understand a demonstration, and profit by the truth which results from it. If a shipmaster were obliged, before he could take an altitude, to settle the principles of trigonometry and astronomy employed in that operation, and make them out to the satisfaction of his men, instead of using rules that are previously prepared, he would very probably run his vessel ashore. Now political forms, and the habits created by them, are the rules of the science of government. They should doubtless be constructed on sound theoretical principles; but when this has once been done, it is a loss of time to be always engaged in tracing them to their sources. Nevertheless, the respect for existing forms may be carried too far, and without meaning to deny the superiority of the English over us in this respect, it is certain that they fall, to a greater or less extent, into this error.

I was a witness myself of something of the kind that occurred in a debate in the House of Commons, in the year 1822, upon a motion made by Mr Canning to allow the Catholic Peers to take their seats in the House of Lords, from which, as is well known, they have been excluded ever since the real or pretended Popish Plot. This motion succeeded with the Commons, but failed in the House of Peers, after a very remarkable discussion. I had the good fortune to be present on this occasion, and have rarely enjoyed a higher intellectual entertainment. All the principal Peers of both parties, including the Lord Chancellor, Lord Liverpool, Lords Grey, Holland, Grenville, and others, took a part in the debate. The avowed object of the motion was to prepare the way for the emancipation of the Catholics; and this was the ground on which it was sustained by its friends and attacked by its enemies. It was therefore, as I thought, natural to expect that the debate would have turned, in a great measure, on general principles. Instead of this, they were not mentioned; nobody once thought of such a thing. The immediate practical effects of the measure proposed, occupied exclusively the attention of the orators and of the public. It may be said, no doubt, that the general principles belonging to the inquiry had been exhausted by seventeen years of continual discussion; and also that it was the policy of the friends of the motion to limit the range of the debate as much as possible; but after making all proper allowance for these circumstances, I cannot but think that my remark is in the main correct.

Lord Holland exhibited on this occasion the union of close rea-

soning and warm feeling, that belongs, as it were, by consanguinity, to the nephew of Fox. But in this speech, which, as I am told, approached very near to the most successful efforts of his illustrious uncle, his only object was to establish, by reference to the history of the period, the absurdity of the evidence on which a decision had been taken against the Catholic Peers. Though familiar with the highest questions in political and moral philosophy, he never once thought of touching upon them in debate. The Lord Chancellor's speech was not less remarkable in this respect. The proposition on which he founded his conclusions, was simply this. If the Protestant religion cease to be the dominant one in Great Britain, the Catholic will of course become so. It was easy to see, by the energy and warmth of his manner, that he was perfectly sincere in the opinion. This profound lawyer, who had grown gray in the practical business of legislation and administration, had never once conceived the notion, that it was possible for a government to exist without an established religion.

Suppose now the same question to be debated in one of the French Chambers; and there cannot be a doubt that the leading topics would be, liberty of conscience, the nature of the relation between Church and State, and the general principles that recommend religious toleration. It is equally certain, that under circumstances at all favorable, the public feeling would be strongly engaged; and thus far the advantage is perhaps on our side. But these discussions, however able, would have produced only a transient effect. The question might have been carried; but whenever the tide of public opinion or of ministerial influence should have happened to set the other way, it would have been lost again with equal promptitude. In England old opinions are more firmly established, and attempts at innovation are met by a stronger resistance; but when a victory is once gained, it is gained forever.'

Our readers, we think, will be struck with the general correctness, in point of fact, of these remarks, upon the style of parliamentary discussion in England. The debate that took place last spring in the House of Commons, upon the same question of Catholic emancipation, afforded another singular exemplification of their substantial truth. There was certainly no want of ability in the principal speakers on both sides. Mr Canning, Sir John Copley (the present Lord Chancellor), and Mr Peel are orators and statesmen, of whom any country might well be proud; and their speeches on this occasion were not inferior to their just renown; but were still con-

ceived in all respects on the common model of British eloquence. No attempt was made by any one to settle the general principles of toleration and of the natural relation between religion and government, or to arrive at a decision of the question by the aid of any great elementary truth, of which the admission should supersede all controversies about minor points. The debate turned wholly upon the direct and practical effects likely to result from the adoption or rejection of the measure proposed. The tone of discussion corresponded with the substance; and instead of putting on the serious air which would probably accompany a more regular examination of the theory of these great points, the orators indulged with perfect freedom in bursts of petulance, and in sallies of pleasantry, approaching to buffoonery. Mr Canning and Sir John Copley nearly came to a personal altercation; and the former entertained his audience with much excellent wit about the Pope's bulls, which were supposed to be roaming at large about the country, to the great danger of His Majesty's loyal subjects, but which he was not afraid to take by the horns. Rapturous cheers, accompanied by hearty and unanimous laughter, attested the success of this appeal to the good nature of a British Senate; and a stranger who had entered the hall at the moment, would hardly have suspected, from the aspect of the audience, the nature of the question in debate. The Catos of the House might perhaps have repeated with more than equal propriety, the sarcastic remark of their Roman prototype upon Cicero—*Quàm ridiculum habemus Consulem!*

But these are accidental matters of little moment, and we cordially agree with our author in approving the practical character of the debates in the British parliament, and preferring it to the more scientific and theoretical one which marks those of the French chambers. It is in fact impossible to discuss general principles with impartiality and coolness, in connexion with practical questions, involving immediate interests of great importance; and the effect of attempting it is merely to vitiate the public opinion respecting the principles, without altering in any way the decision of the point in dispute. It is possible, for instance, that the present mode of electing the president of the United States, may be susceptible of improvement; but it is evident, that in order to be decided upon its merits, the question should be considered without reference to the circumstances of any particular contest, or to the preference

that individuals may feel for any particular candidate for the office. Whenever it may be taken up, as it has been twice in the short period of our political history, under the excitement of a recent election, it will of course be decided, as it was in both those cases, by the momentary party feelings and interests of the members of Congress; and it will be fortunate for the country, if the decisions made under such circumstances shall always be, as on the second occasion, against innovation.

But while we agree with our author in his preference for a practical and matter-of-fact style of parliamentary debate, we also think with him, that the leading British orators, and we may add, those of our country, might recur with advantage, more frequently than they do, to general principles, not as questions to be discussed, but as axioms or settled elementary truths. To acquire a familiarity with the theory of political science, is (or should be) a part of the discipline of practical statesmen; and if all or most of those who assume this character, were as fully prepared for the discharge of its duties as might be wished, the most important principles would be agreed upon among them by common consent. Unfortunately, the aids necessary for the acquisition of such an education are almost wholly wanting both in England and the United States. The science of government, and even history, which forms its natural complement, are nearly overlooked in the usual routine of collegiate and professional studies; and most of our statesmen enter the halls of Congress and of the state legislatures, unprovided with any other notions on the great subjects of politics, ethics, political economy, and history, ancient and modern, excepting such as they have picked up by chance in their leisure reading. How then can they recur with precision and certainty, upon each particular question, to the appropriate general truth, which ought to govern the debate, and would in most cases supersede it? Lord Holland may be, as Baron de Staël assures us that he is, familiar with moral and political philosophy, and may avoid recurring to principles from habit or compli-
ance with the prevalent taste; but with most practical statesmen, the reason lies in their want of acquaintance with the principles.

This defect can only be remedied by a change in our system of public education; and we are happy to perceive a pretty strong tendency towards an improvement of this kind, already exhibiting itself in several parts of our country. The

professorships of political economy lately established in some of our colleges will effect much real good ; and we cannot but hope that our venerable Alma Mater at Cambridge will not, in this respect, fall behind her younger sisters. The magnificent donation of Mr Gore will afford the means of establishing one or two foundations ; and we should be highly gratified to see a part of it appropriated in this way. It is really singular that while we have had double and triple professorships for most of the branches of physical science, and for dead languages, of less direct utility, we have had only half a one for the vast field of politics, and ethics, and political economy, and none at all for history. Of these subjects, the last is left entirely to the tutors, and less insisted on than any other branch of study. We make not these remarks in the spirit of cavil, but in that of friendly suggestion ; and we trust that they will be received as proceeding from warm friends and sincere well-wishers of the College. But we have much matter and little space before us, and must hurry away from these interesting topics.

The state of property in England, and its influence on the political and economical condition of the people, are treated by our author at considerable length. We hardly know how to dispose of this vast subject in two or three paragraphs ; but must nevertheless be indulged in a few hasty notes. This is almost the only point upon which the opinions of M. de Staël differ decidedly from those which prevail in England. He is a declared partisan of the system of an equal division of estates among all the children upon the death of the proprietor ; while the law of primogeniture, by which all real estates pass to the eldest son, is established in England, as our readers are aware, to a greater extent than in any other part of the world. This principle is in fact in the mother country, the *common law* that regulates the descent of landed property ; while in most other countries, as for instance in Spain, it forms an exception, though one of extensive application, to the general rule. In Spain, landed estates are equally distributed among the children of the proprietor, excepting when they are tied up by an entail, or, as it is called there, a *mayorazgo* ; but as this is uniformly the case with the immense possessions of the grandees, and as those of the clergy are unalienable, it follows that nearly the whole of the land is kept out of the common market, as in England.

It is generally acknowledged that the Spanish grandees are intellectually and morally the most degraded and imbecile body of nobility in Europe; while the British aristocracy, whatever may be their defects, are commonly reckoned, as a class, superior to any other. Our author touches this point, and endeavors to account for the difference. 'In England,' he observes, 'nobility, far from being exclusively hereditary, is accessible to every one who is worthy of it, and is open to all on the principle of fair competition. The public opinion of a free people is also more effective in stimulating the faculties than the soporific influence of hereditary wealth and fortune in destroying them.' The first of these reasons is, we think, of little weight. Nobility is not less accessible in other countries than it is in England. The king of Spain creates as many grandees and *Titulos de Castilla* as the king of Great Britain does marquesses and earls; and the only difference is, that in the former case, titles are generally obtained by mere intrigue, while in the latter they are more frequently the reward of actual merit.

The cause of this diversity is the power exercised in England by public opinion over the movements of the king and his ministers; so that this same wholesome control, which the Baron assigns as the second reason for the superiority of the British aristocracy, is in fact the only one. After all, we are inclined to think him (partially at least) mistaken in the fact; and if it be generally allowed that the British aristocracy, as a class, is superior to any other, it is, we apprehend, because it always regularly contains a large proportion of members who do not properly belong to it as such, but have been placed in it by the government (acting in obedience to public opinion), in acknowledgment of the eminent qualities which they had displayed in another. If at any given moment we survey the list of the British House of Lords for the time being, we shall find that most of the members of it, who are in any way distinguished for worth or talent, have either been created peers themselves, or were born and educated before their fathers had risen to rank and opulence. Within our time, for example, the late and the present Lord Chancellor, the two Liverpools, father and son, Lords Grey, Grenville, Redesdale, Lauderdale, Erskine, Thurlow, &c. were all titled commoners. The illustrious Wellesley family, though technically noble, was a poor and decayed branch of the Irish aristocracy. Lord Byron

came to his title and fortune by accident. In all these cases, the aristocratic principle had no room to operate; and we rather suppose, that on a fair examination, it would be found that the *bonâ fide* British nobility is not much better than that of the Continent. Do we see the descendants of Warwick and Marlborough leading on the British armies to victory? or those of Oxford and Bolingbroke preëminent in council or in parliament? Are the Shaftesburys, Verulams, and Boyles of our own day, like their illustrious ancestors,—the lights and benefactors of the age? Is it possible to point out a single person of this or any former period, who has felt the full influence of hereditary rank and fortune, and who is in any way distinguished for high intellectual and moral excellence? Should it even be practicable on an accurate research to indicate a few exceptions, the general rule will hardly, we think, be denied. The effect of the aristocratic principle, of which the law of primogeniture is the essential feature, upon the persons immediately subject to its influence, is, therefore, the same in England as it is elsewhere; that is, ruinous to every valuable quality of mind and heart; and the exception, which M. de Staël is disposed to make in favor of the British nobility, is, we fear, grounded either in personal partialities, or in a failure to discriminate between peers of new and old creation.

The economical effect of the law of primogeniture is another question on which the public opinion of Europe is much divided. Our author adopts decidedly the liberal sentiment; and holds that an equal division of estates among the children of the owner, has the happiest influence on the wealth of individuals and of the nation. He states some facts in regard to the extent to which the subdivision of the land has been carried in the neighborhood of his own castle of Copet in Switzerland, that we think curious.

‘The estate of Copet is situated in a part of French Switzerland, which was prepared for liberty by the protestant religion, by the general diffusion of knowledge, and by the paternal, if not enlightened, government of Berne; and which now enjoys in quiet happiness the blessings of independence. The land around my estate is generally subdivided to such an extent, that *most of the farms contain less than an acre*. I can venture, notwithstanding, to affirm that no part of Europe exhibits an appearance of equal prosperity. Not only is there no excess of population, but the rate of wages is actually higher than in any other country on the

Continent. The benevolent can hardly find objects on which to exercise their charity; and the few distressed persons who gratefully receive such assistance as is offered them with kindness, would disdainfully refuse it if proposed with the least affectation of superiority. The poor exhibit no jealousy of the better fortunes of the rich, nor is there either base servility on the one side, or lofty arrogance on the other. No false pride deters any one from embracing any useful profession. All are independent and happy.'

This is indeed a charming picture, and it is the more remarkable, since the subdivision of the land has been pushed in this instance, to an extent which we should have thought unnatural and inconvenient. We see not, in fact how a family can subsist upon the product of less than an acre. The value of a peck of wheat a day is considered as the ordinary wages necessary for the support of a laborer in England; and if we make the large estimate of forty bushels of wheat to an acre, and allow nothing for seed for the next year, the number of pecks will still be only one hundred and sixty, which is less than half the quantity required. If the Baron's representation be strictly correct, it will necessarily follow that all these families have some other resource besides the cultivation of their little *peculium*; and in that case it is evident, that the division of estates has been carried to an inconvenient extent, since it counteracts the great and beneficial principle of the division of labor. Of ten or twelve neighboring families, it is better for the comfort and happiness of all, that a part should raise agricultural products for the common support, and the rest produce something else to be given in exchange for them, than that each should raise half its own grain, and also produce something else wherewith to purchase the other half, and such other articles as are wanted at the nearest market. We call this extreme subdivision of the land *unnatural*, as well as inconvenient; for when the estate of a deceased proprietor is so small, that, if divided among all his children, the portions would not be sufficiently large to support a family comfortably, it seems to us more natural that an arrangement should be made, by the effect of which one of the heirs should receive the land, and should pay to the rest an equivalent for their shares in money. Such, we believe, is the common mode of proceeding in this country, nor are we aware, notwithstanding the length of time that the law of equal partition has been in force among us,

that it has ever produced any inconvenience of the kind here specified.

We agree entirely with our author in regard to the economical operation of the two systems, and consider that of equal partition, as every way much more favorable to the wealth and happiness of society. The tendency of it is to bring more land into cultivation, and thus to increase the number of inhabitants on a given territory; while at the same time it improves their condition, economical and moral. The hereditary proprietor of a very large landed estate, like those that are found in all parts of the continent of Europe, is of course by the effect of his social position, education, and habits, a man of pleasure, rather than business. His affairs are badly managed by stewards and attorneys, and his immense resources are turned to no account. Such is the case with nearly all the Spanish grandees, most of whom, with whole provinces in their possession, are in want of money to pay their tradesmen and servants. When estates are managed in this way, large portions of them remain uncultivated; other tracts of great extent are converted into forests, parks, and pleasure grounds, and it is only upon the remainder that the industry of the people is really employed. Thus the number of agricultural laborers who would otherwise be kept at work, is greatly reduced, and population proportionally diminished. The few that find employment, having no property in the land, and lying wholly at the mercy of the owner, are generally found in a wretched condition; and in all the less improved parts of Europe, are in a state of actual slavery.

Such, we believe, to be the natural effect of this system, because we find it taking place almost universally wherever the system prevails. Strong moral and political causes may no doubt counteract its injurious influence, as they do in England; where the extraordinary activity with which the principle of liberty has inspired every branch of industry, has so far remedied the evils that result from the law of primogeniture, that the land, though held in very large estates, is better cultivated than in any other part of Europe; and where the actual cultivators, although they have only a temporary interest in the soil, are nevertheless nearly or quite as independent, enlightened, and moral, as the small freeholders of our own country. Every view that can be taken of the condition of man in all its varieties, brings us back to the conclusion that *liberty*, secured

and regulated by wise laws, is the exclusive principle of individual and national prosperity ; and that where it has opportunity to work out its full effect, it is powerful enough to purge off almost every element of evil. The late Lord Londonderry, was accustomed to assure his continental brother ministers, in the effusions of diplomatic confidence, that he did not consider the liberal features of the British constitution, as the best parts of it. With all proper deference to his lordship's judgment, we must express the belief, that he was entirely mistaken on this point ; that these principles are not only the best parts of that constitution, and the direct sources of all the good that is enjoyed under its protection, but that they are also the powerful antidotes which serve, in part, to correct the poison of certain other principles, more agreeable, perhaps, to Lord Londonderry's taste, but which, if left unchecked to their natural operation, would very soon depopulate, impoverish, and completely ruin the country. Without the general influence of freedom, Kent would very shortly be as Castile, and Liverpool as Cadiz, in spite of all the 'leather and prunella,' that grace the persons of the lords and their ladies, on a coronation day. This consideration brings us very naturally to the *state of the press*, which is the next great topic taken up by our author.

On this subject, as on all the others treated in the work, the opinions of M. de Staël, are decidedly liberal. He takes for granted the expediency of a free press, and indeed its absolute necessity to the existence of free government. His remarks on the character and circulation of the British periodical works, and of their value, as compared with those of France, will be found interesting by our readers.

'The periodical press is, in all countries, one of the most important results of modern civilization ; but it nowhere forms so essential an ingredient in the organization of society, as in England and the United States. In other countries, the newspapers are a powerful engine, wielded alternately by the government, and the various political parties ; but in the two just mentioned they are the indispensable agent for every species of social communication. There are few villages in England, where the newspaper is not regarded as a necessary of life ; and I am assured, that in America, domestics often make it a condition in their engagement, that they shall be allowed to read such as are taken in by the family. [*Quære de hoc.*] But even in England,

the circle of readers is comparatively much larger than with us. It is computed that there are about a thousand circulating libraries in the kingdom, and more than three hundred book-clubs, a well imagined institution, that might be introduced with profit among us. The number of newspapers has quadrupled within forty years. In 1782, it was estimated at seventy-nine, and in 1821, in a report made to the House of Commons, at two hundred and eighty-four. With the exception of *The Observer*, a weekly paper, none of these journals (which are all much dearer than those of France) have as many subscribers as the *Constitutionnel*, or the *Journal des Debats*. Even *The Times*, which has now a larger circulation than any other daily paper, does not print more than eight or ten thousand copies, but each passes through many more hands than with us. The writers in these journals, are obliged in consequence, to accommodate their language, in some degree, to the popular taste ; and often employ a familiar and even coarse phraseology, in order to please the lower classes. "When I took charge of *The North Briton*," said the noted John Wilkes, "I found it in the hands of Churchill and Lloyd, who were men of taste and wit. I soon saw that this would not answer ; and giving up all pretensions to elegance of style, I began to cry out with all my might, *Down with the Scotchman ! Down with the Scotchman !* In this way, I pretty soon despatched Lord Bute." In fact, the great power of a newspaper consists in the repetition of simple and familiar arguments. In England this power is immense, and is constantly increasing. It is the more formidable, in as much as the editors are generally dissatisfied with their position. There is in fact, no proportion between their standing in society, and the power they exercise. In the United States, their influence is still greater ; and such is the terror they inspire, that many persons are deterred by it, from engaging in political life. Though warmly attached to liberty, they apprehend either on their own account, or that of their friends, the torrent of invective, that is poured upon all public characters by the journals of the opposite party.

The French are perhaps better fitted by their peculiar intellectual character, than almost any other nation, for the publication of newspapers, a branch of literature, that requires the power of quick observation, lively repartee, and rapid, perspicuous narrative. It is also certain, although our legislation on this subject is extremely vicious, and although we have enjoyed the liberty of the press only for a few short periods, that much talent has been exhibited among us, in this form. I seldom open one of our journals, without being struck with the elegance of the style, and the correctness of the reasoning ; and I have met with many Englishmen, who have also admitted their great merit,

with apparent surprise that a Frenchman should be able to do so well.

‘But our editors have nevertheless adopted an unfortunate plan in conducting their papers, and have introduced the division of labor where it is not only useless, but injurious. With us the political and literary news is separated from the advertisements and law reports. Now very few persons can afford to subscribe for several different journals, although they may be all more or less interesting to the public ; and it thus happens that each class of readers remains in ignorance of all such matters as do not come within the range of his own immediate pursuits. The provincial manufacturer is not informed of the progress of the arts at Paris and elsewhere ; while the Parisian capitalist is unacquainted with the economical situation of the provinces. The decisions of our six and twenty Royal Tribunals are unknown to all but the officers of court, although a more extensive publication of them might very probably produce much practical benefit. A British newspaper, on the other hand, is a sort of *microcosm*, and displays, in miniature, a view of the whole circle of interesting contemporary events. You find there every day the debates in Parliament, reports of the proceedings in all the courts, not only such as are likely to excite particular curiosity, but in all cases, civil and criminal. Speeches delivered at political meetings and assemblies for various purposes, religious, philanthropic, and commercial, at the sessions of the East India Company, and of the Common Council of London, and other important corporations ;—all are published in the newspapers. Through this channel, the government makes known the conditions of its contracts, the candidate for Parliament solicits the votes of the electors, and thanks his friends for their exertions ; rivals, of all sorts, publish their respective pretensions. The births, marriages, and deaths of persons of any note, their arrivals and departures, the entertainments they give ; in short, the most trifling circumstances of their lives are all known and printed. The whole kingdom seems to resemble the glass house of the Roman philosopher.

‘Literature is, however, almost entirely excluded from the British newspapers, and, in my opinion, not without good reasons. Within the small compass afforded by a daily paper, literary criticism must be, of necessity, superficial and frivolous. If the critic aim at gravity, and attempt to sound the depths of thought, he becomes pedantic and stiff, and seems to be out of place, like a learned professor at a convivial party. Facts, and a very few reflections upon them, are what the British public requires, with reason, of the journalists. It looks to more extensive publications, appearing at longer intervals, such as the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, for instruction in science and philosophy.’

There is much good sense in these observations, and we cordially assent to most of them. We rather doubt, however, the justice of the preference which M. de Staël gives to the English mode of conducting a newspaper, over the French. What is the model of a first-rate daily paper, is, we think, a question of high importance, and one which is not yet satisfactorily solved. Newspapers are, in fact, rather a late invention. They attracted but little attention, till within the last half-century, and it is hardly probable, that their form has already attained perfection. There is room to suppose, that experience will, in the course of years, suggest various improvements upon the now existing fashions. As at present advised, we incline to regard the French model as the best in use. We see not why the wholesome principle of the division of labor, should not have as good an effect in this department of industry, as it confessedly has in most others; nor do we understand very clearly the advantage that results from spreading out before the mass of readers, the endless columns of advertisements, which occupy more than half the space in a British newspaper, and three quarters in one of ours, and which the mass of readers most assuredly never think of looking at. If in each of our principal cities, as at Paris, a single journal were devoted exclusively to advertisements of all kinds, to the exclusion of other matter, and the usage of employing the political papers for this purpose, were abandoned, the expense of advertising would be greatly reduced, because it would then be only necessary to do it in one paper, instead of ten or twelve.

The present system leads to a great waste of capital; but a still more unfavorable effect resulting from it, is the excessive multiplication of newspapers, and the consequent degradation of the political and literary character of all. If the advertisements were published in a separate form, the political papers would depend wholly for success on the talent of their editors and writers. None could exist excepting such as were conducted by persons of respectable powers and good education, because no others would obtain readers. In this case, there would probably be in each of our chief cities, besides the advertising journal, at most two or three political ones, representing the views of different parties. These would all be well written, and enjoying the whole patronage which is now divided among a much greater number, would afford sufficient profits. At present, the quality of the literary and political matter is a

point of secondary concern, as respects the profits of the establishment, which result almost wholly from the advertisements. The necessary consequence is, that it is comparatively neglected in almost all the journals, both here and in England. In France, on the contrary, where the other system prevails, the best and most brilliant pens in the capital are engaged in providing matter for the daily papers. We could mention a writer who has, within a few months, been received into the French Academy, solely on account of the merit of his literary articles published in the *Journal des Debats*. Constant, Chateaubriand, Bonald, Kératry, Etienne, Michaud, Devaux, and others, who are either editors of journals, or habitual contributors to them, are among the first names in contemporary literature. In England, there are few if any examples of newspapers edited by persons of eminent literary reputation; and the writing in most of them is of a very ordinary stamp. It is rumored that *The Times* has fallen into the hands of the poet Moore; and if this be true, we may expect some improvement in the style, which has hitherto been extremely coarse.

As respects literary execution, we may claim perhaps in this country some advantage over the British. Our eminent statesmen and good writers have always been more in the habit of communicating with the public in this way, than theirs. With the exception of the letters of Junius, we recollect no series of valuable political articles that have ever appeared in England in this form; while our newspapers have been constantly enriched with the treasures of the first minds in the country, from the time of *Novanglus* and *Massachusettensis* down to that of Fisher Ames, and so on to the present day. Our editorial corps has also generally contained, with a large mixture of alloy, a considerable portion of truly precious metal. It comprises at this moment some of our most distinguished literary characters, and could lately boast, in addition to its present list, the name of the accomplished and lamented Haven, who for several years conducted *The Portsmouth Journal* with the highest credit to himself, and to the signal advantage of the public.

We cannot agree with Baron de Staël, in thinking that literary matter is better excluded from the daily papers. When good (as it must be of course, to be useful or agreeable anywhere, and as it is habitually in the French Journals), we are

of opinion that it is not only not out of place, but that its introduction has the happiest effect, both intellectual and moral. It conveys much valuable knowledge to many persons who are not accustomed to read books or formal reviews; and what is perhaps of still higher moment, it gives to the journals a tone of humanity, politeness, and civilization;—*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*. It tempers the ferocious party spirit which is apt to embitter their whole substance, and makes them channels of something else besides hard words and angry feelings. For these reasons, we have seen with much satisfaction some of the most accredited papers in the country, such as the New-York American and the National Gazette, habitually filling a part of their columns with interesting and instructive selections from foreign publications of a literary cast. We shall be still better pleased when the state of the press and of the public patronage shall enable our editors to enlist in their service the ablest writers of our own country, and to present us with the rich original fruits of native genius. It is generally believed that the polish, good humor, and fine feeling of *The Spectator* had much effect in subduing the virulence of party spirit in Great Britain; and we have little doubt that an ample infusion of well written literary matter into the daily papers, would exercise an equally auspicious influence in this country, where, no one will deny, the corrective is at least as much wanted.

The immense size of the British newspapers, and their superiority in this respect over those of the continent, are constant themes of exultation and triumph with their editors; and many an excellent joke is daily cracked by them upon the puny and diminutive constitution of their foreign rivals. In point of fact, however, if we look into the reason of this difference, it does not appear to be greatly to the advantage of the British, as it is owing wholly to the enormous stamp duty imposed upon them by the government. This makes it impossible to sustain a paper upon the strength of the subscription money, and has led of necessity to the admission of advertisements, to the expansion of the size of the sheet, in order to make room for them, and to the comparative neglect of the literary and political execution of the matter, which, as we have shown above, naturally results from these circumstances. Thus these very features in an English journal, which Baron de Staël so ingeniously justifies in theory, and of which the

editors are so vain, are neither more nor less than badges of subjection to an unexampled and intolerable excess of taxation. With us, where there is no stamp duty, the same features are a mere imitation of the British usage, and this is one among many other singular cases (as for example, the general consumption of Portuguese and Spanish, instead of French wine), in which we continue voluntarily to wear the trammels of colonial dependence, while we are boasting so loudly of having shaken them entirely off. In order to effect the improvement we have suggested, it is only necessary for some enterprising editor in each of our great cities, who enjoys a good share of advertising patronage, (with the consent of his patrons, who would find a great economy in the change) to separate his establishment into two parts; one devoted exclusively to advertising, and the other to political and literary intelligence. Each, if judiciously conducted, must of course prosper. Of the other journals, the feebler would be soon discontinued; and the few that subsisted, would be compelled, in self-defence, to copy the new model, and would become exclusively political and literary. We freely offer the benefit of this plan (which would prove a mine of wealth, if skilfully reduced to practice) to any of our editorial friends, who may think proper to work upon it; and must now hasten to follow our author in his farther speculations on the state of England.

The next topics to which he adverts, are the various *assemblies* that are held for *political purposes*, including the two Houses of Parliament. In common with these, he touches on the great question of *parliamentary reform*, and enters at some length into a developement of the respective opinions of the Whigs and Radicals concerning it. This inquiry closes the volume. Baron de Staël's observations on these subjects, which are generally very correct and judicious, are probably newer and more interesting to the French public than to us; since in most of the particulars he notices, our institutions and customs so nearly resemble those of England, that a description of the latter is merely a picture of what we see every day passing before our eyes. The most amusing passage is the account of a meeting held at Maidstone, in Kent, at which our author was present, and where the notorious Cobbett succeeded in defeating the Whigs upon their own ground. We recollect reading at the time, in the newspapers, a report of the proceedings, but have nevertheless been much entertained with the Baron's more succinct narrative, which is as follows.

‘The meeting to which I allude;’ says our author, ‘was held in the county of Kent, one of the most extensive, wealthy, and populous in England. The inhabitants, in the pride of certain ancient privileges belonging to them as such, generally call themselves *the men of Kent*. The place of meeting was the city of Maidstone, thirty-five miles from London. I set off to attend it early in the morning in company with several wealthy Whig landholders, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted. We passed through a most flourishing tract of country. On the road, my companions were uniformly treated with the respect which is regularly paid by all classes in England to such noblemen as are at all distinguished for merit and talent. As we approached Maidstone, we encountered large numbers of freeholders and farmers repairing to the meeting, mostly on horseback; for with all the supposed distress of the country, there was hardly a farmer who did not keep one or two horses for his personal use. We alighted at the tavern, where we found a number of the most considerable persons of the county already in consultation on the subject of the meeting. A draft of a petition had been made the evening before, which set forth the distresses of the agricultural class, and demanded a reduction of the taxes, and the adoption of measures for raising the price of grain, and withal a *reform of Parliament*, as the only remedy for the standing diseases of the state. The draft appeared well fitted to satisfy the most democratic taste. It was fully discussed, and after several amendments had been made, it was agreed that it should be submitted the next day to the consideration of the meeting, when it was anticipated that it would be unanimously adopted.

‘At the hour appointed, we repaired to the market-place. As it was a market-day, several thousands of persons were assembled, and the windows of the neighboring houses were all occupied. The tumult occasioned by the crowd, was mingled with the lowing of oxen, the bleating of sheep, and the confused movements of buyers and sellers. The people were pressing impatiently around several carts, which were to serve as stages for the speakers; and on one of which, two pine boards were placed crosswise to support the sheriff’s arm-chair. Some of the spectators mounted upon the wheels, others ascended a ladder and remained upon it in a most uneasy position for the purpose of hearing a little better; so intense is the taste for political discussion that pervades even the lowest classes of the British nation. I remarked, however, that with one exception, the carts remained empty, no one even of those most eager to enjoy the pleasures of the day, thought of taking possession of them, although there was no authority, military or civil, to guard them. “For whom then are these places reserved?” said I to a person at my side. “For the *gentlemen*,”

replied he. Now who were these *gentlemen*? Persons who had a right to these reserved places by any special privilege,—who had any visible badge about them to attest their pretensions? Far from it. The public sentiment was the only criterion; and yet in the midst of this scene of confusion, there was a full understanding that the best places belonged to the Peers of the Realm, the Members of Parliament, the Justices of Peace, and other persons who were able, from their education and situation in life, to speak upon the business of the day, and who were collectively and concisely designated as the *gentlemen*. Scarcely had the *gentlemen* taken their places, and the sheriff opened the meeting, when the mob invaded the carts, and crowded upon and into them in such numbers, that the speakers had hardly room to move their arms.

‘The sheriff stated the object of the meeting, and a member of Parliament representing the Whig interest of the county, then made a speech in which he enlarged upon the matter of the petition, and exposed in detail, the misconduct of the ministry, and the augmentation of the taxes occasioned by ruinous and impolitic wars. He was often interrupted by thunders of applause, from ten thousand hearers. The meeting appeared to be unanimous; but Sir Edward Knatchbull, the ministerial member for the county, though nearly alone of his opinion, thought it necessary to make some reply to the speech of his colleague. Accordingly, after a number of complimentary phrases, of which the English are as prodigal at this kind of meetings, as they are sparing in their courts of justice and in Parliament, he boldly undertook the defence of the ministers, who, here at least, were in a small minority. His speech was listened to without applause, but still with respect and attention; and the people, as they said, were rather pleased to hear him express himself in a frank and *manly* way, an epithet which to an English ear, is strongly indicative of esteem and approbation.

‘The petition met with no opposition, and the sheriff was about to take the question, when a voice was heard from the most crowded of the carts, proposing an amendment. All eyes were now turned on this side, where a stout, gray-headed old man, with a bold, determined look, was urging himself forward from amongst his friends, and preparing to speak. This person was the notorious Cobbett. He was received with a general murmur of disapprobation. *Down with Cobbett! No Jacobins here!* was a pretty universal cry. One of the opposition lords proposed, nevertheless, that he should be allowed a hearing. “Is Cobbett a freeholder of the county?” was then inquired on all sides; “I am,” replied he, in a firm tone. “In that case,” said the sheriff, “you have a right to be heard, and it is my duty to keep order while you are

speaking." Cobbett then commenced his harangue, as nearly as I recollect, in the following manner ;

"I see that you do not wish to hear me, and I shall therefore be brief; but I shall speak so plainly that every laboring man in this meeting will understand what I say, and, I hope, repeat it to his children. You are all crying out for *reform of Parliament*, as the only possible remedy for our political diseases. Now, who first proposed this remedy ? Why, the Radicals, who for more than twenty years past, have been working day and night to recover the rights of which they have been robbed by a haughty aristocracy. What rewards have we had for it ? Why, we have been insulted, imprisoned, some of us trampled under foot at Manchester; others compelled to quit the country. I was obliged to cross the ocean myself, and take refuge on Long Island, in the State of New York, to avoid a prosecution from Daddy Burdett. I have now come back, and what do I see ? Why I see all the noblemen and gentlemen of this county, assembled here to promote this very *reform of Parliament*, which they drove me out of the kingdom for proposing. Most of them I know are Whigs, and I am willing to admit that their predecessors did some service at the time of the revolution of 1688, and that they are not quite so bad themselves as the Tories and the fund-holders ; but (God knows) they are bad enough. They now declaim against corruption. Why then do they continue themselves to fatten on sinecures and pensions ? Why are they preaching up a reform in Parliament, while they insist upon keeping their own rotten boroughs, under pretext that it would not answer to give them up unless the Tories will consent to do the same ? This shameful traffic cannot last much longer, and I now forewarn you, gentlemen, that you must either resign your boroughs, or lose your estates," etc.

'While he was delivering this exordium, standards were carried about among the crowd, with hand-bills pasted on them, on which Cobbett's writings were advertised in large capitals. A low murmur of approbation now ran through the audience, and the speaker, perceiving that he had made an impression, artfully took advantage of it to recapitulate in a hasty manner, the various abuses of the administration in church and state. After this, assuming a more moderate tone, he proposed a reduction of the national debt, on the ground that it was but just that the public creditors should suffer a diminution of their own incomes, proportional to that which was sustained by all other classes in consequence of the fall in the price of grain, and the resumption of cash payments by the banks. Cobbett was followed by another of the Radical orators, who seconded the amendment in language somewhat nervous, though coarse and incorrect. Although the

measure proposed amounted to a national bankruptcy, the amendment was nevertheless carried by a large majority. The meeting was then dissolved, and the more respectable Whigs returned to their homes, not a little chagrined at having been defeated by a person of Cobbett's reputation and character.'

We look upon Cobbett as one of the remarkable men of the present time, and as affording a singular example of the extent of notoriety to which an individual may attain in England, under all possible disadvantages of birth and education, by the mere effect of talent and industry; and as showing on the other hand how completely the fruits of these valuable qualities may be lost, for want of a small infusion of *common honesty*. This we take to be the real defect in the character of Cobbett. As a prose writer, he has few superiors in the language. Though familiar and popular, he is generally pure and correct, and at times elegant; flowing and easy, but nevertheless nervous, pointed, and significant, and above all, thoroughly English. The great literary merit of his writings, and the facility with which he produces them, together with his indefatigable activity, would have made him an invaluable coadjutor to any party with which he might have chosen to connect himself; and would have carried him to the loftiest heights of social consideration. In defect of principle, a tolerable share of prudence and regard for consistency would have answered nearly the same purpose. It is now somewhere about thirty years since, under the name of *Peter Porcupine*, he first kindled his *Rushlight* in the benighted regions (as he then thought them) of Philadelphia. *Down with the Jacobins!* (the cry that is now raised against him) was then his own watchword; as it was about the same time that of Mr Canning, who was then just commencing his career in the same way, by the publication of a weekly paper, entitled *The Anti-Jacobin*. Canning's real talent was, perhaps, inferior to that of Cobbett; his activity and industry probably less,—they certainly could not be greater; his moral sensibility not keener than that of other persons; and his political consistency by no means proverbial; but possessing, nevertheless, a competent share of these useful qualities, he rose rapidly to the first places in the government, and finally to the highest of all, while poor Cobbett, after a long life of unremitted and exemplary labor, after publishing hundreds of volumes of the best and most popular composition in the language, finds himself at sixty years of age, precisely where he set out,

the editor of a weekly paper, without a friend and without a penny.

Examples of this kind serve, as the poet Claudian says of the fall of some overgrown villain of his time, 'to acquit the gods,' and show that moral distinctions are of more practical value than some are willing to admit. After starting as the advocate of social order, against revolution and Jacobinism, and at various times, in the subsequent course of his life, defending correct principles with great power and effect (as in his letters to Lord Castlereagh, upon the grounds of our late war with Great Britain), Cobbett has been gradually sinking, step by step, in self-respect and public consideration; and has been reduced, for some years past, to play the part of a sort of political buffoon, dealing out his paltry wit (now on the lees) at all parties and persons in succession, despised and laughed at by all, from Daddy Coke and Daddy Burdett (to use his own phraseology), down to his ancient yoke-fellow, but now sworn enemy, Hunt; but still writing on, *scribble, scribble, scribble*, as the Duke of Cumberland said to Gibbon, as busily and sometimes with as much power and freshness as ever, and constantly declaring himself, without reserve, *the cleverest man in England*.

The most amusing part of Cobbett's career, is his late attack upon the Protestant reformation. Our readers are probably aware, that he has published a series of letters on this subject, which make, when collected, two or three octavo volumes. These have succeeded wonderfully with all the good Catholics throughout Europe. O'Connell, the famous Irish orator, upon the strength of them, pronounced Cobbett to be a *fine animal*. The fanatical party in France have had the work translated, and extensively circulated in that country; and even the Spanish press has relaxed from its habitual sterility, in favor of this precious production. Nay, the Holy Father himself has condescended to patronize so pious an undertaking, and has paid (unless the newspapers are grossly mistaken) for fifty thousand copies out of his own pocket. Cobbett, patronized by the Pope, is a pleasant caricature. But we must take our leave of Cobbett, and proceed with our author.

Baron de Staël enters into a somewhat detailed examination of the sentiments of the two parties denominated Whigs and Radicals on the question of *parliamentary reform*. We have not

room to follow him in this, and the subject, though always important in theory, has for some years past been but little agitated in England, and has lost a great part of its immediate interest. The well known Jeremy Bentham is referred to by our author as his principal authority in regard to the Radical opinion. We believe that this philosopher is in fact acknowledged as the leader of the sect, and as entitled to the honor, whatever it may be, of having supplied them with something like a theory. As respects the character and pretensions of this person, we have thought, that with a good deal of natural talent and acquired information, he has the misfortune to labor under a partial aberration of intellect, which has grown upon him as he advanced in life. His first publications, though not of much importance, were judicious and well written. He afterwards engaged in inquiries of greater extent and interest, but as he went on prosecuting them, his understanding seems to have become confused, perhaps from too intense and exclusive application to study. He found himself incapable of bringing out his own ideas in an intelligible form, and committed his manuscripts to a clear-headed Genevan, named Dumont, who arranged and published them in French, and to whom we probably owe most of what there is valuable about them.

It seems at least but natural and fair to draw this conclusion, since the numerous works which Bentham has since published are entirely of a different stamp as respects both tone and substance. They are written in a strange and incomprehensible jargon. The matter of his later writings is also nearly or quite as extravagant as the manner; and his conduct is of a piece with both. Our readers doubtless recollect the pleasant account given by Captain Parry, in his work on the life of Lord Byron, of a visit which he made to Bentham at his residence in London, and of the would-be Solon's race through Fleet Street and Cornhill, which he ended, if we remember rightly, at Moorfields, from an instinctive consciousness, perhaps, that he should be more at home there than anywhere else. This little circumstance, like straws that show which way the wind blows, decided our opinion on the condition of his understanding, and explained at once how a person, who in the maturity and vigor of life was avowedly incapable of expressing his own thoughts in his native language, should feel himself called upon in his old age to reform the legislation of the whole civilized

world from China to Peru, and should actually enter into correspondence with most of the sovereigns and other rulers of the day upon the subject. With these impressions respecting his character, we should of course deem it unnecessary to examine in detail his political system, had we even the necessary space at our disposal.

We may remark, however, that it exhibits in many parts evident symptoms of a complete incoherence of ideas in the author. Thus our legislator thinks it necessary that in a perfectly free government, where all the magistrates are elective, measures should be taken for enabling each citizen to conceal his opinion on the public affairs, lest forsooth he should be called to account by—we are not informed whom. For the better effecting of this object, our modern Numa enters into a large dissertation upon the proper shape and constitution of a balloting box, and directs that the citizen, when he comes to the polls, shall be required to take an oath that he will regard every attempt to discover for which candidate he means to vote, as an act of oppression, and will not feel himself bound to give a true answer. How poor to this the wisdom of the Lockes, the Montesquieus, and the Madisons, whom Bentham thinks it his vocation to supersede. Baron de Staël pronounces these regulations to be *de grandes pauvretés*, or *much ado about nothing*. We should rather class them with what the Spaniards call *disparates* or *skeer nonsense*—the natural fruit of an unsound intellect. What do we mean by the freedom of speech and the press, if the citizen's lips are to be hermetically sealed, and his way of thinking an impenetrable mystery? Is it not the precise object of a free government, to give him the opportunity, as Tacitus has it, of thinking what he pleases, and saying what he thinks,—*sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere*? What would be the surprise of our people, who have now for two years past been publicly discussing, from one end of the Union to the other, the question for whom they shall vote as President two years hence, if they were told that it was essential to liberty that every man's opinion should be kept a profound secret! It is evident that Bentham's notions are not merely trifling and unstatesmanlike, but actually incoherent, and in gross violation of the laws of plain common sense.

The chief error of the partisans of parliamentary reform in England, both moderate and violent, many of whom were of course much wiser men than Jeremy Bentham, lay in at-

taching too much importance to mere external forms, and attending too little to the influence of the condition of the people upon the spirit and operations of the government. In consequence of this inattention, it so happened that many of the most intelligent and sagacious persons in Great Britain, kept up a constant alarm during the last half-century, respecting the increasing influence of the crown, when in fact the character of the government, by means of the constantly progressive diffusion of knowledge and wealth among the middling and lower classes, was growing from day to day more and more popular. We think we hazard nothing in asserting, that from the time of Mr Dunning's celebrated resolution, that 'the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished,' up to the late introduction of the Whigs into the administration, the political weight of the aristocracy, including the crown, has been regularly decreasing, and that of the mass of the people increasing in the same proportion, or, in other words, that the circle of citizens who take an active share in the public affairs, has been constantly enlarging.

The Whigs were the virtual representatives of the popular interest, and though, as a party, regularly voted down in Parliament, their moral power was always advancing, until at length the ministry, without a formal change of persons, adopted their views, and established a system of policy, foreign and domestic, conformable to them, and opposite to those which were entertained by the pure aristocracy of England, in common with that of the Continent. Finally, upon the occurrence of the opening lately afforded by the retirement of Lord Liverpool, the last result of this change has been seen in the personal introduction of the Whigs into office, at a time when their party, as such, seemed to be extinct, and had almost ceased from any active opposition to the measures of government. The situation of the Whigs was similar to that of a ship beating up against a head wind, and apparently making but little way, or perhaps losing ground, but which is nevertheless carried on unconsciously by a favorable current, and finally reaches the port without well knowing how she got there.

Mr Canning, whose elevation and sudden death lately created so strong a sensation throughout the christian world, was the person marked out by circumstances to act as a sort of mediator between the two interests, and to smooth the passage from one system of policy to another. Accidental causes

had attached him in his youth to the aristocratic party, and to the person of Pitt, its great representative and champion. On the other hand, his commanding talents and lofty spirit, while they naturally led him to sympathize with all truly liberal notions, and enabled him to estimate correctly the value of new ideas, also qualified him, when occasion required, to deviate from the routine of preceding practice, and strike out an independent course for himself. The same traits of character which fitted him so well for a leader, probably rendered him in some degree less useful and agreeable as a mere coadjutor in the cabinet ; and from his first entrance into public life, until the death of Lord Londonderry, he seems to have played, upon the whole, a subaltern and rather uncomfortable part. That event at once fixed him in his proper sphere, and had a powerful influence in giving, with the necessary promptitude, the new direction to the affairs of the country, which was absolutely essential to its future prosperity.

A more correct and liberal economical system had already been adopted by the cabinet ; but the decisive measure required by the crisis was the immediate recognition of Spanish America. Had England hesitated upon this question, the Allies would have probably taken part with Spain. America might perhaps have been recovered by that power, and Great Britain would then have sunk very rapidly into a feeble appendage to the military powers of the continent. The moment was therefore in the highest degree critical. Of the two courses that lay before the government, one was recommended by routine, and aristocratic prejudice ; the other, as we have said, was imperiously counselled by good policy and liberal feeling. The latter had been previously proposed and chiefly supported by the Whigs, and had the ministry consisted of statesmen of the ordinary stamp, like Lord Londonderry, men much under the influence of mere routine and existing connexions, the decisive blow would hardly have been struck. By an almost miraculous combination of events, it so happened that at this precise juncture, Lord Londonderry, in the vigor of life, and with the prospect of a long career before him, was suddenly called from the helm, and that Mr Canning, whom the delay of a few weeks longer would have removed for ever from the scene of action, was summoned to replace him.

His connexions with the aristocratic party gave him the necessary weight and favor with the crown, and his powerful

character, which placed him above routine and prejudice, enabled him to see the true policy of the country, although it came before him in the questionable shape of a Whig doctrine, and to act upon it with the requisite decision. There is an air of *fanfaronade* in the proud declaration made by this statesman in his famous speech on Portuguese affairs,—*that he had called a new nation into existence*; but we nevertheless regard it as in substance well founded in reference to Spanish America. That the policy adopted by England was the immediate cause that prevented, in fact, the interference of the continental powers, is generally admitted. Our proceedings had great weight in determining the course of England, and produced in this way a most powerful effect upon the general result; but without the concurrence of England, our influence alone might not have averted the danger. We mean not to say, that had the Allies actually interfered, the independence of Spanish America would have certainly been lost, but that it would doubtless have been jeopardized and necessarily contested for an indefinite period, during which our western continent would have been visited by a train of incalculable miseries, some part of which—we need not here inquire how large a one—would have fallen to our share. The coöperation of England and the United States was indispensable in order to give to this great movement in political affairs, the fortunate direction which it actually took. Each of these powers may therefore felicitate itself with justice upon having had the opportunity of rendering the most important services, at the critical moment of their national birth, to the rising republics of the South. This, we suppose, making due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, and the warmth of extempore speaking, is the only meaning which we need to deduce from the aforesaid remark.

Our sister republics have not been backward in acknowledging their obligations to either power. 'It is agreeable,' says President Rivadavia (the most distinguished statesman whom this great struggle has yet brought into notice, and one who may well be compared with the soundest thinkers and most judicious practical politicians of any age or nation,) in his address to the Congress of Buenos Aires, in May, 1822, upon retiring from his place, as governor of that province; 'it is agreeable to witness the frank and noble policy of His Majesty the king of Great Britain. The similarity of opinion

and feeling, which we observe in the cabinets of London and Washington, will show to Spain that she cannot hope to contend single-handed with the free nations of the new world, and will perhaps introduce into her councils the moderation and wisdom, so necessary to her existence.' Nor are the statesmen of the South in any way jealous of the influence which it naturally belongs to our country to exercise upon the political system of the continent; 'This illustrious nation,' says another citizen of the same republic, writing in the year 1825, and alluding to the United States, 'this illustrious nation is naturally called upon to direct and lead on the march of all the free States of America.' The unity of political system in regard to these all-important subjects, which appears in the councils of the two great English nations on the two sides of the Atlantic, is a circumstance of happy omen, not merely for the Southern republics, but for their own mutual intercourse, which, we venture to hope, will not wear for ever the unnatural and repulsive form of fraternal hostility.

The recognition of Spanish America by the British government was, however, a decidedly Whig measure, both in form and principle. It marked at once the separation of the government from the despotic alliance of the continent of Europe, and its adhesion to the liberal system, which rules without dispute throughout that of America. The policy of England being thus entirely changed, it was not unnatural that a corresponding change should occur within no very distant period in the persons of the ministry. It was quite proper that the leading Whigs, who for twenty years before had been proposing the same measures which had now been adopted by the government, should share in the honor and satisfaction of carrying them into effect; and that the prime minister should avail himself of the first favorable occasion to introduce some of the most distinguished and unexceptionable individuals among them into the cabinet. Objections however would naturally occur to such a proceeding, and here again the powerful character of Mr Canning was one of the circumstances which were perhaps indispensable, and were certainly very efficacious in bringing about the desired result. We all know from recent experience in our own country, how tenaciously the personal sympathies and antipathies occasioned by party divisions are cherished long after the causes that created the parties have ceased to exist. Such men as Lord Chancellor

Eldon and the Duke of Wellington, who, although they had concurred in adopting the liberal measures recommended by Mr Canning, refused to serve under him for no better reason, apparently, than that he was the man who had proposed those measures, would have doubtless objected still more strongly to any association with professed Whigs. Few ministers could have ventured to take a stand in opposition to the weight of their names, and to the vast influence which they were supposed to possess in the nation; and nothing but the immense personal popularity which Mr Canning was conscious of enjoying, would have justified him in the attempt, or have rendered it successful.

With a manly confidence in the correctness of his principles, and the extent of his powers, which belongs only to an intellectual and moral character of the highest order, he resolutely took his ground, and maintained every inch of it, to the utter astonishment and consternation of his adversaries, and to the signal satisfaction of the friends of liberty throughout the world. The final result was a complete recomposition of the ministry on the most liberal principles, and with a large mixture of professedly Whig elements. So complete and well-founded was the new political edifice from the moment of its construction, that the death of its great architect, within a few weeks after, does not appear to have affected in any way its stability or probable duration. We look upon the new administration, although still under the direction of a nominal Tory, as in principle decidedly Whig, and we anticipate that such will be the coloring of the policy of England, under all changes in the persons of the ministers, for a long period to come. We incline to this opinion, because we consider a liberal policy as more congenial to the principles of the British constitution, as well as more suitable to the existing circumstances of the country, than the one which was pursued for thirty or forty years preceding, and has now been abandoned. The basis of the British constitution is in the main liberal, and the policy of the government had been generally such from the accession of the House of Brunswick (which was determined by the prevalence of the Whig party) up to the opening of our Revolutionary war, the measures pursued, though suggested no doubt by accidental causes, rather than an absolute love of oppression and despotism,—though natural perhaps, and, at times, in some

degree justifiable,—were nevertheless throughout inimical to freedom. The circumstances that led to this deviation having changed, the British government has placed itself again upon its natural foundation; and this, precisely because it is the natural one, we think is likely to be permanent.

Having thus changed the direction of the policy of his country, and restored the principle of liberty to its natural ascendancy in the cabinet, Mr Canning seems to have accomplished the object of his mission, and we deem it not unfortunate for his fame, and for the good of the world, that he has been withdrawn so early from the scene of action. When the course is given and the sails justly trimmed, a common head is able to steer the ship; and it sometimes happens that the high qualities which are so useful and necessary in extraordinary contingences, may be positively dangerous in transacting the common routine of business. ‘There are some persons,’ says the author of the *Henriade*, ‘who shine in a secondary sphere, but lose their lustre when they rise to the highest.’

‘*Tel brille au second rang, qui s’éclipse au premier.*’

There are others, on the contrary,—and Mr Canning was probably of the number,—whose talents are fitted for great occasions, but who make less display in the conduct of the simple affairs of ordinary life. The ardent imagination and the bold, creative genius which enabled their possessor to invent new systems, and to grapple with questions of a grand and complicated nature, have no natural bearing upon matters of inferior interest. When a statesman, possessed of these transcendent qualities, flies at smaller game, he is apt to run into exaggeration, if not into error. Mr Canning’s course on the Portuguese affairs was perhaps an example of both these results. His policy in regard to this subject was from the outset extremely questionable; and the mode, in which he treated it in the House of Commons, was highly injudicious, and justly gave umbrage to the principal powers of the continent. Had he lived, this question might perhaps have endangered the tranquillity of Europe, and consequently of the whole christian world; but under the more temperate and business-like management of his successors, it will probably be brought with ease to a quiet termination.

In like manner, the difference about the colonial trade between this country and the British West Indies, by the effect

of his flippant mode of writing and misapplied promptness and energy of action, was ripening pretty fast into a serious quarrel. This dispute too, we trust, will be speedily adjusted by the plain good sense and good temper, and, we hope we may add, liberal and amicable feeling of the present ministry. We repeat, therefore, that while we regret the premature death of Mr Canning, on account of the breach it necessarily makes in the social circle of his friends and connexions, while we experience a sentiment of gloom at the extinction of one of the most brilliant lights of the political sphere, we are satisfied that, as respects his own glory and the interest of the christian commonwealth, he had lived long enough, and that he now 'sleeps well.' He died, as it were, in the arms of victory, on the loftiest summit of social elevation that an Englishman can innocently reach. He had been made of late the instrument of great and lasting good to his country and mankind; and had shown, throughout his career, the highest qualities, intellectual and moral. His faults will be acknowledged by the candid, to be of those that accompany an ardent and generous character, and his name will be recorded, in spite of them, among the most illustrious in modern history.

We have been led imperceptibly into this digression upon the recent changes in the British Ministry, by the reflections which naturally result from the topics last treated of by M. de Staël. Having already exceeded our limits, we must now conclude by recommending his work to our readers, as a judicious, well-written, and dispassionate examination of some of the most important political questions of the day. If their sentiments are at all similar to ours, the name of the author will secure to his production a high degree of attention; and we conceive that we are bestowing sufficient commendation upon it, when we add, that those who peruse it with the expectations which that distinguished name may justly excite, will not be disappointed.

ART. IX. *The American Annual Register ; for the Year 1825-6, or the Fiftieth Year of American Independence.* New York, G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. 1827.

WE looked forward to the appearance of this volume with interest, and are satisfied with its execution. It comes as near to the plan proposed of *An Annual Register*, as could be expected, under all the difficulties incident to a first essay. Some portions of it, indeed, appear to have been executed in haste ; and several parts would bear an increased expansion and detail. The portion dedicated to the separate states, is somewhat meagre. It should be wholly omitted, or more elaborately wrought up. With adequate pains bestowed on this department, we are quite sure that it might be made equal in interest and value, to any portion of an *American Annual Register*. More than any other part, it would carry the recommendation of novelty, to most readers in this country. Almost every reader of newspapers, gather a general idea of national affairs ; and some indistinct notion, at least, of what is going on in Europe. But let our readers search their memories at the end of the year, and see how good an account they can give of the events, which have taken place in each of the twenty-four states of this confederacy.

Let it not be said, that we know little of what is passing in our sister states, because there is little of importance to be known. Far from it. There is not a state in the union, whose internal administration is not a rich study for the American citizen, politician, and statesman ; while many of the states stand before us in the aspect of republics growing up into a consequence, which must ultimately compare with that even of the Union. For this, and other reasons, we sincerely hope, that great diligence will be bestowed on that department of 'The American Register,' which is devoted to the affairs of the separate states. It will, in some respects, be the most difficult of execution. The requisite materials and means of information are not concentrated, as they are in reference to the general government, and the political affairs of the Union. But after they shall have been duly collected and condensed, we feel persuaded they will be found, in the judgment of all intelligent readers, to add highly to the value of 'The Register.' It is not to be inferred from these remarks, that the present volume con

tains nothing in this way. A beginning is made, as ample, perhaps, as ought to have been expected, of a selection of notices, pertaining to the separate states; but this department will bear and reward all the diligence, with which it can be cultivated.

The strictly historical portion of the work falls, of course, into the two great divisions of domestic and foreign; and the former is necessarily chiefly devoted to the doings of the first session of the last congress. This part of the work (in some respects the most delicate, as it immediately involves questions of party politics), has been as satisfactorily executed, in reference to such questions, as the nature of things admits. The leaning towards the administration is obvious; but the arguments, adduced by those opposed to the measures of the administration, are, we think, fairly dealt by.

The course to be pursued, in a work making pretensions to historical dignity, in reference to questions of party politics, is not altogether easy to be settled. The frantic partiality of the violent newspapers, is, of course, to be avoided, not as being beneath the gravity of history, but as unworthy the order of beings, whom Providence has endowed with reason and speech. On the other hand, the nature and operation of what is called *impartiality*, in the historian of political occurrences, especially contemporaneous occurrences, require to be well understood, before it is too urgently recommended. A real, honest impartiality, which, without a shade of human weakness, in the form of favor or of enmity, should pronounce on men and things according to their true merit, would, no doubt, be a glorious quality in a historian. But such an impartiality is plainly not given to frail man, certainly not in reference to the political events, which are passing around us, and the prominent political characters of the day. He must have his *feelings*, in respect to these events and characters; and these feelings will bias his judgment.

There is indeed, a state of mind, which may sometimes exist in reference to contemporary political events, that of a cold indifference, or a strong aversion to both of two prominent parties, which would seem to promise something like impartiality, in forming and expressing judgments upon them. But even this promise is delusive. For, not to urge the rarity of the thing itself (it being next to impossible, that a precise equipoise even in indifference or aversion should exist), the result will be, that alternate injustice will be done to both parties. The

credit, which may occasionally be awarded to both, will be coldly measured out ; and the censure, to which each in turn will perhaps be obnoxious, will not be emphatically expressed, from a fear of disturbing the stoical balance of assumed impartiality. If the feeling cherished toward the two parties be that of equal and decided hostility, manifold injustice will be done to one, or the other, or both. It is next to impossible, that both parties should be alike worthy of hatred ; consequently, to hate them alike is itself an injury to the least odious. Besides this, a strong passion of hostility wholly unfits the mind to discourse on the acts of others. Take, for instance, the writings of Burke on the French revolution. He was certainly very impartial between the Girondists and the Jacobins ; but the fervor of his feelings unfitted him to write the history of either, and especially to do any justice to the points, on which they were divided. It did fit him out with an apostolic mission, to rouse the fear and hatred of the world against both ; but this is a very different vocation from that of the historian.

To illustrate more clearly our meaning, on the subject of impartiality in a writer on contemporary politics, we will instance the 'Life of Napoleon,' by Sir Walter Scott. Apart from literary execution, the main fault of this book is its claim to be impartial. We do not mean to set this down as a hypocritical and affected impartiality. We believe the eminent author designed to be impartial, and occasionally put himself under constraint to attain that end. It being, however, in the nature of things physically impossible for an Englishman, of the government side in politics, a person for twenty or thirty years employed in writing in reviews, magazines, registers, and newspapers, and separate works on the British and the government side of the question, to be *really* impartial ; that is, to have no prepossession in favor of his own country, and no prejudice against its most dangerous enemy ; the assumed character of impartiality can have no other result, than, that while it perhaps leads him to discredit some of the grosser and more atrocious calumnies, it will give additional weight to his unfavorable view of the entire character and policy of his hero. Take an example from what he says of Lafayette. We presume that Sir Walter Scott, considering that this country contains about one half of those, by whom his book was to be read, felt a strong desire to be impartial toward the man, who had lately passed, in wonderful triumph, throughout the American Continent. He does not, ac-

cordingly, speak of him in the terms, with which he was usually mentioned, and is still, when mentioned at all, by the political disciples of Mr Pitt,—terms of the bitterest hatred. He even speaks of him in something like the language of praise; but this serves only to give additional force to the sarcastic gentleness, with which he condemns his conduct at the most critical moment. We refer to the dreadful scene of the removal from Versailles. Lafayette, we are told, advanced at the head of ‘his civic army, *slowly, but in good order*. The presence of this great force seemed to restore a portion of tranquillity, though no one seemed to know, with certainty, how it was likely to act. Lafayette had an audience of the king, explained the means he had adopted for the security of the palace, recommended to the inhabitants to go to rest, and unhappily set the example by retiring himself. Before doing so, however, he also visited the assembly, pledged himself for the safety of the royal family, and the tranquillity of the night, and, with some difficulty, prevailed on the president Mounier to adjourn the sitting which had been voted permanent. He thus took upon himself the responsibility for the quiet of the night. We are loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette; and we can therefore only lament, that weariness should have so far overcome him, at an important crisis, and that he should have trusted to others the execution of those precautions, which were most grossly neglected.’ Now we shall make but one remark on this, which is followed up by more in the same strain. We give Sir Walter Scott credit, for ‘being loath to bring into question the worth, honor, and fidelity of Lafayette.’ He nevertheless does it; and this being the case, we, as friends to Lafayette, should like to have it done heartily; with all the warmth, which a failure at this ‘important crisis’ demands. If duty dictates, we would have the historian adopt the language of Sièyes, which was at least manly, in declaring for the death of Louis (an expression which has escaped Sir Walter in narrating the scene), and vote ‘la mort—*sans phrase*.’

This digression, we hope, will not be thought unseasonable, in connexion with our notice of a historical survey of the political events of our own country and our own day. We have already stated, that, in narrating the domestic political history of the year, we think the editor of ‘The Annual Register’ has practised about the only impartiality, which is valuable, that of fairly

stating the arguments of those opposed to the measures, which he himself approves. In expressing this opinion, we do not, of course, in any degree, intend to offer ourselves as vouchers for the correctness of the single opinions or sentiments which he avows. In the literary execution of this part of 'The Register,' we are inclined to recommend less ample quotations from the speeches, made while measures are under discussion in Congress, and indeed from documents of any kind. Such documents as it may be proper to present entire, might advantageously be given in a smaller type in the Appendix. With respect to the debates, as an ample provision is now made for their entire publication, in a work exclusively dedicated to their preservation, their omission in the historical Register would be attended with no sacrifice to its readers, and would afford space for an ampler detail of matters of fact.

The execution of the portion of 'The Register,' which relates to foreign history, was not accompanied with the difficulty, growing out of the treatment of party questions, to which the domestic history was exposed. The pages devoted to the different foreign countries of America, and the old world, though varying in fulness of detail, are highly instructive. We apprehend there is no reader, however assiduous in reading or preserving his newspapers, who could go through these pages, without finding his recollections corrected, brought into order, and filled up. Of several of the countries, our newspapers give us but little intelligence. Of none of them do they give us a regular chain of intelligence. The nature of a newspaper would render this almost impossible, with the greatest diligence and care. Its columns must, in general, be engrossed with the news of the day. At subsequent and stated periods, to write the successive articles of intelligence; to sift out the truth; to furnish the requisite documentary information; and to throw the whole into a historical chapter, though obviously a work, to which the intelligent editor of a newspaper would come well prepared, is also a work of more labor and time, than he can reasonably be expected to bestow; and it is precisely the province of the writer of an Annual Register. We deem it no more than strict justice to say, that this department of 'The Annual Register' is much better filled, than the corresponding part of any English register, with which we are acquainted.

But we do not wish our readers to take our opinion of the

work on trust ; and we shall therefore lay before them a more detailed account of the matter contained in it, and the mode in which it is treated.

The period at which its historical portion commences, is the fiftieth year of the Independence of the country ; the beginning of the administration of the present chief magistrate, in some respects, starting under new auspices ; and the opening of a new congress. These tangible points of departure at home, are met with sufficiently corresponding events of peculiarity, in the aspect of foreign affairs, to constitute altogether a marked epoch. It may be considered politically, as bringing to a full close, the revolutionary age at home, and the reign of the colonial system abroad. In the first and introductory chapter, the views apposite to this state of things are expressed, with no little originality and force. The successive events by which the change in foreign politics was brought about, particularly the severance of the different parts of Spanish and Portuguese America from political dependence on Europe ; the councils of the continental alliance, in reference to these events ; the policy of Great Britain and the United States, in regard to the intercourse of the remaining colonies of the former, are sketched with vigor. The last of these topics, the colonial dispute between the United States and Great Britain, has since grown up into a great question of controversy, which will undoubtedly receive an ample developement in the next volume of 'The Register.' We cannot but observe on the kind of fatality, which leads the citizens of the United States to make the controversies of the confederacy with foreign powers, a matter of domestic party politics. That this was done (and to the lasting reproach of our politics) in the controversies growing out of the French revolution, was ascribed to the infancy and consequent weakness of our own government, the newness of our institutions, and the want of a national feeling, sufficiently strong and peculiar to master all minor impulses. It was to be hoped, as it was unanimously and heartily predicted would be the case, that our foreign relations would never again be reproachfully made the topics of domestic division. After recapitulating the principles of the colonial policy of Great Britain, as far as they were then unfolded, the introductory chapter presents us with the visit of Lafayette, as a happy incident at the close of the revolutionary age, singular, even unparalleled, in its nature, and genial in its influence.

The political history of the year is related in the following chapters, from the second to the fifth inclusive. The first treats of the inauguration of the present chief magistrate, whose speech is given entire. The business transacted at the ensuing session of the senate, is then related; an account given of the formation of the opposition to the national administration; the rise and progress of the controversy relative to the Creek lands narrated, and a general survey taken of the position of Indian affairs. These topics, with the trials of Commodores Stuart and Porter, the measures of internal improvement pursued during the recess of congress, the progress of manufactures, and the extraordinary agitations of the commercial world, in the course of the summer, fill up the first chapter.

The next chapter introduces us to the proceedings of the nineteenth congress, and relates the proposal and discussion of the amendments of the constitution, brought forward in the two houses; of which, as is well known, the principal features were a division of the United States into as many districts, as the number of electors to be chosen, and the removal of the eventual decision of the election, from the House of Representatives. Could the former question have been presented alone, and discussed without any association with the state of parties, we are not sure that it would not have prevailed. A small majority of the House of Representatives voted against the resolution which related to this point. The objections to it were, either, in general, to all changes in the constitution, or grounded on the opinion that many of the alleged evils incident to the present system, would continue to flow from that proposed as a substitute. It is true, however, that a part of the opposition to the measure, proceeded on the principle, that it was an encroachment on the rights of the states. This argument was sustained, in a very able speech, by Mr Stevenson, of Virginia. The vote on the other proposed amendment, was strong in the affirmative (one hundred and twenty-three to sixty-four); and yet it is probable, that if the question had been pushed, in any tangible detail, it would have met with very slender support. To resolve, in the general, that the election of the president ought, in no case, to devolve on the House of Representatives, is to take a popular ground. To embody the principle of that resolution, in any specific measure, would be found very seriously to intrench on the delicate part of the equality guaranteed, in some respects, to the states. Though the resolution

in favor of a system of districts was rejected, and that in favor of removing the eventual election from the House, sustained by a large majority of that body, yet when the latter resolution was referred to a committee of one from each state, that committee found themselves unable to agree on any report, and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

The next subject taken up in 'The Register,' is the Panamá mission; and the proceedings of the two houses upon this question are related in detail. The proposed extension of the judiciary system is then discussed, and with the subject of the finances, the appropriation bills, and the proposed relief of the revolutionary officers, completes the history of the session.

We are aware that an analysis so hasty as this, can give but an imperfect conception of the contents of this part of the volume. It may serve however, at least, to assist those who have not yet seen it, in forming a correct anticipation of its nature. A moment's reflection will be sufficient to produce a strong impression of the value of such a work in our political history, did we possess it in a complete series from the foundation of the government. While many good books, from the nature of their subjects, lose their value with time, and are scarcely thought of after the gloss of novelty is worn from the first edition, the volumes of a historical journal like this, will be prized, almost in proportion to their age. An *American Annual Register*, commencing with the Revolution, if such a thing could be conceived of in that day of poverty and tribulation, and continued down to the present time, would be positively invaluable to all, whom it imports to be acquainted with our political history.

Although it is, of course, not to be expected, that a contemporaneous narrative of events should possess the value or the interest belonging to a record of the past, yet we are persuaded that a great majority, even of those who consider themselves attentive observers of affairs, would find no little instruction in perusing the condensed narrative of the transactions even of the last congress, as related in the first part of this work.

With the sixth chapter begins, what may be called, in the strictest sense, the foreign history. The West Indies, British, Spanish, and Haytian, are treated in this chapter. The measures adopted by the British government, for the improvement

of the condition of the blacks, and the proceedings relative to these measures in the islands, are described. The political position of Cuba is next briefly discussed ; and the remainder of the chapter devoted to a very excellent abstract of the proceedings connected with the French recognition of Hayti.

The seventh chapter passes in review the subjects of Mexico, Central America, Rio de la Plata, Chile, and Paraguay ; the eighth is dedicated to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia ; and the ninth to Brazil. There is perhaps no range of subjects, of which we hear and read so much, to so little purpose, for want of a previous generalization of the main facts relative to so large a family of states. The sketches here given, are executed from good sources, and with commendable diligence. They contain information, curious certainly in itself, highly interesting to the political student, and of unequalled moment to the American statesman. It is too early to say, to what extent our politics will be affected by the emancipation of Portuguese and Spanish America ; but it is not too early to say, that there is no part of the political map of the world, which we of North America may find more temptation or necessity to study, than that which comprehends the regions, which lie to the south of us on this continent.

The succeeding chapters are devoted to Great Britain ; to France ; to Spain and Portugal ; to Russia and the other states of Europe ; and to Greece. They contain as much as the American reader will wish to take along with him, on these states, in order to form a correct and sufficient acquaintance with the political character and historical events of the times. We might refer, for a specimen of the kind and degree of information contained in these chapters, to the sketch of the origin and progress of the war between Russia and Persia.

The fifteenth chapter presents a condensed and satisfactory sketch of the Burmese war, from the origin of hostilities to the treaty of peace ; and the sixteenth, the last chapter of the historical portion of the work, is occupied with events on the western coast of Africa, among the Barbary powers, and in Egypt. Under this last head, are related, sufficiently in detail, the history and fortunes of the present tributary sovereign of that country, Mohammed Ali.

The fifty or sixty pages which follow, under the head of ' Local History and Domestic Occurrences,' form the part of ' The Register,' which is dedicated to the separate states. We have

already expressed the opinion, that greater extension could be advantageously given to this department. We have no doubt that when the first difficulties of organizing channels of information shall be overcome, this section of 'The Register' will become especially rich in matter and interest. It must be borne in mind, that some of the states, New York at least, numbers nearly half the population of the memorable thirteen, who fought the battles of our Independence ; and that her resources, and her public works are, in no degree, below the proportion of her population. Nor can we be unmindful of the vast system of internal improvements now in active progress in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and projected in Massachusetts, in Maryland, and Virginia. The progress of manufactures, the legislative organization, the local controversies of the different states have something of interest. Few, if any of the topics which we have thus glanced at, are wholly omitted in the present volume. We name them only to strengthen the impression of the individual importance of the states, and the consequent expediency of giving to them all the space which can be spared from the other divisions of the work.

The other main portion of the work contains a selection of public documents, both foreign and domestic ; a selection of important law cases follows these ; and the volume closes with obituary notices of distinguished persons, who have died in the course of the year, particularly of Adams and Jefferson.

Such is a hasty analysis of the first volume of 'The American Annual Register,' a work essentially modelled on 'The Annual Register' of Dodsley, which was projected, and in its historical portion, for many years, written by Burke ; and which, with a very fluctuating style of execution, and amidst several able rival publications, has maintained its rank to the present day. A work of the kind, in this country, has long been a *desideratum*, and has once or twice been attempted, and for a short time carried on. The plan of an Annual Register was submitted to the public four years ago, by a gentleman in Massachusetts, and having been necessarily relinquished by him, it has been revived, in New York, by the editor of the present work. To say that this work is everything that the public could expect in such an enterprise, and everything that the editor and his *collaborators* could make it, would be to say, that they are to learn nothing by experience ; and by bringing

into system the numerous and disconnected parts of the organization, implied in such a work. We exhort them and their publishers to persevere, believing that a well conducted Annual Register will not only render an immediate and essential service to its readers in this country ; but that those portions of it, which relate to domestic affairs (the largest part in general of the work) will, by affording a better vehicle of information than elsewhere exists, discharge a very important office to the cause of free institutions, by conveying to foreign countries an accurate and detailed statement of their operation here.

ART X.—*Academies of Arts ; a Discourse delivered on Thursday, May 3, 1827, in the Chapel of Columbia College, before the National Academy of Design on its First Anniversary.* BY SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, President of the Academy. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo, pp. 60. 1827.

WE hope the name which this Society has assumed, may be found hereafter more appropriate than it appears now. A *National* Academy may be understood to mean a public institution, founded and supported by the nation, or a private association of the first artists of a country. This Academy is of neither of these kinds. It is simply a society of artists in the city of New York, organized for the purposes of exhibition and instruction. As such it is a respectable and praiseworthy beginning ; and as we heartily wish success to such an undertaking, we regret the more that they have made so great a mistake in the selection of their name. To call themselves *National Academicians*, is making a claim of distinction which, we must say, is out of proportion to their merits. Nor do we think it is quite time for them to adopt the initials of their institution as a standing title. The N. A. would do very well in the catalogue of their own exhibitions, to distinguish the works of its members, but we find it affixed to their names in that of a private collection, given in a note to this discourse. This, though a trifle, seems to us very ill judged. The practice has been

tolerated only in Societies, which have established some reputation ; and even in those cases, it is a vanity of which their members begin to be ashamed. What would be thought if Mr Stuart should choose to call himself National Portrait Painter, or Mr Allston should take the style of National Historical Painter, and write accordingly after their names, N. P. P. and N. H. P. ? Yet they would but be claiming the rank which others yield to them ; while the name of National Academician is as inappropriate to some of those, who have dignified themselves with it, as it is injudicious in its application to the best.

It is unjust, moreover, to the reputation of the country. A foreigner could not be much blamed for judging of the state of the arts in America by the National Academy established in the first city of the Union. Nor could he be expected to examine very carefully by what right such a name is borne by this Society. Yet the Academicians could not be willing, that their works should be thought by strangers among the highest efforts of American art. They have given themselves a name, which means, in the common use of language, the great institution of the United States for the arts of design. What may happen hereafter in this particular, we pretend not to foretell ; but at present this new Academy comes somewhat short of deserving such a title.

Mr Morse's Discourse is short and appropriate to the occasion. It consists of a very brief sketch of the origin and constitution of the principal academies of arts in Europe, with remarks, chiefly contained in the notes, on the state and prospects of the arts in this country. We cannot agree with the author in all these remarks. Some of them seem tinctured with a degree of dissatisfaction and jealousy, for which we think there is no occasion. He complains bitterly of the practice of buying old pictures, as tending to the neglect of living merit ; insists on the inexpediency of any but professed artists intermeddling with the government or direction of academies ; and deplores the hard fate of the American artist, who, after cultivating his art in foreign countries, returns to find his own so far behind him in taste, that he is doomed to starve in unmerited neglect.

This is all unreasonable and mischievous. We call upon facts to bear witness for us, when we say, that our artists suffer neither from the neglect nor the interference of others. Not

one of them, who could maintain any reputation in Europe (we mean well earned and tried reputation, and not that very precarious one of being a very promising young man), has lost it by a return to America. There is no undeserved preference for the works of old or foreign painters, and no want of patronage for those of our own. We do not pretend to know all the artists of the country, but we take such an interest in the arts, that we think we have heard of all the good ones ; and, as far as our information extends, we say, that they have nothing to complain of. The source of the mistake and disappointment of others is this ; our artists do but begin their education in Europe ; they are sent there as soon as they discover the first symptoms of genius, and before it is well ascertained whether it is worth while for them to go. There they seem at first to be making prodigious advances (for in art, it is not the *premier* but the *dernier pas qui coute*), and, either from impatience or necessity, they hasten home to enjoy prematurely the fruits of their studies. In so doing they underrate the taste of the country, as it is natural enough they should, having left it before their own was formed. Besides, it is so much easier to learn to judge rightly than to paint well, that even with less opportunity, our judgment may at least have kept pace with the progress of their skill. A taste for the fine arts is but of recent, and has, therefore, been of very rapid growth among us. It is quite as likely, therefore, that the young artist, while learning his elements by a short stay in Europe, should fall behind, as surpass the taste of his countrymen ; and it is equally natural, that if there be any interval of separation between them, he will consider himself most in advance.

But let him be assured, that his works are not tried here by a judgment formed only on what has been seen in America. That judgment is founded chiefly on the opinion of those, who have had opportunities of observation, at least as good as his own. The number of those, who have travelled in Europe to see and study the great works of art, has been rapidly increasing, and is now large. Our taste in these things is not of national origin. We have hitherto learned, and must long be content to learn, from older countries. A very few years, therefore, are sufficient to do away the difference between the taste of Europe and America. We have, in fact, made more progress in years, than other nations have in centuries, simply by adopting the fruits of their labors. It is very idle, then, for

any one to think, that by a few years' residence in Europe he can so get the start of us, that his merit cannot be understood here. It would be much more likely, that, led away by our admiration of foreign models, we should neglect the original beauties of the home-taught pupil of nature. We could give Mr Morse, in vindication of our taste, some illustrious examples among us, of those, who have labored long and patiently abroad, undazzled by their first success, and not content with the admiration of the ignorant, and who have not been disappointed or neglected on their return. Greater wealth, and more splendid distinctions, would have rewarded them in Europe, but nowhere could they have been more honored or valued than they are here. Nowhere could their works have been more eagerly sought at honorable prices. If these examples are too rare to encourage the desponding, let them at least believe, that in their profession, as well as in others, industry and perseverance will prevail; let them believe this, until they can find some examples of neglected merit to authorize their complaints. We have heard of starving and heart-broken genius in other countries, but there never was such a thing in this. The most liberal encouragement is offered to every hope of excellence, and that very liberality has, in many cases, by taking away the sting of necessity, destroyed the promise it would have fostered.

No artist can expect here the highest rewards of his art. He must seek them, if he is entitled to them, in the great capitals of Europe. We cannot make him a prince, or even a knight, nor endow him with 'personal nobility,' like those, whom Mr Morse mentions as examples of European munificence. But we can offer him all the country has to give; reputation, respect, and competency. If these will not satisfy him, he must take Mr Morse's advice, and not return. 'The American artist,' says he, 'may go abroad, but he must not return.' Before his foreign acquirements can be appreciated, he must go back to the point from which he started, take the public by the hand, and lead them on to the eminence he has attained. He may go abroad, and adorn other countries with his works, and the history of his own, with an imperishable name; but if he returns, it will be at the peril of his happiness and his life! Does any one believe this? Is there anything of fact that justifies it? We never heard of any who pined and died after this manner.

We should give a different advice to the young artist ; we should counsel him, if he has the means, to go and faithfully study his art where it is most successfully practised ; and not to be in haste to return for fear he should grow too wise to be understood. Let him not only study but practise in Europe. Merely drawing in an academy, and copying a few master-pieces, will not enable him to return with credit and success. Hundreds of students do these things, and do them well, who are never heard of as artists. He must labor long and hard, with the best means of improvement around him, if he hopes for distinction in his own country. And then he may return without fear of injustice. But one thing we repeat to him, and let him not forget it ; no attainments which are not sufficient to support and raise him into notice in Europe, will save him from neglect at home. The mere student of foreign academies will not at once be hailed as a master on his return. If he were, it would more clearly prove that deficiency of taste of which Mr Morse complains, than even the neglect of real merit.

Something in the same spirit, Mr Morse deprecates the intervention of any but professed artists in the management of academies. We doubt whether he is right in this. We are inclined to look on this exclusion, as one cause of those bad effects, which he admits to have proceeded from ill-constituted academies. It tends to the formation of a school ; which is little else than a system of errors and deviations from that imitation of general nature, which cannot be too exact even for ideal beauty ; there is but one nature, and there can be but one true way of painting. Artists may differ, indeed, in their choice of subjects and circumstances ; but independently of these, their peculiar manners are chiefly their peculiar defects. Yet it is exceedingly difficult, in the examination of nature, to overcome the prejudices of a favorite system of art. In the same scene, one painter will see nothing but light and shade, while to another it will seem full of color. Fuseli, no doubt, thought he was painting naturally, when he imitated humanity so abominably ; and his students, if they had been confined to his instructions, would have learned to see in nature the contortions and extravagances of their master's imagination. But the fact, that the defects of great masters are apt to mislead learners, is as obviously true in painting, as in everything else. And it can hardly be doubted, that, if academies exercise any

influence, those under the sole direction of artists will be more likely to sanction and perpetuate their errors, than those which admit in their government connoisseurs, who may be, at least, more impartial judges of nature than her professed imitators. But even if this be not so, the exclusion is impolitic. Artists cannot establish themselves in defiance of that portion of the public, best qualified to judge of their works; nor hold themselves entirely independent of those, who support their exhibitions, and buy their pictures. It is essential to their success, that they should inspire others with a love of their art, and diffuse as widely as possible the taste necessary to enjoy it. These associations are highly useful in this way, if they are freely opened to all who are desirous of promoting their objects. But if the direction of them is, by the jealousy of artists, confined to their own number, others will soon be weary of their share in establishments, where taxation and representation are so little united. Where a taste for the arts is already widely diffused, such a system may have some advantages, but where the taste is to be created, a more liberal course would be more expedient. In this, as in other particulars, the difference of the two countries seems to have been overlooked when the Royal Academy is proposed as the proper model of such institutions in America.

There could be no danger here of the other directors interfering improperly with the peculiar province of the artists, and they might often be useful as mediators or umpires between contending parties. They would be the defence of the meritorious against any of their brethren, who might otherwise pervert the power and influence of the academy to selfish or party purposes. That such differences and oppression may exist in these institutions, is well enough proved by their history, particularly by that of the same Royal Academy, whose example is thought to sanction this exclusive system. There has been but very lately a revolt in this institution, which withdrew much talent from its exhibitions. What has been the result, we do not know, but it may be presumed to have been unfortunate for the seceders, however just might have been their complaints. Such occurrences might often be prevented by the intervention of disinterested directors; and when they happen, they lead to consequences much worse, than an occasional deviation from correct taste, even if that were to be feared from the admission of such mediators.

Mr Morse supports this exclusion by the example of other professions. But in this he confounds associations for the mere regulation of practice, with institutions for the promotion and improvement of art. Besides, the fine arts are things that we can live without, while unhappily law and physic are necessary evils. The arts, to flourish, or even to exist, must be made agreeable to others besides artists. Others must be taught to love and to judge of them, before they will afford a subsistence to those, who practise them; whereas, it requires no combination between doctor and patient to induce the latter to be sick; nor do clients quarrel and go to law because they love to hear the eloquence of their advocates. If the infirmities of mind and body, which support these two learned professions, needed encouragement by the establishment of academies for their developement, no doubt the practitioners would be too liberal to engross to themselves all their advantages. The clerical profession is a more analogous case; for its necessity, though great, is of a moral nature; and the clergy have always, where their power and influence were not secured by the strong arm of authority, called into their associations the pious and sober-minded of the laity.

As to the purchase of old paintings, which is another subject of long and vehement complaint in the Notes to this 'Discourse,' we must again differ from the author. 'No disease,' he says, 'has infected infant art so inveterate, and so retarding to the progress of taste, as this.' Many quotations are added to show the little chance there is of any genuine old pictures being procured now, and the bad effects of collecting them, even if they could be obtained. Mr Morse does indeed, among his censures, introduce this cautious salvo; that he 'would not by any means altogether condemn the collecting of pictures by the old masters;' but he clearly thinks it much better to employ living artists, and even without much regard to their merit. To this effect he cites twice with great applause, from Opie's 'Lectures,' one of the grossest absurdities that ever were uttered, namely, 'that he who employs the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art, contributes more to the advancement of national genius, than he who imports a thousand *chefs-d'œuvres*, the produce of a foreign land.' 'The correctness of this assertion,' adds Mr Morse, 'is abundantly proved by the practice of those noblemen and others, who stand first among the encouragers of art in England.' The examples

given of this practice, are the purchase by three noblemen of Allston's *Uriel* and *Jacob's Dream*, and of Leslie's *Saul and the Witch of Endor*; which, instead of being humble works of humble artists, are, two of them at least, among the finest pictures of modern times, and by artists who stand at the very head of their profession. When such pictures are neglected, because they are not old, or foreign, Mr Morse may well be indignant; but it is a very different question, whether it is expedient to buy the works of our own artists, simply because they are so. If good American paintings were left unsold, because others of less merit were bought, or for any other cause, we would join heartily in censuring such illiberality. But the fact is not so. The real want in America is not so much of good patrons, as of good painters; and we doubt very much whether Mr Morse could tell us of a single good, not comparatively but absolutely good artist in the country, who does not, or might not by industry, receive a compensation for his labors in full proportion to that gained by other professions. We know of no good pictures left unsold. And if it is supposed, that we ought here to be content with a less degree of merit, and buy pictures which could not be sold elsewhere, we think it is a great mistake. Why should we do so? It would improve neither the taste of the public, nor the skill of the artists, but degrade the one, and retard the other. To spend money in 'employing the humblest artist in the humblest way of his art,' is encouraging national genius, just as much as paying an honest pains-taking tinker for spoiling his work, is encouraging national ingenuity. If the artists could do better elsewhere, they would not stay here for the pleasure of complaining; if they could not, they have no cause to complain.

As to the genuineness of the imported pictures, we should not differ much from Mr Morse in his final results, though we think they depend but very slightly upon his long and grievous preamble of frauds and impostures. For he admits, after all, that there are many good pictures of old masters in the country, obtained in Europe from genuine sources, and that a fine picture still finds its way occasionally across the water, and is added to the collections of professed dealers. This is the true state of the case, and we put as little faith as he does in the undoubted originals, which are sent here by hundreds to be sold by auction. But Mr Morse writes on this subject under a great excitement, of which he has not very well examin-

ed the causes. When he speaks in person, indeed, it is chiefly of his apprehensions of what may happen; but we think his fears are quite unfounded. Let him look at the horrible lamentations and prophesyings of Barry, Opie, Shee, and Hoare, which he has quoted; and then consider that, so far from having become the receptacle of trash and counterfeits, England is hardly surpassed by any country in her treasures of ancient art. We are not much alarmed by the stories told in the notes of Mr Astley, and the 'officer of more wealth than judgment, that paid a fortune to a London dealer for a gallery of the works of the most reputed masters;' nor do we in the least believe the episode, contained in the same extract, of a starving English painter, who was taken up by a modern-antique factory at Amsterdam, and accidentally found by them to be such a genius, that they were obliged to seek inferior artists to paint Teniers and Wouvermans, while he was employed on pictures in his own manner, to be kept on hand for a future period. Such wholesale imposture cannot be carried on here; and as to the little misnomers that actually take place, they are not of consequence enough to make it worth while for any one to disturb his own tranquillity, or the innocent complacency of the purchasers.

The course of this business in our own city has been this. We have, in the first place, a few small collections of good, and, we believe, genuine, old paintings. Many of these were procured in Europe at a time, when such acquisitions were more easy than they are now. A few years ago we had two or three importations, and among them some good pictures (whether originals or not is of less consequence), which were bought at prices, probably not greater than they were intrinsically worth. The modern English paintings sold about as well as those which were called old. Both kinds were bought because they were thought good, without any great regard to their names. Perhaps there were some mistakes made in that particular; but not more than there would have been in buying as many works of our own artists. Since that time, there has been a flood of trash sent here for sale, too miserable to deceive any one; and it has been sold for prices as miserable, or carried away to a better market. All this time the works of our own artists have been taken up at their fair value; while, on the other hand, several fine old paintings, well authenticated as the works of masters, have, for want of pur-

chasers here, been sent to England for sale. We know of but one native production of great merit being lost to the country, because its value was not understood. The loss of these really fine pictures we regret, more than we should, that a whole generation of half-taught pretenders should be starved into some more useful employment.

Some of our remarks may seem harsh, but we make them from a sincere love of the arts. We would by no means be illiberal to our own artists, who give any promise of excellence; but there is no propriety in encouraging them in false taste or mediocrity. We would hold high the standard of taste; as high as it is in any place. We would not have the arts degraded even in favor of the artists. And so far are we from approving of anything, which is said to discourage the importation of old and foreign paintings, that we wish still greater facilities were afforded for it. If the old masters were, as we believe, better than the painters of our day, their works should be the models on which to form the public taste; and we would have as many of them as possible. And the same may be said of the modern paintings of foreign countries, so far as they are better than our own. We are not prepared to see the American system, as it is called, extended to literature or the arts. It would be the worst possible policy for the artists. Painting and sculpture are not among the necessities of life. Much as they improve and adorn society, a taste for them is not even the necessary accompaniment of a high degree of civilization. That from the earliest recorded time, and in almost every nation, rude or refined, it should have been the occupation of a portion of the community to imitate the forms and colors of nature, shows some native propensity in the human mind favorable to the cultivation of these arts. But whether they shall flourish or decay by the intellectual and moral improvement of society, depends, as far as we know, on no fixed law of our nature. They are powerful means of such improvement, and not the necessary consequences of it. A taste for them must not be expected to grow without care and cultivation. And undoubtedly the best means of promoting such a taste, is the exhibition of those works, which show of how much these arts are capable. The better the specimens we see of what has been done, the more desirous we shall be to encourage their progress; and the greater interest we shall feel in the labors of our own artists.

The love of the arts is, moreover, greatly dependent on remote associations. No man can be thoroughly imbued with it, in our times, who has not seen the wonders they have wrought in times past. For ourselves, at least, we confess, that we should feel comparatively little enthusiasm for sculpture and painting, if we had seen none but their modern productions. They would lose much of the poetical influence which they exert over our minds. We attribute this, not so much to their inferiority in modern times, as to their associations with the history of the past. All painting and sculpture remind us, in some way, of those older works of which we can never think without delight. If Claude, Salvator, and Poussin were forgotten, landscape painting would be much degraded from the high place it now holds; and even historical composition owes much of its elevation to similar associations. Still more do sculpture, necessarily so simple in its forms and uniform in color, and architecture, the principles of which seem so little founded on nature, depend for their interest on the wonderful works, that have come down to us from a yet more remote period.

Without these secondary attractions, we fear that the fine arts would languish and die in these busy and practical days. We have lost many of those sources of excitement, which produced the masterpieces we admire and imitate. Nothing but the contests of the arena could have called out such counterparts of nature as the Fighting and Dying Gladiators, or clothed in such perfect human forms the ideal beauty of the Apollo and Antinous. It was not merely the opportunity of seeing the naked figure in all its variety of action; though that enabled the ancients, ignorant as they probably were of anatomy, to attain in their statues a correctness, which all the science of the moderns has failed to reach; but it was their perfect enthusiasm for athletic exercises, and for the full development of the physical powers, which made their sculpture the wonder and despair of succeeding ages. So to the enthusiasm of a pompous religion, which no longer exercises its dominion over the imagination, we owe the masterpieces of historical composition in painting. Inanimate nature is still unchanged; and therefore landscape painting has failed less than any other, except portrait, which is the natural growth of busy and selfish society. But even landscape painting requires for

its perfection, like descriptive poetry, a secluded and contemplative life, which becomes every day more rare and difficult.

We cannot, therefore, join Mr Morse in his confident anticipations of the triumph of American artists over the most transcendent efforts of European genius, ancient or modern. That our country will equal the contemporaneous works of others, we are well inclined to believe ; though we cannot but see, in our peculiar situation, peculiar disadvantages. But we can hardly hope that the masterpieces of ancient art are ever to be surpassed here or in Europe. The forms and occupations of society, are growing every day less favorable to the highest efforts of the imagination. We live in an age of utility. Everything which tends directly to improve the physical condition of man, and develop his reasoning and active powers, is cultivated with zeal and success. The most stubborn obstacles of nature are yielding to new and tremendous enginery. What were her impassable barriers, have become highways ; and the fabled works of the giants are surpassed by the power of knowledge. Education is sent abroad into all classes of men, to make them feel their strength and use their reason. All this renders the world populous, prosperous, and happy ; but it is at the expense of much that we love, and much that elevates and refines the feelings. In this cultivation of the reason, the imagination loses its power. Eloquence, poetry, painting, and sculpture, do not belong to such an age ; they are already declining, and they must give way before the progress of popular education, science, and the useful arts. It may be, that when the great work about which the world is now occupied, is accomplished, a new school of art of proportionate grandeur, may arise ; but we fear that its best days are past. We cannot but rejoice at this progress of society ; still we must wish, that the good it brings might be purchased without so great a sacrifice. We would not withhold the light of knowledge, for fear it should dissipate the most poetical phantoms of the imagination ; but we may be allowed to look back on their old haunts, laid open to the vulgar day, with some feelings of regret.

This influence of the age may be doubted, because the disposition to encourage the arts seems still to remain unimpaired in the public. But its earliest effects must not be looked for there ; the mind of the artist is its first victim. It chills his enthusiasm, and discourages him from attempting, what per-

haps he might still perform. He works under the fear of a cold-blooded judgment, which represses that confidence, without which genius cannot work its wonders. To what else can it be attributed, that the princely prices which the works of the old schools still command, have not brought into competition with them modern productions of equal merit? When sums are paid for single and small pictures, which would be an independence to an artist, why is there not in all Europe, nay, why has there not been for more than a hundred years past, a single one whom we can place on a level with the old masters? The decay of eloquence is, perhaps, an even more striking example. Argument is almost all the oratory of our times. Premeditated appeals to feeling and passion have lost their power. Even the most popular assemblies must be convinced before they can be moved. We have grown cautious and suspicious, and are apt to distrust the orator, when he would win us to his side by any exhibition of emotion. We take pride in subduing our feelings to our reason. Every public speaker must feel this, and the consequence is, that our best public speaking is but a cold sort of argumentation. Accidental opportunities for great excitement still occur, but no one can now rely for success on the susceptibility of his audience. It is the same with poetry; it has almost ceased to be produced, and its popularity has sensibly declined, even in our short day. The last that has held any dominion over the public mind, owed much of its interest to the personal character of its author, with which all his works were colored. The practical and historical details of the Scotch novels have already eclipsed it.

There are, however, other causes, which have had their influence in degrading modern art. While the whole *costume* of the actual world has become less adapted to the arts, dramatic acting has been carried almost to perfection. The stage has been made so fascinating by its wonderful exhibitions of talent, that artists have either voluntarily chosen their models from it, or have by habit insensibly lost the power of distinguishing between true nature and these brilliant imitations. This effect is less observable here and in England, than in France and Italy, where it has sunk the art of painting into a gaudy puerility and affectation, of which we hardly know how to express our contempt. This cause has probably operated in fact less on English art, because the people are not so much attached and habituated to the theatre, as the French. But the English schools

of tragedy and acting, seem to us so much more natural than the French, that the fault is not so striking there, when it exists. That it is a fatal fault, is obvious ; for it is copying a caricature instead of the original. Even the best acting can never be a true transcript of nature. The character and sentiments of the drama are poetical and exaggerated. It is in that, as in painting, necessary to color beyond nature to resemble her ; and when that exaggerated copy is made the model for another, the departure from the original becomes too wide for the imagination to reconcile. It has been said, that the whole business of French society is *représenter* ; it is the same with their historical painting ; they aim to show, not how their characters would look and act, but how they should be *représentés*. That the Italians, surrounded by the masterpieces of the arts, which their own country has produced, should have followed in the same course, shows how difficult it is to resist the influence of the actual state of society ; and that it degrades the mind of the artist, long before it quite corrupts the public taste, is proved by the fact, that the old Italian school is as much as ever admired, even in those countries where modern art is in the most deplorable state of degeneracy.

If these views are correct, there is more in them to stimulate than to discourage artists. They exhibit no insurmountable obstacles to their progress. The peculiar difficulties that beset them, are in themselves, and therefore within their control. They live in an age unpropitious to the developement of that high enthusiasm, which produces the greatest works of art, but, nevertheless, 'the fault is not in their stars, but in themselves, if they are underlings.' Great minds may resist even the pressure of the age ; nay, to resist it, requires only a steady pursuit of acknowledged principles. If the artist will not be seduced by examples, which he cannot approve ; if he will disregard the fashion of the day and the practice of his contemporaries ; if he will confine himself to his profession, and so avoid the seductions of society, which would lead him away from the contemplation of nature, he may still redeem the reputation of his age and country, and place himself on as high an eminence, as he could have reached, if he had lived in the most favorable period. That this can be done, we think is about to be shown ; as much talent and enthusiasm as can be brought to the work have now been employed, in our own community, in one noble effort, for years of patient and persevering labor.

That it should fail is impossible ; but how much can be effected by such appliances in these degenerate days, is a question of deep interest to all among us who love the arts. We pretend not to guess how far this work is to rival those, which have been so long the standards of excellence ; but of all the productions of art in the present age, we have no fear in predicting, that the greatest is behind and not far off.

The subject on which our artists most need to be admonished, is the cultivation of the mind. Their great deficiency is a want of vigorous and poetical conception. The mechanical process of drawing and coloring is often well done, but the mind seems not to contribute its share to the work. It is owing to this, that so many have failed to redeem the promise of their youth. From the number who have made good beginnings without instruction, it has been thought, that there was a peculiar talent for the arts in the Americans ; but most of these were but examples of that mechanical ingenuity, which certainly is a general characteristic of the people. It may be difficult to convince the artist of this deficiency of mind ; but let him place a landscape, for example, of almost any of the living painters by the side of one, of the old masters. He may find the drawing, coloring, and perspective as good, and perhaps better ; but the difference between them is, that one is the work of the hand only, the other of the imagination ; one shows, perhaps even with less skill in the execution, and often in spite of injury and decay, a fine creation of the mind ; the other is a dull copy of what happened to be before the artist, or a composition of commonplace and unmeaning objects. The parts of one seem selected to fill the canvass with picturesque forms and colors, those of the other chosen for the ideas and feelings they are adapted to convey. The difference is like that between poetry, and mere musical verse.

It is natural that as excellence in composition declines, it should be replaced by mere ingenuity ; but the attention that is now paid to execution in painting, seems to us to have acted also as a cause in degrading the art. Success in that is comparatively so easy, and satisfies so many minds, that the attention of the artist is drawn from the more laborious task of invention. The common course of study too, gives an undue importance to mere skill of hand. It is all that can be taught by a master, and those who study under distinguished artists, are apt to be content with what they learn of them. This is one bad

effect, which we may attribute to all academies. They can but teach the form and manner of the art, and they attach so much importance to them, and reward excellence in them with so much distinction, that the student forgets there is anything else to be acquired. The facilities for such acquisitions have become very great, but these will not make an artist. The fine arts are works of the imagination, and the skill of the hand and the eye, is but the means of communicating to others, those thoughts and feelings, which distinguish the artist from the artisan. The mere picture-maker is not above any other nice workman. Even in branches of the art which seem hardly to admit of much invention or exercise of mind, their power is still enough to make all the difference between good and bad. No uncultivated man, whatever be his manual dexterity, can paint a good portrait, or even make a good likeness. The mind of the artist shines out even through his copy of another's features.

Great artists have sometimes begun their labors without intellectual cultivation, but they have never produced their great works until they had overcome the disadvantage. Their paintings were not the results of knack, or of mere practice, but of study, observation, and reflection. Claude began to paint late, without education, and in the lowest rank of life ; but we read afterwards of his habit of walking in the fields, not merely to observe, but to explain philosophically to his friends, the beautiful appearances of nature, which he has preserved in his landscapes. Leonardo passed months in studying his unfinished picture of the *Supper*, without touching it.

While we speak thus cautiously about the present claims of our artists, we would by no means be thought indifferent to their success. We should be sorry, if anything we have said should in the least abate the liberality of the public towards them. They must be supported and encouraged now, or we can expect no improvement from them. All we mean in the way of caution is, that this encouragement be governed by discretion ; and that it be understood as a stimulus to future efforts, and not the reward of present excellence. We have endeavored to repress what seems to us a repining disposition, founded on an overestimate of their actual claims ; but we would not be understood to say, that their rewards are beyond their merits. We have felt the more urged to the remarks we have made, because we thought that complaints like

those contained in this 'Discourse,' coming from an artist of so much reputation and merit as Mr Morse, at the head of an institution which must exert a considerable influence on those within its immediate neighborhood, might have, if uncontradicted, a most discouraging effect on the younger artists. And we confess, too, that, as part of the public, we feel aggrieved-at what we consider the injustice as well as the inexpediency of some of the remarks. Even since we began this article, we have seen new proofs, that the American artist has no cause to complain of a want of patronage, in the liberal prices paid in Boston for several works of a favorite artist of Philadelphia immediately on their arrival. Still we would urge on the public the necessity of a liberal and untiring encouragement of the arts. They are eminently useful to the community. They are an ornament at home and an honor abroad. They elevate and refine the national character, and may even in turn protect the country that has fostered them. They have saved cities from fire and pillage, and given a character of sacredness to the countries that honored them. Greece owes to her ancient arts, more than to any other cause, her still cherished hopes of independence. The strength of her citadel lies more in its architecture, than in its fortifications; and her lost gods have done better for her, than her generals.

But we hope it is superfluous to reason about the usefulness of the fine arts. We all feel and acknowledge the importance of a literature of our own, and the good influence of the arts is no less certain. Their effect on the reputation of a country is extensive, because they speak a common language equally intelligible to all nations. And though much more circumscribed in their operation than letters, they act more immediately on the character of a people. Painting, sculpture, and architecture are addressed to the whole mass of society; and being presented directly to the senses, the ideas which they are capable of conveying, lose nothing of their power in the transmission; while written language, at the best, can but excite in the imagination prepared by education to receive it, emotions resembling those of the author. Literature operates on the few who seek its power, while the arts mingle their influences with the objects and pursuits of daily life.

But as sources of pleasure, which, instead of degrading, elevate the mind, they make large demands on our gratitude and care. They occupy, in this way, a place so necessary to

be filled, that the nation, which can exist without them, must be, as the philosopher said of the man of solitude, much above or much below the common standard of humanity.

ART. XI.—*Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga.* By MADAME DE RIEDESEL. Translated from the Original German. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 323.

THE custom of employing mercenary troops in warfare is as ancient, perhaps, as the history of civilization. It is recognised among the laws of nations, and justified on the ground, that it is lawful for any sovereign, in combating his enemies, to use such means as he can command, both by the physical strength and the wealth of his dominions. These two together constitute the actual measure of his power, to the full extent of which he may exercise his legitimate authority, and repel hostilities. On the side of the mercenary it is alleged, that he has a right to enlist in the service of any country he chooses, provided he does it not to the injury of his own government, and particularly if he has its consent; and since, what is lawful for one is lawful for all, any sovereign may aid another with mercenary forces, if the soldiers who compose them engage voluntarily in the service. No little casuistry has been exercised by writers in discussing these topics, but into this labyrinth we are not about to enter, nor shall we inquire how far usage is borne out by strict principles of justice, or even by a sound policy.

It is quite certain that the British ministry, at the beginning of the American revolution, had no scruples on the subject, and that in Parliament they strenuously defended the course they adopted. The military operations of 1775 in the Colonies had been less successful, than was anticipated, and it was resolved to send over an army the ensuing year, that should quell all disturbances and speedily put an end to the contest. It was proposed to augment this force to fifty-five thousand men, but no more than twenty-five thousand regular English troops could be spared for this purpose. To make up the deficiency, the

ministers fell upon the expedient of employing mercenaries. In the month of January, 1776, an agent was despatched to Germany, who first made a treaty with the duke of Brunswic, in which it was stipulated, that four thousand three hundred Brunswic troops should be at the disposal of the British government for prosecuting the war in America. A few days afterwards, another treaty was concluded by the same agent with the Landgrave of Hesse, who agreed to furnish twelve thousand men. Similar treaties were also entered into with the hereditary prince of Hesse, and the prince of Waldec. The whole amount of forces thus obtained in Germany, was somewhat over seventeen thousand men, all of whom, without much delay, were sent to America.

When these proceedings were laid before Parliament, they were censured with great severity by the opposition, both as showing an inability on the part of England to cope with her enemies, a thing not to be acknowledged, and as sanctioning a principle in warfare, which violated justice, and the good faith due from every government to its subjects. It was said, moreover, that the terms imposed on England were extremely unreasonable, and manifested a spirit of cupidity in the German princes, which it was disgraceful to tolerate. There was much truth in this charge. Seven guineas, as bounty or levy money, were to be paid for every soldier. The Duke of Brunswic was to receive, in addition, a stipend of fifteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year, and twice this sum for the two years after the term of the soldiers' service expired. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was also to be paid one hundred and eight thousand pounds a year; and the other princes in the same proportion. These sums were exclusive of the wages of the troops, which were likewise to be paid by the British government.

The conduct of the German princes in these transactions has generally been reprobated by historians. They literally sold the sinews of their subjects, to be wasted in a foreign land, waging a war in which they could have no possible interest, and this for the unworthy consideration of a pecuniary recompense, which redounded to their personal benefit. It was a private bargain on their part, in which the moral agency and natural rights of the soldiers seem not to have been taken into the account. 'We have read of the humorist Sancho's wish,' said Lord Irnham in Parliament, 'that if he were

a prince, all his subjects should be blackamoors, as he could, by the sale of them, easily turn them into ready money ; but that wish, however it may appear ridiculous and unbecoming a sovereign, is much more innocent than a prince's availing himself of his vassals for the purpose of sacrificing them in such a destructive war, where he has the additional crime of making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves.' A celebrated European writer observes, 'that it has not been uncommon for two nations to enter into compacts, by which one should aid the other in furnishing troops or money in prosecuting a war, which either immediately or remotely affected them both,' but that 'it was reserved for an enlightened age to witness treaties, by which a sovereign condemned his subjects to pour out their blood in a foreign cause, solely for the purpose of increasing his personal wealth.' The Duke of Brunswick's case is said to admit of extenuation. He had lately taken the reins of government ; he found the finances in an embarrassed condition, and the people impoverished ; and he actually paid away all the money he received from Great Britain for the relief of his subjects.

The Brunswick troops were put in motion, within six weeks after the treaty was concluded, under the command of the Baron de Riedesel. They proceeded first to England, and then to Canada, where they were incorporated into the English army under General Burgoyne, with whom they were eventually captured at Saratoga. The little volume, which we are about to notice, consists of letters from General Riedesel to his wife, but chiefly of letters and memoirs written by herself, describing the principal events that happened to her and her husband during their seven years' residence in America. The volume was printed many years ago in Germany, and is now for the first time translated into English.

Madame de Riedesel early resolved to share her husband's fortunes in America ; and as it was not convenient for her to depart with him, it was agreed that she should follow him to Quebec as soon as circumstances would permit. She left Wolfenbüttel, in Brunswick, on the fourteenth of May, 1776, and travelled in her own carriage by way of Brussels, Tournay, and St. Omer to Calais. Her children and servants were her only companions, and her chief confidence was placed in 'good old Rockel,' who had long been an appendage to her father's family, and had attained the post of forester.

Neither this old domestic, nor any of the party had been accustomed to travelling, and various cross accidents fell out to try the patience of our heroine. Innkeepers were rude, disobliging, and exorbitant in their demands. Robbers had recently infested some parts of the road, and this naturally caused alarm. But the journey was, on the whole, fortunate, and she arrived safely at Calais. We must not forget to mention, that she had three children, all daughters, namely; Gustava, who was four years and nine months old; Frederica, two years old; and Carolina, who was born ten weeks before she departed from Wolfenbüttel. Such a charge was enough to keep alive a deep anxiety in a mother's mind, and to require resolution and fortitude. But in these respects she proved herself adequate to the task she had undertaken. Her tenderness for her children, resolution in braving all difficulties, and habitual cheerfulness, were conspicuous from the beginning to the end of her wanderings.

By the following extract she appears not to have been exempt from the common lot of inexperienced travellers, that of being imposed upon by interested persons. This is a tax, which all must pay at one time or another of their lives, and it will be happy if they escape with as little real inconvenience as Madame de Riedesel, although they will not be likely to fall into a more odd or embarrassing train of incidents.

‘On our landing at Dover, we received many congratulations, on having supported so well the fatigues of so long a voyage; but this cost money. I was accosted by more than thirty innkeepers, who all begged me to take lodgings at their houses. I gave the preference to a French hotel, and was much pleased with it. It was a splendid establishment, and particularly remarkable for its extreme cleanliness. The custom-house officers came to visit the baggage, which was rather an irksome business; but I was provided with letters for the collector, who, as soon as he was informed that the purpose of my voyage was to rejoin my husband in America, politely observed, that it would be very rude to vex the wife of a general, who had gone so far for the service of his king. This settled the matter. Having been obliged to leave my carriage at Calais, I found it necessary to take here a post-chaise for my journey to London—a mode of travelling, which is very expensive, as the transportation of the baggage is regulated according to its weight.

‘I reached London on the evening of the 1st of June, and found many of my acquaintance there, among whom were Gener-

al Schlieffen, M. de Kurtzleben, and Count Taube. My husband had written to the latter, begging him to procure for me private lodgings; but, for fear I should not come, he had given himself no trouble about it, by which I might have had better and cheaper accommodations. I was, however, happy to see how much interest my husband had taken in my voyage, and how sure he was that I should keep my resolution, and I rejoiced so much the more that I did not yield to the apprehensions with which some persons endeavored to impress me.

‘I must now mention a circumstance, which rendered my lodgings here rather disagreeable. I had trusted entirely to my landlord at Calais, to whom I had been recommended; but now I think that he abused my confidence, by sending over to England many things at my expense. He also advised me not to depart without being accompanied by some trusty man, because I should otherwise be exposed to great dangers; and he seemed to take much pains to procure such a person for me. He at length came with a well-dressed man, whom he introduced to me as a nobleman, a friend of his, who was willing to accompany me to London. I received him with great civility, and felt at a loss how to acknowledge his extreme politeness. In the carriage I begged him to take his seat next to me, and kept the children opposite to me; thus endeavoring, by all means, to prevent them from being troublesome to him. He affected the manners of a man of much consequence, and ate at my table during the whole journey. I observed, however, that the servants at the inns were on free and easy terms with him; but I did not reflect much upon it, the obligation under which I thought I was to him, blinding me altogether. But I could not help feeling some astonishment when, at the hotel where we alighted, on our arrival in London, I was ushered into a miserable room in the fourth story, though I had asked for a good apartment, and had been assured by M. de Feronce, of Brunswic, that I should find splendid lodgings. I imagined that I could not have a better room because the house was already full, and general Schlieffen, and the other gentlemen who came to visit me, and, particularly, the ladies for whom the hereditary princess, now duchess of Brunswic, had given me letters of introduction, wondered that I was in so bad an abode. On the following day, the landlord came with an abashed air, and a most reverential demeanor, to ask me, whether I knew the man with whom I had arrived, and whom I had so particularly desired him to provide with good lodgings; (I had not thought proper to have him at my table in London.) I answered, that he was a nobleman, who, on the request of Mr Guilhaudin, my landlord at Calais, had been kind enough to accompany me on my

journey. "Ah!" cried the landlord, "that is one of his tricks. The man is a footman, a "valet de place," a rogue, through whom he is glad to promote his own interest. Seeing him sitting next to you in your carriage, when you arrived, I could not, I confess, believe that you were the lady you pretended to be, and thought that these rooms were good enough for you. But I see now, by the persons that visit you, how much I was mistaken, and I ask your pardon, madam, and beg that you will follow me into another apartment, for which you shall not pay more than for that which you now occupy, for I really wish to atone by all means for my error." I thanked my host, and requested him to rid me of my companion as soon as possible. I was, however, obliged first to pay him four or six guineas (I do not remember the exact sum) for his company. I could never forgive Mr Guilhaudin this trick; and he did not behave much better concerning my carriage. It was he who told me that it was prohibited to import carriages into England, and advised me to leave mine in his care. I was afterwards informed, that his purpose was to do with it, what he had already done with other vehicles entrusted to him, namely, to hire it to travellers on their way to Germany. But this I prevented, by soliciting of Lord North permission to bring it over to England, free from duties. The minister immediately complied with my request, and though this detained me a few days, I found it much to my convenience and comfort to have waited for my carriage.' pp. 64—68.

She remained in London only a few days, when she continued her journey to Bristol, at which port she intended to embark for Quebec in the first suitable vessel that should sail. Here she resided three or four months, prevented by various obstacles from taking her departure, till at length the season was far advanced. She then wrote for advice to Lord George Germaine, Secretary of State for America, who offered her a passage in a packet-ship, which was about to sail. Resolving to accept this offer, she went to Portsmouth for the purpose of taking passage, but here she was discouraged from entering upon a voyage to Canada, which was deemed hazardous on the approach of winter, and which at all events would be attended with infinite discomfort to a lady with three young children. The voyage was given up for the winter, and she returned to London, where she stayed till spring. She speaks cheerfully of the manner in which the time passed during this period, although she had been severely disappointed in not being able to join her husband as soon as she expected. Hours and days that might otherwise have been tedious, she beguiled

by devoted attention to her children. A circle of friends, in the first ranks of society, afforded her solace and rational amusement. She was introduced to the king and queen, who expressed a lively interest in her situation, and gave her some testimonies of their esteem.

In April she sailed for Quebec, where she arrived on the eleventh of June. General Riedesel was then with the army at Chambly, and his wife remained in Quebec only long enough to dine with lady Carleton, and then hastened onward to meet him. Before she landed, an express had been despatched to give him notice of her arrival.

‘Upon reaching Chambly,’ she writes, ‘I saw several of our officers, and my coachman, whom my husband had left here. I ran towards the latter to inquire after Mr de Riedesel. “He is on his way to meet you,” replied he, “between here and Berthieux;” (fifteen miles from Chambly.) I was not a little chagrined at my ill luck. However, General Carleton, who was one of the officers present, approached, and assured me that my husband would certainly be back, at the latest, on the following day. He then took leave of me and returned to Quebec, after having surrendered to General Burgoyne the command of the army. One of my husband’s aids-de-camp remained with me, and the time, until the next day, seemed to me uncommonly long. Meanwhile my children, and the honest Rockel, watched on the road, in the hope that M. de Riedesel might yet arrive that evening; and, indeed, a chaise was at length seen advancing up the road, and a Canadian in it. I saw the vehicle stop, the traveller alight, run towards my children, and fold them in his arms. It was my husband! not having yet got rid of his fever, he wore (though it was summer) a blanket-coat or gown, with ribands, and the usual blue and red fringes, in the Canadian fashion. With my baby in my arms, I ran as quick as I could to join the beloved group. My joy was inexpressible, though I beheld with painful feelings the sickly and wearied looks of my poor husband. I found my two daughters bathed in tears; the eldest from joy to see her father again, and the second, because he wore a dress so different from that with which he is represented in the portrait she was wont to see, and from which she had conceived that he was as elegant as handsome. “No, no! this is an ugly papa,” cried she in English, “my papa is pretty;” and she would not go to him. But as soon as he had thrown off his Candian coat, she jumped upon his neck.’ pp. 124, 125.

We shall not pursue the thread of Madame de Riedesel’s narrative, respecting the movements of the army under Bur-

goyne, from this period till the disasters of Saratoga, although it contains a few facts worthy to be recorded for their historical value, and is throughout spirited and entertaining. Some of her descriptions of what she experienced and witnessed, just before the surrender of the British army, are of too remarkable a cast to be omitted. They depict in strong colors the horrors and distresses of war, while they afford an eminent example of female resolution and endurance.

‘ While breakfasting with my husband, I heard that something was under contemplation. General Fraser, and, I believe, Generals Burgoyne and Phillips were to dine with me on that day. I remarked much movement in the camp. My husband told me it was a mere reconnoissance; and as this was frequent, I was not much alarmed at it. On my way homeward, I met a number of Indians armed with guns, and clad in their war dresses. Having asked them where they were going, they replied, “ War, war,” by which they meant they were about to fight. This made me very uneasy, and I had scarcely got home, before I heard reports of guns; and soon the fire became brisker, till at last the noise grew dreadful, upon which I was more dead than alive. About 3 o’clock in the afternoon, instead of guests whom I had expected to dine with me, I saw one of them, poor General Fraser, brought upon a hand-barrow, mortally wounded. The table, which was already prepared for dinner, was immediately removed and a bed placed in its stead for the General. I sat terrified and trembling in a corner. The noise grew more alarming, and I was in a continual agony and tremor, while thinking that my husband might soon also be brought in, wounded like General Fraser. That poor General said to the surgeon, “ Tell me the truth; is there no hope ?” His wound was exactly like that of Major Harnage; the ball had passed through his body, but unhappily for the General, he had that morning eaten a full breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon remarked, passed directly through it. I heard often amidst his groans, such words as these, “ *O bad ambition! poor General Burgoyne! poor Mistress Fraser.*” * Prayers were read, after which he desired that General Burgoyne should be requested to have him buried on the next day, at 6 o’clock in the evening, on a hill where a breastwork had been constructed. I knew not what to do; the entrance and all the rooms were full of sick, in consequence of the dysentery which prevailed in the camp. At length, towards evening, my husband came, and from

* ‘ In the original work, these words are in English, as here written.’

that moment my affliction was much soothed, and I breathed thanks to God. He dined with me and the aids-de-camp in great haste, in an open space in the rear of the house. We poor females had been told, that our troops had been victorious; but I well saw, by the melancholy countenance of my husband, that it was quite the contrary. On going away, he took me aside, to tell me everything went badly, and that I should prepare myself to depart, but without saying anything to any body. Under the pretence of removing the next day to my new lodgings, I ordered the baggage to be packed up. Lady Ackland's tent was near ours. She slept there, and spent the day in the camp. On a sudden, she received the news that her husband was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. She was much distressed; we endeavored to persuade her that the wound was not so dangerous, but advised her to ask permission to join her husband, to take care of him in his sickness. She was much attached to him, though he was rude and intemperate; yet he was a good officer. She was a lovely woman. I divided the night between her whom I wished to comfort, and my children who were asleep, but who, I feared, might disturb the poor dying General. He sent me several messages to beg my pardon for the trouble he thought he gave me. About 3 o'clock, I was informed that he could not live much longer, and as I did not wish to be present at his last struggle, I wrapped my children in blankets, and retired into the entrance hall. At 8 o'clock in the morning he expired.

'After he had been washed, he was wrapped in a sheet, and laid out. We then returned into the room, and had this melancholy spectacle before us the whole day. Many officers of my acquaintance were brought in wounded, and the cannonade continued. There was some talk of retreating, but I saw no indications of it. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had been built for me, in flames, from which I inferred that the enemy was near. We were informed, that General Burgoyne intended to comply with General Fraser's last request, and to have him buried at 6 o'clock, in the place which he had designated. This occasioned an useless delay, and contributed to our military misfortunes. At 6 o'clock, the corpse was removed, and we saw all the generals, with their retinues, on the hill, assisting at the funeral ceremony. The English chaplain, Mr Brudenel, officiated. Cannon balls flew around and above the assembled mourners. General Gates protested afterwards, that had he known what was going on, he would have stopped the fire immediately. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but my whole attention was engaged by the funeral scene, where I saw my husband exposed to imminent danger. This, indeed, was not a moment to be apprehensive for my own safety.' pp. 168—172.

The following events took place after the affair of Bemus's Heights, while the British army was retreating towards Saratoga.

About 2 o'clock, we heard again a report of muskets and cannon, and there was much alarm and bustle among our troops. My husband sent me word, that I should immediately retire into a house which was not far off. I got into my calash with my children, and when we were near the house, I saw, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, five or six men, who aimed at us with their guns. Without knowing what I did, I threw my children into the back part of the vehicle, and laid myself upon them. At the same moment the fellows fired, and broke the arm of a poor English soldier, who, stood behind us, and who, being already wounded, sought a shelter. Soon after our arrival, a terrible cannonade began, and the fire was principally directed against the house, where we had hoped to find a refuge, probably because the enemy inferred, from the great number of people who went towards it, that it was the headquarters of the generals, while, in reality, none were there except women and crippled soldiers. We were at last obliged to descend into the cellar, where I laid myself in a corner near the door. My children put their heads upon my knees. An abominable smell, the cries of the children, and my own anguish of mind, did not permit me to close my eyes, during the whole night. On the next morning, the cannonade begun anew, but in a different direction. I advised my fellow-sufferers to withdraw, for a while, from the cellar, in order to give time to clean it, for we should otherwise injure our health. On an inspection of our retreat, I discovered that there were three cellars, spacious and well vaulted. I suggested, that one of them should be appropriated to the use of the officers who were most severely wounded, the next to the females, and the third, which was nearest to the staircase, to all the rest of the company. We were just going down, when a new thunder of cannon threw us again into alarm. Many persons, who had no right to enter, threw themselves against the door. My children were already at the bottom of the staircase, and every one of us would probably have been crushed to death, had I not put myself before the entrance, and resisted the intruders. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and made a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. All his comrades ran away at that moment, and when they returned, they found him in one corner of the room, in the agonies of death. I was myself in the deepest distress, not so much on account of my own dangers, as of those to which my husband was exposed, who, however, frequently sent me messa-

ges, inquiring after my health. Major Harnage's wife, a Mrs Reynell, the wife of the good lieutenant who had, on the preceding day, shared his soup with me, the wife of the commissary, and myself, were the only officers' wives at present with the army. We sat together, deploring our situation, when somebody having entered, all my companions exchanged looks of deep sorrow, whispering at the same time to one another. I immediately suspected that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud ; but was immediately told that nothing had happened to my husband, and was given to understand, by a sidelong glance, that the lieutenant had been killed. His wife was soon called out, and found that the lieutenant was yet alive, though one of his arms had been shot off, near the shoulder, by a cannon ball. We heard his groans and lamentations during the whole night, which were dreadfully reëchoed through the vaulted cellars ; and in the morning he expired. My husband came to visit me, during the night, which served to diminish my sadness and dejection, in some degree. On the next morning, we thought of making our cellar a more convenient residence. Major Harnage and his wife, and Mrs Reynell, took possession of one corner, and transformed it into a kind of closet, by means of a curtain. I was also to have a similar retreat ; but I preferred to remain near the door, that I might escape more easily in case of fire. I had straw put under my mattresses, and on these I laid myself with my children ; and my female servants slept near us. Opposite to us were three officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to remain behind, if the army retreated. One of them was Captain Green, aid-de-camp to General Phillips, and a very amiable and worthy gentleman. All three swore they would not depart without me, in case of a sudden retreat, and that each of them would take one of my children on his horse. One of my husband's horses was constantly in readiness for myself. M. de Riedesel thought often of sending me to the American camp, to save me from danger ; but I declared that nothing would be more painful to me, than to live on good terms with those with whom he was fighting ; upon which he consented that I should continue to follow the army. However, the apprehension that he might have marched away, repeatedly intruded itself into my mind ; and, I crept up the staircase, more than once, to confirm or dispel my fears, and when I saw our soldiers near their watch-fires, I became more calm, and could even have slept.' pp. 179-183.

After Burgoyne's surrender, the British and German troops were all marched to Cambridge, and General Riedesel and his lady accompanied them. Here they resided a full year very ' quietly and happily,' as our author writes, till Novem-

ber, 1778, when the convention troops were ordered by Congress to be transferred to Charlottesville in Virginia. This journey of more than six hundred miles at the opening of winter, was attended with great inconvenience to Madame de Riedesel and her children. The weather was very cold, and the roads in some places were blocked up with snow; their accommodations were frequently bad, and, to fill up the catalogue of evils, the people whom they met on the way were sometimes hardhearted and uncivil. They felt an antipathy to the German troops, who had come into a foreign land to espouse a quarrel in which they had no concern; and perhaps it was not unnatural that this feeling should be indulged towards the family of their general, among a people suffering under the calamities of war, and not accustomed to subdue strong emotions, or to inculcate humanity and kindness as a habit. There can be no apology, however, for the incivilities practised on some occasions, and we have no reason to think Madame de Riedesel's complaints exaggerated or unjust. From Cambridge to New Jersey she travelled under the protection of Colonel Robert Troup, an officer in the American army. We transcribe the following extract from the original of Colonel Troup's letter to General Gates, dated at Sussex Court House, New Jersey.

'We had the happiness of reaching Sussex the day before yesterday in the afternoon. You cannot conceive the difficulties we have met with on the road. The people, in almost every house we stopped at, seemed to take pleasure in making our stay as uncomfortable as possible. I am sorry to add, that the women were very impolite to Madame de Riedesel. They could not banish from their minds the notions they have imbibed of the cruelties, which our prisoners have received. Some were afraid of being plundered by us, and others of being killed. One young girl, who had been lately married, cried and gnashed her teeth near two hours, because I requested her to let Madame de Riedesel sleep in her bedroom, where she had a few gowns, pots, and trammels. Indeed such has been the incivility of all ranks and degrees to us, that I have suffered the most painful anxiety ever since I left Cambridge. Madame de Riedesel, the General, and his family have shown me every mark of complaisance and respect. They and the children were very well a few minutes ago, when they set off for Easton. The militia guard, that escorted the General's baggage from Hartford to the York line, broke open some of the boxes and plundered them.'

At last they arrived in Charlottesville, after a fatiguing

journey of nearly three months, in the midst of winter. General Riedesel had gone forward with the troops, and provided lodgings for his family. This was about the middle of February, 1779, and they stayed in Charlottesville till near the close of the year, when the officers of the convention troops proceeded to New York to be exchanged. They had been in captivity more than two years. Indeed the exchange did not actually take place till the autumn following. In the mean time Madame de Riedesel presented her husband with a fourth daughter, whom they named *America*. Soon after the exchange was effected, General Riedesel was appointed to a command over the British troops on Long Island, where he and his family passed the spring and part of the summer of 1781. He at length desired permission of General Clinton to return to Canada, and take charge of the remnant of his regiments, that had been left there before Burgoyne's expedition. They sailed for Quebec, which place they reached in September, having touched at Halifax on the way. Governor Haldimand stationed General Riedesel at Sorel, at which place he held his headquarters during the remainder of his residence in America, making frequent excursions, however, to Quebec and Montreal, and he and his lady apparently passing their time in contentment and happiness. When peace was ratified and the war closed, they returned to England, where they received tokens of kindness from the king and queen, and attentions from numerous persons of rank. They stayed but a short time in England, and hastened onward to meet their friends in Brunswic, where they arrived after an absence of more than seven years.

The above is a brief and meagre sketch, and our purpose will be answered if any one shall be induced by it to resort to the volume itself. It abounds with curious and interesting facts, related in a sprightly style, and, as far as the writer's knowledge extended, we believe with a strict regard to veracity. We must demur at some two or three of the worthy lady's anecdotes about "tarring and feathering a most respectable woman," and the advice of an American gentleman to "cut off the captive generals' heads." In giving heed to these tales, her credulity got the better of her good sense; but we repeat, that in whatever she relates as coming under her own observation, we put implicit confidence, and are induced to do it, not more from internal evidence, than from the circumstance, that her

representations accord in all essential particulars, with authentic history. She mentions one incident, worthy of notice more from its singularity, perhaps, than its importance. While the articles of convention were in progress at Saratoga, the Brunswick officers took care to conceal their colors, after having burnt the staves to which they were attached. At the time of the capitulation, they gave out that the colors were destroyed, but they were secreted among the baggage, and conveyed in this manner to Cambridge. When they were about to commence their march to Virginia, it became necessary to make some other disposition of the colors to prevent a discovery. Madame de Riedesel devised the plan of concealing them in a mattress, and shut herself up with a tailor in her own room to execute this work. This mattress was taken to New York by a British officer instead of a bed, and thence to Halifax. At this place Madame de Riedesel received it on her voyage to Canada, and 'during all the rest of the passage slept upon these honorable badges.' A different fate awaited the Hessian banners, which were taken at Trenton. General Washington presented them to the state of Pennsylvania, as a testimony of the good conduct of the Pennsylvania troops at the battle of Trenton. They are now in a most unseemly plight, in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg, tattered and torn, and thrust away in a dark corner as useless rags. For ourselves, we acknowledge that we could not witness, without emotion, the indignities thus practised upon what our fathers honored as trophies of the brave, and as testimonials of great deeds in the cause of justice and freedom. There is no better safeguard for a nation, than a reverence for the noble acts of its departed sages, heroes, and patriots, and whatever tends to perpetuate the remembrance of such acts, should be preserved with scrupulous care.

The translation of the volume, to which our attention has been drawn, is understood to have been made by M. de Wallenstein, already favorably known to the public in this department, by his well executed version of the *Leper of Aost*, and the *Russian Tales*. The extracts given above are enough to show, in what manner his task has been performed in the present instance. He manages the English idiom with skill, and combines, with a ready use of words, an ease and vivacity of style. An original preface of considerable length has been prefixed by M. de Wallenstein, which adds to the value of the

work. We agree fully with his opinions, as expressed in the following passage.

‘Madame de Riedesel’s memoirs and letters may claim, in addition to an equal interest with the works just mentioned, that, also, which belongs to the true picture of a conjugal devotion, of which there are few brighter examples, whether in history, biographies, memoirs, or even in novels ;—of fortitude, courage, and confidence in Providence, of which there can never be afforded too many examples for the eventual profit of the happiest, or the support of those who need encouragement and consolation—and of success in a most arduous but noble undertaking, which, also, may be a lesson to all who have duties to fulfil, that seem above their strength. The moral of the story is more striking and impressive, coming from a female—a lady, who by birth and rank was probably the least prepared to encounter dangers fit only for the professional soldier. Whatever may be thought of the political expediency of admitting into camps, in the midst of actual war, the sex whose organization and whose duties are calculated for the sunny season of peace, the promptitude with which she hastened to traverse the ocean, in order to share with her husband, toils, sufferings, want, or death, and the *reflected* courage with which she disregarded the chances of a struggle, in which she had been told that savages were a portion of the belligerents ; will ever be interesting as a new example of the strenuous exertions to which female tenderness can be exalted. There has been, indeed, in recent times but one brighter example of female fortitude and affection. Madame de Larochejaquelin stands alone in inimitable grandeur and goodness, in the midst of circumstances, which put her sex to trials unknown before, and which we devoutly wish may never more return to urge even a heroine equally courageous and amiable, upon the scene of civil wars.

‘For the public to whom this translation is presented, it has, moreover, a national interest. Madame de Riedesel’s memoirs are a genuine appendix to American history. They trace national events, and delineate the state of society, in this country, at one of its most momentous epochs. Names that will go down to posterity, with the memory of lofty actions and events of a new, lasting, and far-spreading character, are here brought together by one, who was the friend, the associate, the companion, or, at least, the acquaintance of their bearers ; of Washington, Gates, Schuyler, Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillips, and the person the nearest related to the noble authoress, General Riedesel.’ pp. 8–11.

In the volume is contained a memoir by General Riedesel, on the transactions at Saratoga, written immediately after they

took place. It throws a good deal of new light on the events of Burgoyne's campaign, and is an important document among the materials for a history of the American revolution.

ART. XII.—*Poems*; by RICHARD H. DANA. Boston. Bowles and Dearborn. 1827. 18mo. pp. 113.

To say that this work is by the author of 'The Idle Man,' is the same thing as to say, that it is written by a man of genius, who possesses the essential qualities of a poet. 'The Idle Man,' which came out in numbers in 1821-2, notwithstanding the cold reception it met with from the public, we look upon as holding a place among the first productions of American literature. It will be referred to hereafter, we doubt not, as standing apart from the crowd of contemporary writings, and distinguished by a character of thought and expression peculiarly its own. One reason why it took so little at its first appearance, was probably the hardihood with which its author slighted the usual arts of attracting the public attention, and conciliating the public favor. It was not a work that reflected the passing image of the day; and the author adopted no fashionable modes of expression, submitted to no fashionable canons of criticism, copied no popular author, and intimated no consent to favorite opinions. He seems to have fixed his attention only upon what he thought the permanent qualities of literature, and his work is one which will be read with the same pleasure a century hence, as at the present time. It does not, therefore, abound with the dexterous allusions to subjects of temporary and accidental interest, and topics of popular reading, by which a degree of sprightliness and attraction is often given to works, that a few years afterwards seem to have unaccountably parted with all their life and spirit. The opinions of the author are thrown off without any discreet reserve, or obsequious qualification, to mitigate the censures of the critic. The style of 'The Idle Man' is genuine mother English, formed from a study of the elder authors of the language, with now and then a colloquial expression of the humblest kind, elevated into unexpected dignity, or an obsolete word or phrase revived, as if on purpose to excite the distaste of the admirers of a stately

or a modernized diction. It is free from all commonplace ornaments, from all that multitude of stock metaphors and illustrations which have answered the uses of authors from time immemorial.

Add to this that the speculations of the author were as much his own as his style. An original turn of thinking is not the surest passport to immediate popularity. It is much easier, and sometimes much safer, to follow one who thinks in the common track. The most popular authors for the time, and often the most agreeable also, are those who glean up with address the thoughts of others, place them in perspicuous or striking lights, and make them look new by some artful collocation or embellishment, some liveliness of fancy, or skill of contrast. These writers give the mind the gentlest possible exercise, by detaining it on things with which it is already familiar; they never task nor fatigue the intellectual faculty. But it is no light labor to follow the highly original thinker. It requires somewhat of the same effort to grasp and comprehend his conceptions, which it cost him at first to bring them out of the shadows that surround the remoter excursions of thought, to reduce them to distinct shape, and to fix them in language. If there be at the same time anything peculiar and unusual in his style, the difficulty is rather increased than diminished. It is only when his writings have had time to produce their effect upon the public mind, it is only when some of the materials he has furnished have passed into the common stock, out of which the multitude of authors draw materials of speculation, that the man of truly profound and original thought can receive the full measure of his fame.

It might be thought, however, that all this would be compensated for by the strength of imagination, and power in the description and expression of feeling, shown in the work. But the author's imagination is commonly employed in raising up gloomy creations, and his talent at laying open the workings of the human heart, in the delineation of the darker and sterner passions. We have heard these things somewhat strangely mentioned, as being of themselves, in the abstract, an objection to the work. Such critics, we suppose, would be for fitting out 'King Lear' with a fortunate catastrophe, striking out the last act of 'Othello,' and expunging from 'Paradise Lost' the story of the fall and contrition of our first parents. For ourselves, we are willing to leave men of genius at liberty to exert

their powers in their own way, provided that, like those of the author of 'The Idle Man,' they are exerted to purposes of goodness and virtue. Sadness is oftentimes as wholesome as mirth. The melancholy Jacques has been thought as good a moralist as the funny Touchstone. Nobody ever thought of quarrelling with the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, because they were not painted like those of Claude. If he had taken the advice of some cold-blooded connoisseur, if any such lived in his day, and had undertaken to tame down the stern and savage grandeur of his pieces, and to make them pretty, pleasing, and cheerful, he would only have spoiled them.

There is another peculiarity in 'The Idle Man,' which, while it is the source of many of its excellences, may possibly have had some effect in preventing its immediate popularity. With a great majority of mankind, the emotions of the mind are neither profound nor lasting. Every event brings with it its attendant excitement, either cheerful or sad, and this excitement passes away with the event, as the shadow departs with the object. Their feelings may be often acute and noisy, but they are at the same time brief and superficial. But there are minds of a different mould, upon which the passions fasten more strongly, and where they inhabit longer, devouring the heart in secret. These are the characters, which afford the best opportunity for the analysis of the passions. In these, if we may so speak, the passions sit to be painted; and of these the author of 'The Idle Man' has taken advantage for the exercise of a talent, which he possesses in a remarkable degree. He loves to describe a peculiar and unhappy mood of the mind, cherished, as if by a kind of fatality, instead of being healed, by the succession of events, and the lapse of time; drawing into its vortex all the lesser and feebler emotions, and making them its own nourishment. He loves to show, not merely the agitations of the surface, but the whole ocean upheaved from its profoundest depths, and refusing to be appeased, although calm and sunshine have returned to the atmosphere. These states of the mind are described with great force by the author of 'The Idle Man,' and give occasion to scenes of true pathos, and successful delineations of strong emotion. It is not to be expected, that this kind of writing will please all readers alike. Some, who have never perceived in their own minds any tendency to the process it describes, will not sympathize with it, because they will imperfectly comprehend it; and to others it

will appear painful, although they cannot deny its power. Of the other merits of 'The Idle Man,' of that delicacy of moral sentiment which pervades and hallows the whole, and that rare susceptibility to the influences of external nature which imparts to it such a charm, we need not speak, for these are perceived by every reader.

We have dwelt the longer on what we had to say of 'The Idle Man,' because the peculiarities of that work are much the same with those of the 'Poems.' In poetry, however, we believe they will be likely to find more favor than in prose. The Teutonic strength of the author's style is favorable to poetic expression; and the study of the old English authors is now justly looked upon, as a necessary part of poetic discipline. It is indeed curious to see, with what pertinacity the art of verse rejects the more worthless innovations on our language, and how steadily it preserves the picturesque and impassioned diction of our ancestors. The contemplative nature of poetry, also, its love of plaintive themes, the liberty it allows of dwelling long and enthusiastically on the emotions of the heart, and the depth and intensity of coloring it requires, are all in our author's favor.

We like this work the better, perhaps, because some of its merits are of a kind not common in modern poetry. It is simple and severe in its style, and free from that perpetual desire to be glittering and imaginative, which dresses up every idea that occurs in the same allowance of figures of speech. As to what is called ambition in style, the work does not contain a particle of it; if the sentiment, or image, presented to the reader's mind be of itself calculated to make an impression, it is allowed to do so, by being given in the most direct and forcible language; if otherwise, no pains are taken to make it pass for more than it is worth. There is even an occasional homeliness of expression, which does not strike us agreeably, and a few passages are liable to the charge of harshness and abruptness. Yet altogether, there is power put forth in this little volume, strength of pathos, talent at description, and command of language. There is the same propensity, as was exhibited in 'The Idle Man,' to deal with strong and gloomy passions, with regret, remorse, fear, and despair; with feelings over which present events have no control except to aggravate them, and which look steadily back to the unalterable past, or forward to the mysterious future.

The first and longest of the poems in this collection, *The Buccanneer*, is a story of supernatural agency, founded, as the author says in his Preface, on a tradition relating to an island off the New England coast. It is a narrative of a murder committed by a piratical, hardhearted man, of whom the whole island stood in awe, and who at last comes to a strange and horrible end. The poem opens beautifully, with the following lines, descriptive of the island in its present state.

‘The island lies nine leagues away,
Along its solitary shore,
Of craggy rock and sandy bay,
No sound but ocean’s roar,
Save, where the bold, wild sea-bird makes her home,
Her shrill cry coming through the sparkling foam.

But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently ;
How beautiful ! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach.

And inland rests the green, warm dell ;
The brook comes tinkling down its side ;
From out the trees the sabbath bell
Rings cheerful, far and wide,
Mingling its sound with bleatings of the flocks,
That feed above the vale amongst the rocks.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat
In former days within the vale ;
Flapped in the bay the pirate’s sheet ;
Curses were on the gale ;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men ;
Pirate and wrecker kept their revels then.

But calm, low voices, words of grace,
Now slowly fall upon the ear ;
A quiet look is in each face,
Subdued and holy fear :
Each motion’s gentle ; all is kindly done—
Come, listen, how from crime this isle was won.’ pp. 1-3.

The desperate and daring character of the *Buccanneer*, the gentleness and sorrows of her whose death he had caused, the ruffian’s guilty revels, his fits of remorse for his crime, the gradual and complete triumph of that remorse over his mind

and the final and terrible retribution of his guilt, are very well managed. The incidents are strongly conceived, and brought before the reader, with great distinctness of painting. It seems to us, however, that the rough brutality of the Buccaneer's character is sometimes brought out so broadly, as to have rather an unpleasing effect. Yet nothing, it seems to us, can be better in its way, than the passage in which his remorse is described, after it had finally mastered and subdued his spirit.

‘He views the ships that come and go,
Looking so like to living things.
O! ’t is a proud and gallant show
Of bright and broad-spread wings
Flinging a glory round them, as they keep
Their course right onward through the unsounded deep.

And where the far-off sand-bars lift
Their backs in long and narrow line,
The breakers shout, and leap, and shift,
And send the sparkling brine
Into the air; then rush to mimic strife:—
Glad creatures of the sea! How all seems life!—

But not to Lee. He sits alone;
No fellowship nor joy for him.
Borne down by wo, he makes no moan,
Though tears will sometimes dim
That asking eye.—O, how his worn thoughts crave—
Not joy again, but rest within the grave.

The rocks are dripping in the mist
That lies so heavy off the shore.
Scarce seen the running breakers;—list
Their dull and smothered roar!
Lee hearkens to their voice.—“I hear, I hear
You call.—Not yet!—I know my time is near!”

And now the mist seems taking shape,
Forming a dim, gigantic ghost,—
Enormous thing!—There ’s no escape;
’T is close upon the coast.
Lee kneels, but cannot pray.—Why mock him so?
The ship has cleared the fog, Lee, see her go!

A sweet, low voice, in starry nights,
Chants to his ear a plaining song.
Its tones come winding up those heights,
Telling of wo and wrong;

And he must listen till the stars grow dim,
The song that gentle voice doth sing to him.

O, it is sad that aught so mild
Should bind the soul with bands of fear ;
That strains to soothe a little child,
The man should dread to hear !

But sin hath broke the world's sweet peace—unstrung
The harmonious chords to which the angels sung.

In thick, dark nights he 'd take his seat
High up the cliffs, and feel them shake,
As swung the sea with heavy beat
Below—and hear it break

With savage roar, then pause and gather strength,
And then, come tumbling in its swollen length.

But thou no more shalt haunt the beach,
Nor sit upon the tall cliff's crown,
Nor go the round of all that reach,
Nor feebly sit thee down,

Watching the swaying weeds :—another day,

And thou 'lt have gone far hence that dreadful way.' pp. 36–38.

The next poem, entitled *The Changes of Home*, is of a more humble character, and with less action in the narrative, but it pleases us more than the first. It is in the heroic couplet, and reminds us very strongly of the poetry of Crabbe. It is, indeed, such a tale as he might have written, with more fancy, it is true, more warmth of coloring, a deeper and more continued pathos, and more delicacy of style ; but with all his skill of minute and graphic description, his intermixture of dialogue, a good deal of his peculiar rhythm, and a few of his harsh inversions. Every part of this little story is imbued with a deep sadness. One who has long wandered in foreign lands, returns to the place of his birth, and the residence of his early youth, and finds every thing changed. He inquires for those whom he once knew ; he is shown an insane woman, whom he remembered as a blooming maiden ; and is told a tale of love, misfortune, and death. We should spoil it by attempting to give its particulars in our prose. The following are among the introductory lines,

'How like eternity doth nature seem
To life of man—that short and fitful dream !
I look around me ;—no where can I trace
Lines of decay that mark our human race.

These are the murmuring waters, these the flowers
 I mused o'er in my earlier, better hours.
 Like sounds and scents of yesterday they come.—
 Long years have past since this was last my home!
 And I am weak, and toil-worn is my frame;
 But all this vale shuts in is still the same:
 'T is I alone am changed; they know me not:
 I feel a stranger—or as one forgot.

The breeze that cooled my warm and youthful brow,
 Breathes the same freshness on its wrinkles now.
 The leaves that flung around me sun and shade,
 While gazing idly on them, as they played,
 Are holding yet their frolic in the air;
 The motion, joy, and beauty still are there—
 But not for me!—I look upon the ground:
 Myriads of happy faces throng me round,
 Familiar to my eye; yet heart and mind
 In vain would now the old communion find.
 Ye were as living, conscious beings, then,
 With whom I talked—but I have talked with men!
 With uncheered sorrow, with cold hearts I've met;
 Seen honest minds by hardened craft beset;
 Seen hope cast down, turn deathly pale its glow;
 Seen virtue rare, but more of virtue's show.

Yet there was one true heart: that heart was thine,
 Fond Emmeline—O God! it once was mine.
 It beats no more. Cruel and fierce the blow
 That struck me down, that laid my spirit low;—
 No feeble grief that sobs itself to rest—
 Benumbing grief, and horrors filled my breast:
 Dark death, and sorrow dark, and terror blind—
 They made my soul to quail, they shook my mind—
 O! all was wild—wild as the driving wind.' pp. 49, 50.

The two poems that follow, entitled *The Husband's and Wife's Grave*, and *The Dying Raven*, both in blank verse, are characteristic of the author, and fine in their way. Mr Dana seems to gain something in freedom of expression, by exchanging rhyme for blank verse, and to lose nothing, as many poets do, in condensation of thought. There are two pieces in the volume, of a more cheerful cast, *The Clump of Daisies*, and *The Pleasure Boat*. The latter is sprightly and graceful, a praise which we are glad to see that the author can earn when he pleases. With the following stanzas from this poem, we take our leave of the work.

'Now, like the gull that darts for prey,
The little vessel stoops ;
Then, rising, shoots along her way,
Like gulls in easy swoops.

The sun-light falling on her sheet,
It glitters like the drift,
Sparkling, in scorn of summer's heat,
High up some mountain rift.

The winds are fresh—she's driving fast.
Upon the bending tide,
The crinkling sail, and crinkling mast,
Go with her side by side.

Why dies away the breeze so soon ?
Why hangs the pennant down ?
The sea is glass—the sun at noon.—
—Nay, lady, do not frown ;

For, see, the winged fisher's plume
Is painted on the sea.

Below 's a cheek of lovely bloom.
Whose eyes look up at thee ?

She smiles ; thou need'st must smile on her.
And, see, beside her face
A rich, white cloud that doth not stir.—
What beauty, and what grace !

And pictured beach of yellow sand,
And peaked rock, and hill,
Change the smooth sea to fairy land.—
How lovely and how still !

From yonder isle the thrasher's flail
Strikes close upon the ear ;
The leaping fish, the swinging sail
Of that far sloop sound near.

The parting sun sends out a glow
Across the placid bay,
Touching with glory all the show.—
—A breeze !—Up helm !—Away !'

ART. XIII.—*Cartas Marruecas y Poesias Selectas*. Por el Coronel Don JOSE CADALSO. Nueva Edicion con Notas y Acentos de Prosodia, al Uso de los Estudiantes en las Academias, Colegios y Universidades de los Estados Unidos de la América Setentrional. Preparado, revisado y corregido por F. SALES, Instructor de Frances y Español en la Universidad de Harvard en Cambridge. Boston, 1827. Munroe y Francis. 12mo. pp. 288.

THIS book belongs to a class, at the head of which stand the *Lettres Persanes* of Montesquieu, and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. It consists of letters purporting to be written by an intelligent Moor, whom the love of knowledge has brought from Africa to Spain. The points which strike him in the manners and institutions of this country, he communicates to his friend in Africa. He is assisted in his observations by a well informed Spaniard, to whom he resorts for information and the solution of difficulties. This apparatus of means furnishes frequent opportunities for satire both grave and gay, and good use is made of them.

Don José Cadalso, the author of these letters, was a man of very respectable standing among the later writers of Spain. He was a native of Cadiz, born in 1741, of an ancient and noble family, and educated in Paris, where he made himself master of Greek and Latin, and the principal modern languages. He afterwards travelled through England, France, Portugal, Germany, and Italy. At the age of twenty years he returned home, and joined the Spanish forces then employed against Portugal. Doing duty as sentinel one day in the course of the campaign, he met with an officer belonging to the English troops, engaged in assisting the Portuguese, and addressed him in his own language with such correctness and fluency, that he believed him to be his countryman, and gave him important information respecting the plans of the allies. Cadalso communicated this to his general, Conde de Aranda, who immediately appointed him his aid-de-camp, and treated him ever after with marked attention. He remained in the army till his death in the year 1782, attentive to his military duties, though devoted to literature. He was the friend of the most distinguished writers then living in Spain, and by his advice and example, contributed much to bring out the talents of several among

them. Beside the *Cartas Marruecas* he published a satire called *Eruditos á la Violeta*, in ridicule of the superficial acquisitions of the pretenders to universal erudition; a tragedy, which does not appear to have met with a great deal of favor; and several poetical pieces under the title of *Ocios de mi Juventud*, which are highly praised in the biographical notice, prefixed to the Madrid edition of the *Cartas Marruecas*. He was struck by a shell at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782, and died lamented both by friends and foes.

The class of writings to which these letters belong, is not very numerous. The works of Goldsmith and Montesquieu, mentioned above, are the best known, and the first of their kind. *Espriella's Letters*, by Southey, are in some measure similar. They are, however, much more a book of travels, and much less one of satire and moral reflection, than the letters of Goldsmith, Montesquieu, or Cadalso. The idea of assuming a foreign character for the purpose of criticising one's own countrymen, is a happy one. 'What will the world think of us?' is a feeling that belongs to nations, as well as individuals; and an author, who can conceive with spirit the views of a foreign observer, makes himself a representative of this dreaded tribunal, and gives to his satire much the same piquancy, as if it were really of foreign origin. Moreover, he can utter much plainer truths, than would be allowed, if he wrote in his own character. A certain amount of prejudice, in favor of the institutions and usages of his own country, is expected from every one who speaks or writes in the character of a native, and no writer is permitted to shake it off. The cause is somewhat the same as that of the toleration of each other's weaknesses, required of individuals living in the same family. Domestic comfort demands the one, and social comfort the other. Individuals thrown together in society must endure much that they cannot approve. Human life is made up of compromises. This is as true in the case of a community as of a family. Every reflecting man sees many subjects of censure in the society around him, which he thinks it inexpedient to attack, contenting himself with the thought, that perfection is not to be expected from human nature, and that something is to be borne for the sake of peace.

Now a writer, who, like the author before us, assumes a foreign character, and portrays with truth the ideas which a stranger would form of the customs and institutions of his country,

to a certain degree receives the same forbearance, and is regarded with the same interest, as if he were really what he pretends to be. If his reflections are such as would be natural to a foreigner, his countrymen cannot help feeling, that they are, in some measure, indications of the opinion of the world, or at least of what the world would think, if the world knew them. The influence, which this gives him, he can turn to much account. Having a far more thorough acquaintance with the character and manners of his countrymen, than can be acquired by a stranger, he can bring the feeling of deference to the world's opinion to bear upon many particulars, which must escape the notice of foreigners. A work of this kind may therefore be made, by a man of talents, highly interesting and useful.

If the *Cartas Marruecas* be inferior to the *Lettres Persanes*, or *The Citizen of the World*, still it is a work of a high degree of merit, and touches with nice judgment, as is observed in the Preface to the Madrid edition, upon 'the faults of contemporary writers, the neglected education of the Spanish youth, and the absurd and injurious customs prevailing among the people.'

A lively picture is given, in one of the earlier letters, of a young Spaniard, who had been left to grow up without pruning. Nuño, the Spanish friend of Gazel, the Moor, tells him that taking a ride one day, near Cadiz, he lost his way on a mountain. While he was endeavoring to regain the path, he met a young man about twenty-two years of age, well dressed and mounted, and of agreeable manners. Nuño being far out of his way, and the night coming on, the young man invited him home.

'As we were leaving the mountain,' says Nuño, 'I could not help noticing the beauty of the trees, and asked my companion if any ship-timber was cut there. "I know nothing about it," replied he, "you must inquire of my uncle, the grand master. He talks all day long about ships, fire-ships, frigates, and galleys. Heaven preserve us! how tedious the good gentleman is. Many is the time I have heard him tell of the battle of Toulon, the capture of the Princess, and the Glorious, the disposition of Leso's ships before Carthage, with a voice that age and want of teeth had made tremulous. My head is full of Dutch and English admirals. Nothing would tempt him to omit his nightly prayers to St Telmo, for the safety of sailors. These are followed by a long talk about the dangers of the sea; then comes a story of the

loss of a whole fleet, I do not know what one, on which occasion the old gentleman escaped by swimming; after this we naturally have an episode on the advantages of knowing how to swim.”

The young man goes on for some time with this tirade against his uncle, till

‘At length,’ continues the narrator, ‘we entered on a wide plain, with two villages at a short distance from each other. “A beautiful piece of ground,” said I “for arranging sixty thousand men in order of battle.” “You must talk to my cousin, the cadet in the Guards, about the matter,” said he, with great *nonchalance*. “He knows every engagement that has been fought since the good angels routed the bad; and that is not all, for he can tell you the reasons of every victory, every defeat, and every drawn battle. He has spent I do not know how many doubloons already on mathematical instruments, and has a trunk full of drafts, as he calls them, which are ugly prints without heads or bodies.” I gave up the army and the navy, and remarked, “It cannot be far from here that the battle was fought in the time of Don Rodrigo, which cost us so dear, as history tells us.” “History!” said he, “I wish my brother, the Canon of Seville, was with us. I never troubled my head about it, for Providence has given me in him a walking library of all the histories in the world. He could tell you the color of the coat that king San Fernando wore when he took Seville.”

‘We had now almost reached the farmhouse, and the young man had not answered a single important question that I had asked him. My natural frankness led me to inquire how he had been educated. “Just as it suited myself, and my mother, and grandfather, an old gentleman who loved me as the apple of his eye. He died at about a hundred years of age. He had been a captain of lancers under Charles the Second, in whose palace he was educated. My father wished me to study, but he had not much authority, and died moreover when I was very young, without even having had the pleasure of seeing me learn to write. However, a tutor was obtained for me, and matters began to look serious, when a little accident occurred, and disarranged the whole scheme.” “What were his first lessons,” said I. “None at all,” replied the young man; “I could read a romance, and play a *seguidilla*. What more does a gentleman want to learn? My tutor wished me to go deeper, but he had to smart for it. The case was this. I had met some friends at a cattle-yard. He knew it, and must needs come in to interrupt my pleasure. He arrived just at the time when the herdsmen were

teaching me how to handle a stick. His ill luck could not have brought him at a worse moment. He had not spoken two words, when I gave him a blow on the head, which opened it like an orange ; and thanks to the man who held me, for I had intended to belabor him as if he had been a ten year old bull, but considering it was the first time, I let him go with what I had given him. Every body cried out, " Long life to the young gentleman," and even Uncle Gregory, who is a man of few words, exclaimed, " You have done the business like an angel." " Who is Uncle Gregory ?" said I, astonished that he could approve such insolence. " Uncle Gregory is a butcher in the city, who accompanies us in all our merry bouts ; we should not know how to get on without him."

' While he was giving me an account of Uncle Gregory, and other respectable personages, we arrived at the house, and I was introduced to a company of young men assembled there, all of whom were friends or relations of my companion, of the same age, rank, and breeding with himself. They were going on a shooting excursion the next morning, and passed the night in playing cards, supping, singing, and dancing, till the hour should arrive for setting out ; their merriment being enlivened by a band of gypsies, whom they had fallen in with, and joined to their party. Here I had the happiness of becoming acquainted with Uncle Gregory. He was easily distinguished from the rest by his hoarse voice, large whiskers, rotundity of person, continual oaths, and rude manners. His business was to make and light cigars, trim the lamps, beat time while the livelier members of the party were dancing, and drink to their health in huge draughts of wine. Knowing that I was tired, they made me sit down to supper immediately, and afterwards carried me into a separate apartment to sleep, ordering a boy, who belonged to the farmhouse, to call me in the morning, and guide me to the road. To relate all that was said and done by these youngsters, would be impossible and improper. I shall only say, that the smoke of the cigars, the bawling of Uncle Gregory, the general buzz from so many voices, the rattle of the castanets, the harsh tones of the guitar, the squeaking of the gypsies, the barking of the dogs, and the discord of the singers, would not allow me to close my eyes during the whole night. In the morning I mounted my horse, saying to myself, " This is the way in which a body of young men are growing up, who might do the state good service, if their education were equal to their talents."

Another letter illustrates the fondness with which a Spaniard cherishes the idea of a noble descent, though his nobility may be his only inheritance.

'We Moors have no idea of what is here called hereditary nobility, so that I cannot expect you to understand me, when I tell you, that in Spain, there are not only noble families, but whole provinces, where every man is born a noble. I, myself, who am on the spot, cannot comprehend it. I will give you an example, but you will only be the more puzzled.

'A few days since, wishing to visit my friend Nuño, who was sick, I inquired if the coach was ready. They told me, No. Half an hour after, I made the same inquiry, and received the same answer. When another half hour had elapsed, I asked the same question, and was answered as before. Shortly after, they told me that the coach was ready, but that the coachman was busy. "About what?" said I, and began to go down stairs, when I was met by the man himself, who let me into the secret, saying, "Though a coachman, I am a noble; some of my vassals being in town, they were unwilling to return home without having had the pleasure of kissing my hand. This has detained me, but now I am at leisure; where shall we go?" As he spoke, he took his seat, and brought the coach to the door.'

The following letter will afford a fair specimen of the writer's humor.

'Among the words which my friend intends to put into his Dictionary, the word *victory* is one of those which most require explanation, from the manner in which it is used in modern gazettes. "During the whole course of the last war," said Nuño to me, "I was reading Gazettes and Mercuries, and never could understand which side beat, and which was beaten. The very battles in which I was present, lost their distinctness, after I had read the accounts of them in the public journals. I never knew when we ought to sing *Te Deum*, or when *Miserere*. The common course in these cases is the following. A bloody battle takes place between two large armies, and one or both are cut to pieces; but each general sends home a pompous account of it. The party which has the advantage, however slight that may be, transmits a statement of the killed, wounded, and prisoners, on the part of the enemy, the cannons, standards, kettle-drums, and baggage-waggons taken. The victory is announced at his court with *Te Deums*, illuminations, ringing of bells, &c. The other writes home, that the affair was trifling, not a battle, but a short skirmish of little importance; that, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority in numbers, he did not refuse to meet him; that the king's troops did wonders; that the engagement ended at the approach of night, and that, unwilling to expose his troops to the chances of a nocturnal conflict, he retired in an orderly manner from the field. On receiving these despatches, *Te Deum* is sung,

and rockets are fired, at his court likewise ; and nothing is known with certainty, except the death of twenty thousand men, which occasions that of as many orphan children, disconsolate fathers, and widowed mothers.”

In describing the national pride of the Spaniards, our author says ;

‘ One of the faults of the Spanish people, in the opinion of the other nations of Europe, is pride. If this be really the case, the proportion in which it is observed in different classes is singular, since it increases as the respectability of the individual diminishes ; resembling in this respect the quality, which philosophers have discovered in matter, of a tendency downwards increasing in proportion to the descent of the body. The king washes the feet of twelve beggars on certain days in the year, accompanied by his children, with such humility, that I, though ignorant of the religious meaning of this ceremony, when present at it, was affected even to tears. Nobles of the highest rank, though they occasionally speak of their ancestors, are affable even to the lowest domestics. Those of less elevated caste, speak with more frequency of their kindred and connexions. The gentlemen of the cities are somewhat more sensitive on the point of rank. Before visiting a stranger, or admitting him into their houses, they inquire who was his great grandfather, not departing a hair’s breadth from this etiquette in favor of any one, though he should be a magistrate of the highest reputation for talents and learning, or a veteran soldier covered with wounds. The most remarkable thing is, that whatever be the rank of the stranger, it is always regarded as an inexcusable blot on his escutcheon, that he was not born in the town where he happens to be ; for the natives of each are firmly convinced, that nobility such as theirs exists not elsewhere in the kingdom.

‘ But this is nothing in comparison with the vanity of the village gentry. One of this class walks majestically in the dull marketplace of his little hamlet, muffled in a threadbare cloak, contemplating the coat of arms which covers the door of his ruinous dwelling, giving thanks to God that he has created so distinguished a gentleman. He will not take off his hat (supposing he could do it without unmuffling himself), he will not salute the stranger who arrives at the inn, though he should be the chief officer of the province, or the president of its principal tribunal. The most which he condescends to do, is to inquire if the stranger is of a noble family, recognised in the ordinances of Castille ; what is his coat of arms ; and whether he has any relations known in that neighborhood. But what will astonish you most, is the degree to which this vanity is found in mendicants. If alms are refused

them with any degree of asperity, they insult the man of whom they had just been begging. There is a proverb on this subject which says, "The German asks alms with a song, the Frenchman with tears, and the Spaniard with a growl."

The next extract presents, in a ludicrous light, the mistakes into which travellers on the wing are apt to fall, by forming a hasty opinion of national customs.

'If men were careful to distinguish the abuse from the use, their disputes would not be so frequent and so obstinate. Their negligence in this respect, occasions continual confusion. Their prejudices keep them in the dark, and they imagine that they see clearer, the closer they shut their eyes. Their mistakes are most gross, when they talk about the character, the customs, or the language of foreign nations. "I remember," said Nuño, "to have heard my father observe, that, toward the close of the last century, during the sickness of Charles the Second, when Louis the Fourteenth was taking every means to gain the affections of the Spaniards, in order to prepare the way for his grandson's elevation to the throne of this kingdom, the French fleets were ordered to conform, as far as possible, to the Spanish customs, whenever they touched at any of the ports of the Peninsula. This was a principal point in the instructions given to the officers. The policy was good, but a mistake in its application was attended with bad consequences at Carthagená. A small French squadron happening to enter the harbor of this place, the commander despatched an officer in a barge to present his compliments to the governor, but ordered him before landing to observe if there was any peculiarity in the dress of the Spaniards, which the French officers might imitate, in order to conform to the customs of the place, and if such was the case, to return immediately and inform him of it.

'The officer reached the shore about two o'clock, in the heat of a July afternoon, intent upon observing the people whom he expected to find assembled there. The warmth of the season, however, had driven every body within doors, and he saw no one but a sober ecclesiastic with his spectacles on, and an old gentleman similarly equipped. The officer, who was a stout-hearted soldier, better fitted to command a fire-ship, or board an enemy's vessel, than to make observations on national customs, concluded that every subject of the crown of Spain was obliged by statute to wear at least one pair of spectacles, day and night. He returned to his commander, and told him what he had seen. The officers of the fleet were sadly puzzled to find as many pairs of spectacles as there were noses in want of them. It happened by good luck,

that a servant of one of the gentlemen, who used to vend small wares during his master's voyages, had some dozens of the needed article on hand. From these, the party who were to carry the commander's compliments, and likewise the crew of the barge, were immediately supplied. When they reached the shore, they found the landing-place filled with people, whom the report of the French fleet's arrival had drawn together. The Spaniards stared at the new-comers, and could hardly trust their eyes, when they saw a number of young men, of lively manners and gay apparel, thus strangely accoutred. Two or three companies of marines, who belonged to the garrison, had followed the crowd to the shore, and as these amphibious warriors were composed of the dregs of the people, they could not restrain their laughter. The impatient Frenchmen inquired the cause of their mirth, with much more disposition to chastise it, than to have it explained. The Spaniards redoubled their laughter, and a tumult immediately ensued. The governor of the city and the commander of the fleet hearing the noise, hastened to the spot. Learning the cause of the disturbance, and knowing what must be the consequence, they exerted themselves to quell it. This was done with no little difficulty, the two officers being each ignorant of the other's language. A chaplain belonging to the fleet, and a clergyman of the town, who talked Latin and undertook to act as interpreters, did not help the matter much, their eagerness and different manner of pronouncing rendering them mutually unintelligible; added to which, one could not help laughing at the other for sounding the letter *u* as if it were *oo*, which he retorted by ridiculing his fellow-interpreter for pronouncing the diphthong *au* like the letter *o*; the soldiers all the while being employed in cutting each other's throats."

These extracts will suffice to give our readers some idea of the author's merit. He has considerable humor, with much force and delicacy of satire. The lively style of the work, the correctness of its moral tone, and the insight which it affords into the manners of the Spanish people, render it a valuable text-book for students of the Spanish language.

To the people of the United States, the language and literature of Spain are peculiarly interesting. If we are not attracted by the beauty of its dialect, one of the noblest extant; by the charms of its ancient poetry, distinguished for simplicity and force, for exquisite pathos and manly spirit, full of the strength of feeling and rugged independence which characterized a brave and hardy race, who dwelt in the fastnesses of the mountains, and daily did battle

for their country and their religion; by the richness and excellence of its drama, from whose stores the other nations of Europe have drawn a large part of the materials of their national Theatres; by the knowledge of life and the comic humor of its numerous novelists;—yet our connexion with Spanish America gives a great and growing importance to the knowledge, both of the language and the literature of Spain. We say of the literature, because the books which are generally read among any people, the sources from which its noblest minds draw their elements of thought, hold an important place among the causes which determine its national character. The young statemen, poets, and philosophers, in fact all the educated people of Spanish America, will be nurtured in the literature of old Spain. Their taste and moral feelings, their religious notions, and habits of thought, must be derived mainly from this source; and such as is their character, will be that of the people at large, with whom we must be intimately connected in the various relations of peace and war.

The importance of an acquaintance with the Spanish language, as a means of intercourse with our Spanish American neighbors, is obvious from the daily growth of our trade in their ports, and the great number of independent states, with which this language will be our medium of communication. Nearly all the southern division of the American continent, and a large part of the northern, belong to the descendants of Spaniards and Portuguese. Wherever we turn our eyes, over two thirds of the New World, we find their idioms prevailing, of which the Spanish is by far the most widely extended. Throughout this immense territory, numerous independent states are springing up, with most of which we shall have commercial, and with all, political relations. These must become, in the course of time, very extensive and complicated, and require constant communication between our country and the southern republics. Moreover, the great interest which we take in the political proceedings of those states, that have just broken their colonial bonds, and are busy in framing new forms of government to secure their newly acquired independence, makes a knowledge of their language valuable.

Mr Sales has done a good work, therefore, in preparing and publishing this American edition of Cadalso. The French copies generally in use are very incorrect, and printed after the old orthography. The errors have been corrected, and

the omissions supplied, by Mr Sales, and the new orthography of the Spanish academy adopted. But a more important improvement is the introduction of accents, which have been placed wherever they were required to determine the pronunciation. This will prove a great help to learners, often perplexed by the want of uniformity in the place of the accented syllable. In its present dress, this book may be recommended to students of the Spanish language, as one of the best for facilitating a speedy and thorough acquisition of that tongue.

ART. XIV.—*The Talisman for MDCCCXXVIII.* New York. E. Bliss, 1828. 18mo. pp. 268.

WE well remember the interest, with which in our early days we pored over the pages of the *Almanack*, that cheap and curious volume, which in so small a compass combined so great a variety of astronomical, economical, moral, and literary lore. From it might be learned the precise time for performing all the details of the comprehensive catalogue of every purpose under the sun, which Solomon has left on record, as a proof that method in business, and seasonableness in sympathy, are virtues of every age of the world alike. Its ornaments, it is true, were of an unpretending character; a few georgical vignettes for the body of the work, and for the frontispiece, always that cabalistic man, who could never be contemplated on earth without interest, because for him the twelve signs of heaven seemed contending. We have never yet arrived at a perfect knowledge of the limits of their respective sovereignties over this individual, whom we have always considered, like Adam, a mere representative of his race; nor have we ever been able to ascertain the benefits which the 'little state of man' derives from this complicated feudality.

We presume, however, that good reasons can be given for the division by those versed in judicial astrology, a science to which, although our functions are eminently judicial, we have no pretensions; and content ourselves with alluding to the Alma-

nack, as the first step in a walk of literature, which bids fair to become important among us. Its immediate successors appear to have been the *Pocket Remembrancers* and *Calendars for Ladies and Gentlemen*, in which the literary began to encroach upon the chronical part, and blank spaces were left for memoranda; a line being allotted to each day of life. But suddenly by a change no less indicative of the progress of society, than that by which the three-legged stool on which 'immortal Alfred sat,' expanded into the 'accomplished' sofa along which languid beauty reclines, the simple, sententious, and prophetic Almanack became metamorphosed into the ornamented, narrative, and reminiscent *Forget Me Not*, *Memorial*, *Souvenir*, *Amulet*, *Token*, and *Talisman*. They who are prone to attribute to the influence of woman the improvements which adorn society, may find an illustration of their theory in the rapid growth of these elegant little works. They are carefully adapted to the gratification of female taste. Their embellishments are delicate, the proportion of sentiment usually large, and being generally purchased as presents for ladies of all ages, the sagacity of the publishers has prompted them to 'take no note of time' in them, so that at last the humble and useful Almanack, from which they originated, has become entirely excluded from their pages.

It would hardly be supposed, that the ponderous and labor-loving Germans are the source of all this; that the elaborators of weighty lexicons, and weavers of impervious metaphysics, should have been the first to produce these Lilliputian magazines of wit, sentiment, poetry, and the arts of design. Such, however, is the fact. Among the French they do not seem to be general, nor to have much claim to notice, except for mere external ornament. The English, from whom we have lately imitated them, have borrowed them directly, without any sensible improvement of their plan, from the various '*Taschenbücher*' of the Germans; and, as among the latter people, although now upon the decline, they have risen to the dignity of an established branch of literature, which has been treated as such by their critics, we will venture to place before our readers a brief outline of their progress.

A writer in one of the most popular literary journals of Germany * has described, in a lively manner, the gradual

* Die deutsche Literatur unsrer Tage bietet im Gegensatze zu der

diminution of size in the repositories of the favorite literature of his countrymen ; * how, in the course of only half a century, the majestic folio has yielded its place to the dignified quarto ; the latter in its turn has retired from before the genteel octavo ; and all have finally been exiled from their shelves by the inroads of the dapper duodecimo. The truth is, that literature, to be popular, must be portable ; and the wits of Germany have certainly shown themselves sages in selecting a medium of so current and extensive a circulation, to imprint with the stamp of their genius. An author, whose subject is within the intellectual reach of general readers, and who wishes to be soon and widely read, is more sure of being so in Germany, by contributing to a *Taschenbuch*, than by any other mode in which he can give his works to the world. It was in this form that Göthe first published his *Hermann and Dorothea*, and his *Natural Daughter* ; and Schiller his *Maid of Orleans*. It is even said, that some of the most popular and most beautiful modern poetry of Germany has been created by the ambition of young writers to distinguish themselves, where the opportunity is so readily afforded. Ernst Schulze (a pupil and friend of the celebrated Bouterwek, by whom his works have been collected and published) contended for, and obtained the prize in the *Urania* of 1820, by the production of 'The Enchanted Rose,' a Poem in three cantos, which immediately ran through several editions, and sweetened with its success the last hours of a life, the most of which had been marked by melancholy. We have not yet had the good fortune to meet with this poem ; but the praise bestowed upon it by a judicious, although obviously friendly critic, is, that 'it may be fairly considered, as the most beautiful poem of its kind in the whole circle of German literature, and will last as long as the German language and poetry shall exist.'

The manner in which these works have been got up in Germany, has varied with the objects and characters of the editors.

früthern ein merkwürdiges Bild dar. Wir brauchen kaum ein halbes Jahrhundert zurückzugehen, und die Bücherbänke in Deutschland blicken uns finster, streng, gelehrt, fast abschreckend an. Ungeheure Folios gönnen auch den beleibtesten Quartanten nur unwillig einen Raum, und diese sehen wieder mit Stolz auf das noch scheu sich anschmiegende Geschlecht der Oktavbände herab. Wie anders ist es jetzt.

* The *Hermes* of 1820, published at Leipzig.

A large proportion of them has been published by mere book-sellers, who have paid at fixed rates for original matter, and have thus filled their pages with contributions from many of the most popular authors. This method, however, has been found liable to difficulties, which in many instances have proved insuperable, and indeed, most of the *Taschenbücher* that have been catered for in this manner, have been but temporary in their duration. The demand for increased elegance in their ornaments and style of publication, has increased the expense to the publisher, without proportionably increasing his profits; the contributors have, from year to year, enhanced their terms, and instead of contenting themselves with the little *quiddam honorarium*, first bestowed upon them as a gratuity, they have shown their knowledge of the value of their own services, by making their own bargains with the publishers, upon thoroughly commercial principles. The competition has become so great, and the number of the works so considerable, as to reduce exceedingly the sale of particular editions; and instances have even occurred, in which entire editions have been almost totally lost, on account of having been prevented, by some of the numerous delays to which works depending on various contributors and artists are always exposed, from appearing in the market at the only period of the year, when it is possible to put them in circulation.

Some or all of these causes have led the German book-sellers to look upon the publication of these works, as a ruinous * undertaking; and from the competition which already exists in this country among those of domestic origin, as well as of foreign manufacture, we fear that the same fate will pursue them here, and that the expectations of the publishers will not be sufficiently realized, to enable them to continue their efforts in this line. We will cite one or two instances, to show how brief the period has been of some of the most deservedly popular of these agreeable volumes. The *Taschenbuch für Damen* was begun in 1798, and although enriched by contributions from Huber, Pfeffel, Lafontaine, Göthe, and more than all, Jean Paul, was discontinued in 1802, after a career of only four years. A selection from the works of the most eminent poets, was begun by Schiller, in 1796, and having enjoyed a short celebrity, from some satirical poetry, entitled *Die Xenien*, which

* 'Halsbrechend,' is their own significant expression.

it contained, and which was attributed by some to Schiller, and by others to Göthe, was relinquished in 1800. The history of many of these productions, although published in the most inviting form, and under the most favorable auspices, appears to have been similar. Yet one of these books of selections (*Blumenlese*) enjoyed a more lasting success. It was edited by Bürger and Voss, from 1770 to 1776, continued by Bürger alone till 1794, and afterwards by Carl Reinhard, till 1803. Anthologies have, however, gradually got out of vogue among the Germans, and a great variety of modes have been devised to revive the interest of readers generally in the annual publications, which they had frequently constituted. Sometimes they have been ornamented by engravings of scenes from the most popular dramas of Schiller, Göthe, and other favorite authors.

Shakspeare, who is perhaps as much read, and as well understood in Germany as in England, has furnished the materials for numerous illustrations. We have now before us the *Urania* of 1823, of which the only embellishments are groups from King Lear, Othello, and Macbeth, accompanied with the corresponding scenes from Voss' translation. Some of them have scenes and illustrations from the Waverley Novels; and subjects no less severe than disquisitions upon the philosophy of the characters of Shakspeare, particularly of Hamlet, and examinations of the peculiarities of the poetry of Lord Byron, are admitted into their pages. Others, again, contain sketches of figures and groups by celebrated artists, such for instance as the *Graces* of Canova, together with criticisms upon their merits, which among us would be considered rather too circumstantial and elaborate for works intended for extensive popularity. Another class still are exclusively dramatic. One of this sort was edited with great success by Kotzebue, from 1803, till his death in 1819. It would be difficult, and we know not whether it would be profitable, to enumerate the multifarious forms in which taste is gratified and the purse tempted among the Germans, at that season of the year when new impulses are given to mutual regard, by accompanying the expressions of it by some such token as these productions most readily furnish.

We have been thus minute in our account of these publications, chiefly to show in what estimation works of this kind are held by another people, at a time when, in our own country,

they are attempting to vindicate for themselves a respectable station in the ranks of elegant literature. The one, of which the title stands at the head of this article, purports to be from the pen of *Mr Francis Herbert*, a gentleman apparently of much observation, of great versatility of style, of extensive travel, in short, a citizen of the world; although, from the freedom and obvious familiarity with which he comments, in more than one place, upon the *gullibility* of his fellow-citizens of New York, we suspect that the said metropolis has been his principal residence. He certainly is a writer of no ordinary powers; in prose, he delights us, at one moment, with romantic description and striking incident; at another, diverts us with playful disquisition and humorous narration, and at another still, instructs us with original and sober history. In poetry, he passes with equal ease from the gentle to the grand, but we fear that, in this department, his productions are not all perfectly genuine. He complains, indeed, in his Preface, that 'some of his verses have been published among the miscellaneous poems of authors of no mean note,' but unless we are much mistaken, we have formerly seen those beautiful stanzas on 'The Close of Autumn,' as proceeding from the pen of an author certainly 'of no mean note;' but who never borrowed except from the whispers within, and whose characteristic trait of genius is, that he looks round on nature 'with the eye that nature bestows only on a poet.' The 'Sonnet on the Shenandoah at Harper's Ferry,' if it be the actual composition of Mr Herbert, has certainly been attributed to another. We hardly know where to apply the *Sic vos non vobis*, in this disputed claim.

But to proceed from Mr Herbert to his work. It opens with a slight account of the author, written in an easy and confident manner, and well calculated to excite curiosity respecting the contents of his book. Then follow two 'Prefaces to an Album,' of entirely opposite characters; the first is written in a strain of serious morality and tender expostulation, which sounds little like the man of the world, but which will by no means, be thought misplaced, when it is considered that the book which it precedes, is appropriated to the commencement of the year, and that a year may be looked upon as an epitome of life. We subjoin the remarks upon the responsibility of men for the influence, which they exert over others.

'That influence, so powerful in its sway over us, we must, in

turn, exert upon others. Other minds must become in part the transcripts of ours, and perpetuate the evil or the excellence of our short being here. It is not given alone to the great, the eloquent, or the learned, to those who speak trumpet-tongued to millions of their fellow-creatures, from the proud elevations of power or talent, thus to extend themselves in the production of good or ill into after-times. We are each and all of us, as waves in the vast ocean of human existence; our own little agitation soon subsides, but it communicates itself far onward and onward, and it may often swell as it advances into a majesty and power with which it would scarcely seem possible, that our littleness could have had any participation.

‘Happy, then, reader—happy thou, if thou hast confined the bad tendencies of thy nature to thine own breast,—if thou hast never proved the cause of offence—not even to any “little one”—if thou hast led none into dangerous error, lulled none into careless or contemptuous negligence of duty, nor ever sullied the whiteness of an innocent mind.

‘Yet remember—that it is the mysterious and awful law of thy nature, that no one of us can pass through life insulated and solitary, leaving no trace behind him. Thy influence will be—must be, for good or for evil after thee. Then, although haply thou mayest have but a single talent committed to thy charge, whether thou writest thy thoughts in these pages, or engravest them in living characters upon the hearts of those who trust, or love, or honor thee, strive always, that they may be such as will tend to “give ardor to virtue and confidence to truth,” so that others may be holier and happier because *thou hast lived.*’ pp. 2-4.

The second ‘Preface to an Album’ seems almost intended to efface the grave impressions, which its predecessor is adapted to produce. It considers the Album in its primitive and fallen state, that is, before and after it has been written in, and illustrates both its conditions, by a variety of similes, many of which are apt and humorous. A single stanza will serve as a specimen.

‘T is like an ancient, single lady’s chest,
Where rummaging, the curious heir discovers
Old patterns, worn-out thimbles, and the rest
Of antique trumpery; fans, and flowers, and covers
Of pincushions; a petrified wasp’s nest;
Letters from long defunct or married lovers;
Work-boxes, ten-pences that once were new,
And murdered metre, if she was a *blue.*’ p. 7.

Mr Herbert next entertains us with an account of a ‘hair

breadth 'scape' from the fangs of a Royal Tiger. The narrative is given with great felicity of expression, and preserves excellent oriental keeping, and perfect probability, throughout. A scene on the banks of the Hudson, illustrated by an extremely pretty engraving, follows next in order. The spot selected is the northern entrance of the Highlands, just above West Point. The poetry is of a pensive cast, and its flow betrays the practised writer. The following stanza, although the thought is by no means novel, has unusual beauty of versification.

'Loveliest of lovely things are they
On earth that soonest pass away ;
The rose that lives its little hour
Is prized beyond the sculptured flower ;
Even love, long tried, and cherished long,
Becomes more tender and more strong,
At thought of that insatiate grave
From which its yearnings cannot save.' p. 25.

This is succeeded by a neat paraphrase of a passage from Poliziano.

We now come to the story of 'Mr de Viellecour and his Neighbors,' which is appropriately introduced by a short essay, in which the fallacy of conjecturing character from manuscript is humorously illustrated, and a number of instances are given, some historical, and others within the writer's own experience, of awkward mistakes resulting from indistinct handwriting. The outline of the story is briefly as follows. Mr Viellecour is a descendant of the Huguenots, settled at New Rochelle, in the state of New York ; benevolence is the predominant trait of his character, and horticulture and elegant chirography his ruling tastes. A family of Pecks move into his neighborhood, who are all originals, and one of whom, Miss Abishag Peabody Peck, is an original *par excellence*. We will not venture to describe her otherwise than in the author's words.

'Of Abishag or Miss Peck, last presented to my mind, and now painted at full length upon the retina of my mental eye, it may be essential to mention a few characteristics. In respect of matrimony, and rumors of matrimony, she strongly resembled the illustrious Betsey of England ; and deserved as little as that "imperial vot'ress," the imputation of passing through life,

"In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

'She had remained, as I have hinted, for an unascertainable time, mistress of herself, unincumbered with a husband. Whether she really thought the poet wrong, who says that "earthlier happy is the rose distilled," etc. may admit of a doubt. She had long had a fondness, nay, it may be termed a rage, for making people believe (and herself, too, among the rest), that she was constantly solicited to become a bride. In sober truth, shrewd, sagacious, and matter-of-fact, as she was in all things else, touching this affair of marriage, she was subject to strange hallucinations. Her imagination was (if we may speak poetically) redolent of matrimony. The ideal husbands which filled her mind were indeed not exactly such as haply may sometimes flit across the day-dreams of youthful beauty, brave, and young, and handsome, all glowing with the purple light of love, and breathing truth and fervent constancy. Hers were sober and comfortable visions of snug establishments, sprucely painted two-story houses, with well-papered parlors and nice kitchens—huge stores of household linen—men servants and maid servants—one-horse chaises or trim Jersey-built wagons, and, by way of necessary appendage, some respectable helpmate, with a good thriving business, or a round and regularly paid salary. Thus it happened that from time to time the whole neighborhood was informed, of what she more than half believed herself, that offers had been made for her hand, now by a medical doctor at Mamaroneck—now by a reverend professor at New-Haven—now by a rich widower apothecary in the Bowery—now by an old Dutch dominie, on the North River—and now by young Mr Rubric, fresh from the Episcopal Seminary at New York, whose first clerical bands her own fingers had hemmed. The said reverend and medical doctors, the dominie, the apothecary, and young Mr Rubric, meanwhile, remaining not only innocent of all amorous intention, but utterly ignorant of all rumors thereof.

'Of her personal charms it is best not to say much. Could she have been preserved for ever, as she had been for so many years, she would have supplied the desideratum of a standard of long measure, and saved a learned secretary of state, professors of colleges, and revisers of laws, many a long report, as she was perfectly straight, and exactly five feet, eleven inches, and eleven lines high, when unhosed, unbuskined, and unbonneted. Time had not rubbed off nor rounded the acute angularity of her features, or the distinct rigidity of her articulation. There was an irresistibly extortionate air in her countenance, when she wanted to get all the facts out of every body; and it exhibited an arithmetical precision, when she was in a contemplative mood, which showed that she had added up her ideas, and carried nine. Her defunct papa, among his innumerable avocations, had been an

agent for selling Pomeroy's Universal Patent Catholicon. From him she inherited a great taste for quackery; or, as her mama called it, a genius for medicine; and she preferred giving away, not only her recipes, but her nostrums, to letting her hand get out of practice.' pp. 55-58.

A fit of the rheumatism, by which Mr Viellecour is attacked, induces Miss Peck to send him a recipe for the cure of it, for which, after his recovery, he writes her a letter, couched in the style of old-school gallantry, accompanied by a basket of quinces, and concluding with the tender of his hearty thanks, which from the illegible elegance of the manuscript, is interpreted by Miss Peck, as an offer of his heart and hand. This offer she immediately accepts in a most characteristic epistle, eked out with a number of more characteristic postscripts. The astonished Mr Viellecour is now beset by a letter of license and congratulation from Mrs Jerusha Peck, the mother of Abishag; by another of advice from Dr Epaphroditus Peck, her uncle; by a borrowing note from the Honorable Mr Plutarch Peck, her nephew; by a challenge from Mr Terence Mountjoy, a Gallicized Irishman, who had for some time lived incognito in Mrs Peck's family, and on whom Miss Peck had turned her eyes; by a letter from Lawyer Bull, threatening a suit for breach of marriage promise, on account of attentions paid by him to Miss Betsey Bull; and though last, not least, by an epistle in which it would be difficult to say, whether madness or mantuamaking predominates, from Miss Adèle Eloïse Huggins, whom Mr Viellecour had educated, and whom he had afterwards caused to be instructed in the mysteries of the needle, and finally established in business. From this epistolary volley, and the various evils that it threatens, Mr Viellecour, whose sensitiveness of ridicule is exquisite, seeks safety in flight, and does not return to revisit his household gods, until, by a succession of natural events, the neighborhood is entirely cleared of the authors of his whimsical persecution. The merits of this story are those of fertility of invention, and humor and variety of illustration. Its chief fault is a tendency to caricature in some parts, which, in a production of which the essence is an exaggeration of the features of common life, it must be extremely difficult to avoid. Several of the characters are originally conceived, and all of them naturally sustained. Mr Viellecour interests us constantly by the benevolence of his character, the dignity of his

recollections, and the innocence of his tastes, even in his most awkward and ridiculous situations. Miss Peck deserves a place in our gallery of national portraits. Terence Mountjoy, however, is decidedly overcharged; in spite of Mr Herbert's pertinacious assertions, we cannot believe that the credulity of our sister of Gotham has ever extended so far, as to be imposed upon by such an uncouth nondescript. We will not attempt to describe or illustrate him; 'none but himself can be his parallel.'* The introduction of this character, however, gives occasion to a digression concerning *humbugs*, which, because it is a very good specimen of that species of humor, which produces its effect by an eloquent accumulation of epithets and images, either ludicrous in themselves, or made so by ingenious juxtaposition, we extract for the edification of our readers. We beg them, however, to consider the charge, which it brings forward against the New-Yorkers, of extreme *gullibility*, entirely as Mr Herbert's, unapproved of by ourselves, for, 'we could not hear their enemy say so' of our brethren of the brilliant metropolis.

'He belongs to a genus of which every one knows more or less, who has seen or heard anything of the phenomena, which for the edification of monster-hunters and monster-gazers, have arisen, culminated, and set, or more often "shot madly from their spheres," in the horizon of New-York society, for the last twenty years. Of this genus there are several species, though the nature of each kind soon passeth away, and "goeth out" of fashion, and of remembrance. Yet, in their brief career, they have charmed female hearts, and turned wise brokers' heads. Such is the power of foreign tongues and foreign titles, foreign jewels and foreign jokes, foreign fashions and foreign fiddling. There is your heroic humbug, as your Waterloo general; your scientific humbug, such as you may meet at the suppers of the Literary and Philosophical Society, or the *soirées* of some Mæcenas; your patriotic humbug, who has "left his country for his country's good," and such you may see everywhere. There is your medical and your musical humbug; your ecclesiastical humbug, your pedagogical

* We have been lately struck by meeting with a justification of the violation of the maxim, or rather its converse, that 'nullum simile est idem,' in an established classic. Cervantes, in describing the barbarian Bradamiro, says, 'He was as bold as himself, for none could be found, with whom he could be compared.' 'Atrevido tanto como él mismo, porque no se halla con quien compararlo.' The Spanish writers of that day must have been as daring as their soldiers.

humbug, your proselyte humbug, and your new-community humbug; your phrenological humbug, your *cuisinier* humbug, your travelled humbug, and your savage humbug. Last, though not least, there is the real, pure, natural, unlicked, unlettered, unequivocal, unadorned, unadulterated, unsophisticated, unaccommodated humbug; or, as Lear says, "the real thing itself—a poor, bare, forked animal," who, without education, knowledge, or manners—without tongues or travels, jewels or juggles, fashions or falsetto, grace or grammar, will make his way by the dint of sheer and monstrous lying—lying which has neither the merit of invention or consistency; and is so essentially grotesque, that it seems easier to believe it at once, than to believe that it has ever *been* believed.' pp. 61, 62.

Three pieces of poetry succeed the story of Mr Viellecour. One is an original and powerful description of the 'Hurricane;' the next is 'The Serenade,' accompanied by an original design, in which the poet and painter have so perfectly illustrated each other, that we should almost suspect them of being the same individuals; the third is a translation of 'The Butterfly' of De la Martine, which, as it is pretty, and fanciful, and short, we subjoin.

'To be born with the spring, and to die with the rose,
To sip the fresh sweets of young flowers, ere they close,
To float on the wings of the zephyr at even,
And bathe in the rich flood of glory from heaven;
To shake from the wing the light spangles of gold,
And its course to the deep vaults of azure to hold;
Passing off from the bosom of earth like a sigh,
Such is the magical life of the young butterfly.

It resembles Desire, which, in search of new sweets,
Alights on each object of beauty it meets,
But restless—unsated with bliss of the earth,
It returns to the heaven from whence it had birth.' p. 119.

The historical sketch, 'De Gourgues,' has merits of a higher and more serious order, than are often to be found in any works of a merely popular character. It is distinguished by accuracy and depth of research, and by great clearness and strength of style, and leaves us reason to regret, that talents such as it indicates, are not oftener employed in more elaborate and extensive illustrations of our national annals. We next meet with a free translation of one of the best of the *Drammi Sacri* of Metastasio. The character of this author's

style is well known, even to those who have but a tinge of modern literature. He is remarkable for the extreme felicity with which he expresses natural sentiments, although his writings, particularly in his *arie*, are profusely interspersed with *con-cetti*. He is said to have been himself so perfectly persuaded of his own unrivalled aptitude of expression, that, in reading his productions to his friends, he would frequently anticipate their applause, by the self-complacent question, *Si può dir meglio?* In his Sacred Dramas, however, he has been less successful. The lightness of his style of composition, and the perpetual recurrence of his *arie* are not suited to the solemnity of his subjects, and he is sometimes extremely frigid in his management of particular scenes. We will point out an instance in the drama immediately before us. On the return of Isaac unharmed from the sacrifice, Sarah faints. Isaac is naturally alarmed, but Abraham reassures him by telling him, that such things are very common, and that his mother will soon come to, if left to herself. Isaac, however, is not satisfied, and cannot understand how one, who has supported so many sorrows, should be unable to support a single joy. Abraham then goes into a philosophical explanation of the matter, winding it up with an *aria*, of which the substance is, that miseries are so common, that men learn to bear them from habit, but felicity is so rare that they are apt to be overwhelmed with the first instances of it. With the difficulties of the original, however, and of the nature of the subject, the translator has successfully contended. The instance below, compared with the passage of which it is a paraphrase, shows an improvement upon the original, in its own style.

‘Thine innocent child, in thy late years,
Vouchsafed by Heaven to thy desires,
Whom love so just, so strong endears,
God at thy hand requires;
Requires thine offspring’s blood to flow
Beneath thy sacrificing knife,
Requires the priest to strike the blow
Who gave the victim life.’ p. 149.

‘Quell’ innocente figlio,
Dono del Ciel sì raro,
Quel figlio a te sì caro,
Quello vuol Dio da te.
Vuol che rimanga esangue
Sotto al paterno ciglio;
Vuol che ne sparga il sangue
Chi vita già gli diè.’

It would be impossible for us to give a competent idea of this translation by extracts; we will point out the concluding speech of Abraham, as an instance of happy rendering, and remark, in passing, that the engraver has been very successful in the accompanying illustration, with the single exception, that the breadth of the lower side of the face of the infant is too great for his position.

In the story of Major Egerton, the man of various phases, we strongly suspect Mr Herbert of having indulged himself rather freely in the traveller's license. His hero is an actor of all work, and actually appears in different parts of the narrative as an Indian, an English officer, an actor, a common soldier, a rector, a Mameluke and a howling Dervish, all of which characters he maintains with probability and propriety. Both the descriptive and dramatic parts are well executed, and *se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

We are next presented with a spirited sonnet, on the subject of William Tell in chains, the design of which, by Inman, engraved by Durand, forms one of the principal ornaments of the work.

'The Cascade of Melsingah' is an attempt, of which too few instances are to be found in our literature, to associate with a spot of wild and romantic beauty some tradition, that may give it new interest. The description will readily recall it to the lovers of natural scenery, who have visited it; but we believe, that it is from the author of the present tale, that they must, for the first time, learn its name. If he has not invented the tradition which it includes, he has certainly availed himself of it with great poetical felicity; and the numerous visitors of the scene in days to come, after the perusal of this simple and natural story, will find in it charms to which they were blind before. We must gratify our readers with a single descriptive passage from it.

'Who does not know the little cascade of Melsingah? If any of my readers have never visited the spot, nor heard it described, let me tell them that it is situated on the east bank of the Hudson, a little below the mouth of its tributary Matoavoan, about sixty miles from New York, at the foot of the northernmost ridge of the Highlands, where it crosses the river and stretches away out of sight to the northeast. A brook comes down the crags and woody sides of this ridge, and is fed by the mountain springs throughout the year. After having collected all its waters, it flows for a short distance through the forest, in a narrow rocky glen, parallel to the base of the mountain, and finally pours itself in a thin white sheet over a high precipice. From this precipice, the rocky banks, rising above the top of the cascade to a considerable height, recede on each side, and then return in a curve towards the rivulet, forming a little circular amphitheatre, having the blue pool into which the water descends at the bottom, and, at the lower end, the passage by which the brook hurries off rapidly towards the Hudson. The face of the rock down which the water

falls, is covered with a thick mantle of green moss, which keeps its place in spite of the current passing over it, and only serves to work the slender sheet to greater whiteness. Trees of the forest overhang the hollow; the maple, the bass-wood, the black ash, and the hemlock mingle their boughs, and the moose-wood rattles its bunches of green keys as you place your hand on its striped trunk. In May the dog-wood whitens the high bank with its flowers; in June the broad-leaved kalmia hangs out its crimson-spotted cups over the stream where it comes down from the cleft above; and all around the witch-hazel flaunts with its straw-colored blossoms in December, like an antiquated belle in the ornaments that belong to the spring of life. Above, is a small open circle among the foliage, corresponding with the shape of the banks, at which the sun looks in for a moment at noon; but the wind never descends into the hollow save in the winter, when it sweeps the loose snow into the glen, and mars the fantastic frost-work of this waterfall. For three quarters of the year the stream pours over its rock unvisited and unheard, save by the few who love what is beautiful in nature for its own sake. But in the hot months it is a place of resort for those who come to see what every body talks about; and the woody solitude is invaded by strange feet, and the solemn and eternal sound of the falling water mingles with voices that have no business there. pp. 198-200.

The 'Legend of the Devil's Pulpit' is the last item of this various assortment. To those who are intimate with the history and localities of New York, it must be extremely diverting. We should almost believe, from the familiarity of his contemporary allusions, that Mr Herbert had been an actor in the scenes he so faithfully describes; for aught we know, the original proprietor of the Pulpit himself. He professes, however, to quote from manuscript documents, and gives us a story, of which the following is a sketch. Tevas Oakes, son of the sexton of Trinity church in 1760, suddenly becomes metamorphosed from a strolling vagabond into an *exquisite* of that period. At the summit of his elevation, partly attained through the instrumentality of 'Villiam Wince,' his tailor, he 'spurns the base degrees by which he did ascend,' and employs another more fashionable artist of the same tribe. Vince in revenge determines to discover and expose the mystery of his ungrateful employer's sudden splendor, and having ascertained that he absents himself every Friday, tracks him, and conceals himself on board of the 'Petty-auger,' which conveys him to Weehawk. He returns the next day in a panic, with a story that 'the Devil preached over at Weehawk, and that he talked handsomer than the

rector or the recorder.' This story collects, of course, a crowd. They are harangued by Dr McGraw, a most original personage, whose characteristic trait is an abhorrence of quackery, and who, as we are credibly informed, is an actual historical personage, yet remembered by the older inhabitants of New York. The Doctor assembles a sufficient force to protect him against all possibility of danger, and after passing through a variety of appalling sights and sounds, arrives at last at the scene of action. The mystery is then discovered to be the contrivance of a band of smugglers, with which Tevas is connected, to protect the magazine of their contraband wares against the visits of the curious. The Doctor seizes the pretended Devil, and after having catechised him in a most whimsical manner, lays him for ever, to the infinite satisfaction of his audience. The strange exorcist then seats himself upon the pulpit, from which he utters the following soliloquy, in the spirit of prophecy, applicable, as we suppose, to the present inhabitants of New York.

"Yes," said he, "I see how it is. These poor people too must go the way of all flesh. Half a century hence, they will be as wicked as the Londoners. With the same vices, they will have more wit. But what of that? So much the worse for them. They will have their South Sea bubbles, their land bubbles, their bank bubbles, and all manner of bubbles. They'll have their Stock Market and their New Market; and there will be bulls and bears, lame ducks, rooks and pigeons in both of them. They will have lotteries, and operas, and elopements, and cracked poets, and ballets, and burlettas, and Italian singers, and French dancers. And every second man in a good coat, will be a broker or a lawyer or an insolvent. And there will be no more cash payments; but the women will wear cashmeres, and the men will drink champagne.—And the girls, instead of learning to cook and mend clothes, will be taught to chatter bad French and worse Spanish, and to get their husbands into jail;—but there will be no jails in those days! for they will have bankrupt laws, and three-quarter laws and two-third laws, and the limits will be as big as the county! There will be no more comfortable tea-drinkings, and innocent dances, but they will have their balls and routes and conversaziones and fêtes and fiddlesticks. People will dine by candle-light of week days, and nobody will go to church on afternoons on Sundays! Folks will be knowing in wines and cookery and players and paintings and music, and know nothing of their own affairs. They will go to fashionable churches as an amusement, and to fashionable gaming-houses as

a business. The girls will learn to waltz of the Germans, and their mammas to flirt from the French. The boys will all be men, and the old men will try to be boys. Then they will have all manner of quackery, from a patent pair of loops to hold up their breeches, to a patent way of paying off the national debt. And they will run after the heels of every quack who comes among them, and think he is the devil himself, though he has not half the sense of the dirty little devil that I have just discharged! And the doctors will quarrel about moonshine, and ruin the character of the profession and themselves by telling the truth about one another! But I shall be gone ere then;—sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!” pp. 283—285.

This comic narration is accompanied by an engraving from an original design, in which the perspective is preserved with uncommon accuracy and effect.

In concluding our notice of this volume, we deem it but just to remark, that laying aside the mask of the ostensible author, it appears to us to be the production of the leisure moments of two or three ripe scholars and practised writers. We think that we can recognise in scattered parts, the touches of pens, which we have seen engaged in higher employments. The book is certainly an interesting and an amusing one, far above the ordinary works of its class; yet we hope the time is not far distant, when those among us, who are capable of assisting in the great work of building up a national literature, may not be compelled to seek for readers through a medium which must depend, in a great measure, for its popularity upon the arts of publication, and upon the selection of a season to secure general circulation.

ART. XV.—CRITICAL NOTICE.

- 1.—*Liber Primus, or a First Book of Latin Exercises; prepared for the Use of Schools and Academies.* By JOSEPH DANA, A. M. Fifth Edition, corrected and improved. Boston. J. H. A. Frost. 12mo. pp. 192.
- 2.—*The Latin Reader. First Part.* From the Fifth German Edition. By FREDERICK JACOBS, Editor of the Greek Anthology, the Greek Reader, &c. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. [Stereotype Ed.] 1827. 12mo. pp. 233.

THE first of these little volumes has long been known and generally used in New England, as the first book after the grammar

for beginners in the study of Latin. The extensive use of the book is the best test of the skill and judgment with which it was compiled. The author is an accomplished and well read Latin scholar of the old school. He prepared, also, the *Latin Tutor*, an introduction to the making of Latin, which has been in common use in our schools. The *Liber Primus*, by far the best book of the kind among us at the time it was published, was nevertheless susceptible of improvement. Mr Dana's removal from New England probably prevented him from giving the work that revision and improvement which the present edition has received from another hand.

It was the object of this book to remove the difficulties complained of in Valpy's Latin *Delectus*, a classical little work, but which advanced too rapidly in the difficulties of construction for most beginners to keep pace with it. 'It must ever be a subject of deep regret,' says our author, 'that, of the rich and invaluable treasures of Roman literature, so little has descended to us expressly prepared for the use of children, or particularly adapted to lead beginners, by regular and easy steps, to the knowledge of the most useful and most interesting of all the languages of antiquity.'

Although this is an evil, which, from its nature admits of no complete remedy, yet much has been done to lessen it; of which the two books before us are evidence.

The most prominent improvements in this edition of the *Liber Primus*, are the omission of the translation at the beginning, and the transposition of the *fables* from the end of the book to a place preceding the *moral sentences*, than which they are much more easy. Boys do not so easily comprehend moral reflections, however simple, as is generally supposed. For, if a literal translation be made, the point is frequently not perceived, or its application not understood. Fables and narrative pieces are much preferable for beginners on this account. The accents and marks for pronunciation, necessary in school books, have also been added, and various additions and modifications have been made in the Dictionary to make it conform in all respects to Adam's Latin Grammar. This is important. Many inconveniences to the teacher, in reconciling contending authorities, are thus avoided. Besides, the book is printed on beautiful paper, and with uncommon accuracy. We have discovered no mistake in it. This little volume comes forward in its new dress and improved condition with a very prepossessing appearance, and with new claims to attention.

The *Latin Reader, First Part*, was prepared from the German edition by Mr Bancroft of the 'Round Hill School;' who has conferred a favor on the community, by introducing another excellent

and classical book for beginners in the study of Latin. This work, having previously passed through two editions, is well known to many instructors in this country, as possessing much to recommend it. But it has hitherto labored under the disadvantages incident to the first editions of all books of the kind. Notwithstanding the second edition supplied many deficiencies of the first, yet there was still room for improvement. One great deficiency in the Dictionary still remained; we mean the want of most of the proper names used in the text. This defect was the more felt, as the book is designed for children too young to be incumbered with a 'Classical Dictionary,' which every scholar, when farther advanced, is supposed to possess.

'The following are the most important changes which have been made in the stereotype edition; the accents have been used in all parts of the work; the emphatic words and sentences, which, in the two former editions, were designated by spaces between the letters, are now printed in italics, thus rendering them more distinct. The form of the Dictionary has been entirely altered, and more than *fifteen hundred words*, principally proper names, passive verbs, and participles, have been inserted.' *Advertisement.*

We are now provided with two excellent books for beginners. The *Liber Primus* furnishes rather the more easy and gradual introduction to the study of Latin; and although composed in part of modern Latin, it contains little that is objectionable. It is well adapted to very young students, and to such as are not very vigorous in their intellectual powers. The *Latin Reader* is superior to the *Liber Primus* in point of Latinity, and is liable to no objection on account of classical purity. But it is somewhat more difficult, and better suited to strong and clever boys, and to those who commence studying at an advanced age.

Both these books are now made to conform to Adam's Latin Grammar and Dictionary, in the conjugation of the verbs, the declension of irregular and defective nouns, marks for quantity, &c. The corrections and additions in these respects are numerous and valuable; and evince great care and critical exactness on the part of Mr F. P. Leverett, under whose supervision we understand these books were published. The *Second Part* of Jacobs' Latin Reader has been lately published, and is a judicious and useful continuation of the *First Part* of this work.

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NEW SERIES, NO. XXXIV.

APRIL, 1828.

ART. I.—*Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten und vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1778 bis 1806.* Von CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON DOHM. Lemgo und Hanover. 1–5 Bände. 1814–1819.

Memoirs of My Own Times, or Contributions to the History of the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, 1778 to 1806. By CHRISTIAN WILLIAM VON DOHM.

THE author of this work died at Pustleben in May, 1820. The history does not strictly correspond to the promise of the titlepage, as it illustrates only the period from 1778 to 1786, the time of the death of Frederic the Second. The intention of the author doubtless extended further ; but disease and the infirmities of age prevented its execution. He himself gives as a title to this part of his work, ‘History of the last Period of the Reign of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, 1778–1786.’

Dohm was a man of excellent education and of experience in public business. He entered the service of the Prussian king in 1779, was particularly distinguished by the minister Von Herzberg, enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Frederic, and repeatedly took part in the most important transactions. He continued to gain respect under the two succeeding kings of Prussia. He was one of the Prussian ambassadors at the

Congress of Rastadt, and when that Congress was interrupted by war and the murder of two French envoys, he was selected by the whole diplomatic *corps* to draw up the account of these atrocities. The province, in which he was employed in 1806, having fallen into the hands of the French, he was commanded by his sovereign to remain at his post, that he might assist in alleviating the misfortunes of the vanquished. In the following years he was on diplomatic business at Warsaw, at Paris, and afterwards, as a permanent envoy from the king of Westphalia, at the court of Dresden. He obtained leave to retire in 1810, and, living on his estate at Pustleben in the county of Hohenstein, devoted himself to letters and his history. We must mention to his honor, that as early as 1781-3 he published a work of great merit, and in a tolerant spirit, on the improvement of the civil condition of the Jews.

The work, of which we are to give an account, is written with sober judgment and great accuracy. It has a peculiar and permanent value, as it is drawn directly from the best sources, which to most persons were unknown or inaccessible. Thus several treaties, never before published, have been brought to light from the Prussian archives; and on subjects of Russian politics the author had all the valuable aid, that could be gained from Count Görz, the eminent Prussian minister at Petersburg. For instance, the account given by Dohm of the origin of the armed neutrality was derived from him, and sufficiently substantiated by an appeal to written documents. We may add, that the work of Dohm is esteemed, by those of his countrymen most competent to judge in such a matter, for the candor displayed in it, for the trustworthy views it contains of many remarkable men and of important events, and for the clearness of its style. It was also acceptable to the Prussian court, a part of it being dedicated by permission to the present king. From the character of the contents of the work, containing many distinct accounts of perfidy and injustice on the part of the despotic rulers of the north of Europe, we think this circumstance is strong evidence in favor of the historical accuracy of these 'Memoirs.' It is an acknowledgement of their truth on the part of the only persons having any interest to disprove it. Dohm is especially careful in his search after authorities, and where he does not succeed in obtaining those that are perfectly satisfactory, omits to treat the topic.

The materials for a more copious notice of Dohm's public services are contained in the Preface to the history. We pass them by, as they have nothing of general importance, and we have already, we trust, related enough to secure the reader's confidence in the good intentions of our historian, as well as in his means of information.

The 'Memoirs' are introduced (vol. i. pp. 3-22) with a general sketch of Frederic's eventful reign. Bred in the school of adversity, the character of Frederic had already been tried and influenced by affliction, before he began to rule. He found his kingdom in good condition, a treasure, which his father's parsimony had accumulated, and an army, which his father's love for fine soldiers had nourished, protected, and spared. In a few months, the Austrian emperor Charles the Sixth having died, the youthful Maria Theresa succeeded; and Frederic at once pounced upon the helpless empress, and profiting by her misfortunes and her weakness (not of mind, for her heart was pure and her will firm), he wrung from her Silesia and the county of Glatz. Having thus far succeeded, Frederic was content; he would be considered a conqueror from principle; he took what was deemed necessary for the security of his own kingdom, but formed no schemes of unlimited conquest. During this period Frederic conducted himself, not as the member of an empire, but as an independent monarch. He took no pains to get friends; he had confidence in himself. A minister at the German diet he deemed no better "than a mastiff baying the moon."

The seven years' war, from 1756 to 1763 forms the second period of Frederic's history. During this war he was forced, almost single-handed to bear up against Austria, France, Russia, and Sweden, which were united for his destruction. The peace of Hubertsberg made Frederic's glory, like his kingdom, safe against attacks. The magnanimity and energy, which he displayed during the war, inspired admiration; and new moral power was imparted to the nation he governed.

In the season of peace, which ensued, Frederic was actively and zealously engaged to heal the wounds of his kingdom. During the whole war he himself had contracted no debts; now in peace he remitted the taxes, laid open to his subjects new sources of gain, promoted industry, and in fact enabled Prussia to recover from its losses, before other governments had

become aware of the extent of the sufferings of their subjects. During the war Peter the Third of Russia, immediately on his accession, had joined Frederic ; and the strange sight had been seen of troops marching from a hostile camp to the quarters of those, who but the day before had been counted enemies. Now in peace, the Prussian king succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Catharine the Second. A repeated personal interview with the Austrian emperor Joseph the Second, in 1769 and 1770, promoted an approximation of their several interests ; and the division of Poland was destined to cement their union by crime. The idea of this division did not, however, originate with Frederic. He entered into it readily and fully ; but it was the Austrian Kaunitz, who first made an encroachment on the limits of the republic.

In the Appendix to this volume (pp. 433–514), there is a detailed and critical account of the negotiation, which led to the fatal result of the division of Poland. The materials for writing such an account did not exist in print till 1810, when they were published by Count von Görz (who was the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg shortly after the division), but they are neither well arranged, nor correctly printed. The collection has for its title, '*Mémoires et Actes Authentiques relatifs aux Négociations, qui ont précédées le Partage de la Pologne, tirés du Portefeuille d'un ancien Ministre du 18ème Siècle. 1810.*' This volume, printed at Weimar, contains the letters and memoirs exchanged between the sovereigns, and the official reports of the ministers, employed in the negotiations. Our limits will not permit us to give a copious analysis of the facts, here collected ; yet some we must adduce, to show our readers something of the nature of European diplomacy.

It will be remembered that in 1770 and the following years, Russia was at war with the Porte. Austria undertook to prevent the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey. Frederic was bound by his alliance to preserve friendship with Russia, but at the same time discerned how adverse to his own interest would be the increase of Russia. The affair of Poland became entangled with this war in the East. On the sixth of July, 1771, the Austrian ambassador Von Thugut signed at Constantinople a secret convention with Turkey, by which Austria, taking advantage of the necessities of the Porte, made

valuable acquisitions of money, land, and commercial privileges, and in consideration of these advantages, promised jointly with the Porte to compel Russia to return all the Turkish provinces she had conquered, and to secure the independence and freedom of the republic of Poland, which would then be a wall between Russia and the Porte. Kaunitz made it a condition, that this convention should be kept a secret, and for excellent reasons. All the while that in his negotiations with the Porte he was assuming such obligations of hostility to Russia, he was using towards that power the strongest assurances of friendship, and promised, with certain conditions, to use his influence to procure for Russia an advantageous peace. Meantime the convention was kept a secret for several months; and Austria received a very acceptable strip of land as well as a large sum of money, very welcome to an exhausted treasury.

In the middle of the year 1770 Austrian troops entered Poland, and under pretence of setting up pillars to mark the bounds of Hungary, assumed a large tract of the republic, and kept advancing further and further, all the time making assurances to the Polish king of a great love of justice. This was the beginning of the division of Poland. Occasion had also been seized by Frederic of causing his troops to enter certain other Polish districts. The government of Poland appealed to Catharine, believing the empress would at least reserve to herself the right of oppressing that country. These complaints were made to her in 1772, just at the time, when Prince Henry of Prussia was making the empress a visit, to induce her to accede to milder terms in her negotiations with Turkey. She communicated to him the intelligence she had received of the operations of Kaunitz, adding, 'that Poland seemed to be a country, where it was only necessary to stoop, to pick up what one would. If Austria chose to take a piece of that country, the neighbors had as good a right to do so too.' Prince Henry seized on the idea with eagerness, developed at once a plan for the division of Poland, and having gained the approbation of the empress, communicated the scheme to his brother. Frederic and Catharine were soon agreed.

And now it became the policy of Kaunitz, who began the business, to play the part of a coquette, and to make his partners in the robbery entreat him to join in the plunder. This he did, partly to avoid the odium of having started so disgrace-

ful a scheme, and partly to quiet Maria Theresa's scruples of conscience. She afterwards gave an assurance, that Kaunitz had in this business been carried away by the force of circumstances to act contrary to his true character. The monarch may have been honest in this assertion ; but if so, Kaunitz was an accomplished hypocrite.

Kaunitz first declared that the attempt at a division of Poland would lead to interminable perplexities. Frederic saw through him at once, and told the Russian court, that they might certainly count on Austria. Kaunitz next endeavored to get the first proposal to be made by Russia ; and nothing having been communicated, he at last grew impatient, and in October of 1771 he determined to bring the Russian court to an explanation. For this purpose he assured the Russian ambassador, Prince Gallitzin, that the terms of peace with the Porte proposed by Catharine, though more moderated, were yet such as Austria could not support. He next suggested proposals, which he declared himself ready to advocate, but which he well knew the empress would reject. Yet, he added, Austria could offer no assistance, unless Russia would guaranty the integrity of Poland, and promise never to take any part of that country for itself or any other power. But though the indivisibility of Poland was an essential point, he continued, that he was nevertheless determined to reassume a piece of land, which had formerly belonged to Hungary, but had been mortgaged to Poland. The old constitution, he declared, was to be maintained, but it might still receive such modifications, as the interests of the neighboring countries required.

The drift of this declaration was well understood in St Petersburg. Count Panin commanded the Russian ambassador to reply, that it was a contradiction for Austria to maintain the integrity of Poland, and yet take a piece without the consent of the republic ; that Russia and Prussia likewise had ancient claims to part of the territory of Poland ; and that justice and the preservation of the balance of power required of Austria to consent, that the three courts should consult together respecting the nature and extent of their claims.

Immediately on receiving this communication in January, 1772, all the scruples of Kaunitz vanished as to the conditions of peace, which Russia had proposed. Only he gave the crafty counsel, that Catharine should first make much more

severe requisitions than she designed to insist upon, to which Austria might earnestly object. Then by degrees the terms being made milder, as if by Austrian influence, both powers were to unite in pressing them upon the Porte. He begged to know, what part of Poland Russia and Prussia claimed, recommended the most intimate intercourse on the subject, and the most speedy termination of the negotiations. He also recommended profound secrecy in the transaction. Lastly, he added, that if they could not get precisely equal parts in Poland, there was a neighbor, who had too much land, and might be made to yield some of it. When Gallitzin, surprised by this last hint, said, there was no such neighbor, unless it were the Porte, Kaunitz said plainly, that it was the Porte he meant.

This plan for jointly plundering Turkey as well as Poland was made just six months after the convention which was mentioned above, and by which Austria had pledged herself to take part with the Porte, till all its possessions should be recovered. Of that convention the English, some how or other, had obtained a copy, and made haste to transmit it to Petersburg. It arrived there just at the time, when this new proposition of Kaunitz was received. Thus all confidence in Kaunitz was at an end; and the Russian ambassador at Vienna was charged to watch his motions with the most jealous mistrust and to repose no faith in his word. It soon became plain that it was the design of Kaunitz to enlarge Austria, if he could, as well by taking from Turkey as from Poland. Meantime the negotiations were continued, and on the fifth of August, 1772, the final agreement was signed at Petersburg by the ministers of the three powers. The king of Poland declared, he would sooner cut off his right hand, than sign the act of cession; but he did sign it, and his hand remained whole. The three powers guarantied to each other their respective new possessions, and added a stipulation, that however their interest might otherwise divide them, they would at all times and under all circumstances make a common cause of the defence of their acquisitions.

The fourth and last period of Frederic's reign was distinguished by deeds of public virtue, which had a wide and most salutary influence on the condition of Germany. He labored assiduously and with entire success for the independence of

the several sovereignties of the empire. At the head of the Austrian state there now stood an ambitious prince, emulous of the distinction which Frederic had acquired, and threatening the liberties of the neighboring states.

The whole course of the contest respecting the Bavarian succession is related by Dohm with great distinctness and a thorough knowledge of all the men concerned in it, and all the interests that were at issue. To follow him in his narration is not permitted us. We refer the student of history to the work itself, undoubtedly a leading authority for this whole subject, to which we are able to devote but a small space.

The great points of the controversy are well known. In 1777 Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died through the want of skill of a physician. He left no children, and with him his branch of a princely family ended. According to the feudal law the other branch of the family, which still flourished in the Palatinate, was entitled to the inheritance. The next heir was Charles Theodore, a man of vile character, and likewise without legitimate children. The Austrian emperor deemed this a fit occasion to possess himself of Bavaria, and immediately caused his troops to enter the territory. Charles Theodore was abject enough to agree to the Austrian demands; and Joseph the Second imagined himself secure of gaining quiet possession of what Austria had long coveted. The heir of Charles Theodore was Charles, duke of Deux Ponts; his assent to the encroachments of Austria seemed now alone necessary, and every thing was done to win him.

In this state of things Frederic interposed, by a series of admirably conducted negotiations, in which Count Görz laid the foundation of his fame as a statesman; he animated the duke of Deux Ponts to decided opposition, and took upon himself the guaranty of the rights of the duke to the Bavarian succession, against all unjust claims of the court of Vienna.

Frederic was now justified in making representations to the Austrian government. That government was at this epoch directed by Wenzel Anton, Prince of Kaunitz-Rittberg. He was a statesman of great understanding and extensive experience in public business, a friend and patron of science and the arts.* It was he, who devised the union between France

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 72-76.

and Austria, by which in 1756 a new political system was established on the continent of Europe. Afterwards he also began the division of Poland. He was bold in designing, and crafty in executing. He could veil his plans in impenetrable secrecy; and was a master in the arts of hypocrisy. Superior to base selfishness, he honored and rewarded talents and merit, where he was not himself in danger of being eclipsed. His good opinion of his own capacity was unlimited. His great object was, to make the state in which he was employed the first in Europe, and to be himself the first man in that state. Whatever promoted these views was acceptable to him; he troubled himself little about justice. His manners were marked by haughty condescension and sometimes by striking irregularities; all which served to elevate him in the minds of the many. Maria Theresa had unlimited confidence in his sagacity, and her son and associate in the empire never dared to oppose the man, who had gained the name of being the greatest statesman of Europe.

The Prussian ministers at this time were Herzberg and Finbrenstein. The latter was a man of experience and great respectability. The former was deeply versed in the relations and rights of the several European states; and those of Prussia he knew in the most minute detail. His knowledge was always at his command. His mind was lively and active; his style of writing clear, simple, and convincing; his activity and industry boundless; his sentiments noble. Love of country was a passion with him; and he counted much on the moral powers of mankind, of which he loved to dwell on the proofs afforded by history. On the other hand he was often deficient in prudence and secrecy; and sometimes incurred the displeasure of Frederic, by pressing views which the king did not approve.

Frederic was himself the immediate agent in public affairs. Having resolved on his course and taken the necessary measures without consulting any one, he then committed to his ministers, especially to Herzberg, the task of conducting the negotiations with Vienna. The claims made by Austria were subjected to long and learned investigations, and their injustice copiously exposed. Attempts were made to bribe Frederic not to interfere, by promising to permit him to increase his dominions in some similar way; but the Prussian king was not to be moved from his purpose.

Of the war which ensued, the renewed negotiations for peace, the continued hostilities, and the final restoration of peace, an account is given in the first volume (pp. 137-250).

The empress Maria Theresa, anxious for the life of her children, and from every principle and feeling averse to war, sent a special message to Frederic, expressing her earnest desire to come to a mutual understanding. 'She hoped,' such was her message, 'that it grieved the king not less than herself, that they should thus pluck out each other's hair, which age had already whitened.' Still reconciliation was not easy, for the only terms which Austria proposed were such as Frederic peremptorily rejected.

Meantime France and Russia were led to take an interest in the event of the war. France was the ally of Austria, but yet in secret averse to the increase of that power. Russia had been prevented by the war with the Porte, from taking an active part in the Bavarian affairs. Finally the peace of Kainardgi was concluded; and Catharine the Second was at liberty to interfere. She immediately did so, and with good effect. 'So wonderfully are the destinies of nations, even in the remotest lands, interwoven; whether Bohemia and Moravia, Saxony or Silesia should be devastated by war, depended on a negotiation, which was conducted between Petersburg and Constantinople. It was necessary, that the recognition of a Tartar Chan by the Porte should precede the preservation of the patrimony of a German princely house.' Austria, however, retained by the peace a part of the land it had claimed. The whole extent, at first taken possession of, amounted to about five thousand square miles; Austria retained about eight hundred; and Maria Theresa could hardly forgive the king of Prussia, *ce méchant homme*, as she called him, for wresting from her the remainder.

Frederic thus secured to himself the applause of Europe and the gratitude of Germany. He returned to the careful administration of his kingdom,* and, as though he had done nothing for fame, began extensive reforms; and, as the greatest and best of his efforts, caused a code to be prepared, by which equal justice should be administered in all parts of his dominions, and the interests of separate districts reconciled and assimilated. The work was one of immense labor and equal benefit.

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 251-294.

The Russian empress was gratified at seeing Austria somewhat humbled, and checked in its attempts at aggrandizement. She was also pleased at having acquired a right to interfere in the concerns of Germany; a right which Peter the Great had designed to gain. For Catharine had become a guarantee of the new peace of Teschen; and one of the articles of that peace confirmed that of Westphalia. Of this last, therefore, and consequently of the German constitution, Catharine became a guarantee.

Catharine the Second had a lively mind, and a strong desire to distinguish herself by extraordinary deeds; and her mother gave to this ambition a political direction.* When Grand Princess, she found little satisfaction in intercourse with her husband, and was very much restrained by the empress Elizabeth. In the solitude to which she was thus driven she cultivated her mind; ancient and modern history, and the best works of the English and French on politics, were her favorite subjects of study. She busied herself with vast ideas, and loved the extraordinary and romantic. In a memoir, written by Count Görz, the Prussian envoy at St Petersburg, she is described as one, who united amiable qualities with greatness, and, superior to her sex in other respects, yet preserved its weakness in being fond of praise and flattery. Fortune had heaped upon her its choicest favors; for eighteen years she had been the sovereign of the vastest empire; beside the flatterers that surrounded her at home, she had been caressed and flattered by all foreign courts; and circumstances having assigned her so brilliant a part, it was impossible to say anything to her in the way of admiration too extravagant or too pointed. She possessed in the greatest degree the art of dissimulation; and no one could tell, what impression was actually made upon her mind. She was, moreover, extremely jealous of her son, and quite as much so of the Grand Princess.

Count Panin (we draw the characteristics from the memoir of Görz) was one of the first statesmen of Russia, and peculiarly worthy of attention to a Prussian prince, as he had steadfastly upheld the alliance between Catharine and Fred-eric. He was kind, generous, *débonnaire*; fond of pleasures, especially of horses and the theatre; he was conscious of possessing great knowledge on the different relations of the Euro-

* Id. Vol. II. pp. 7, 8; and xxvi—xxvii.

pean political system, was communicative, and met with cheerfulness all attempts to gain his acquaintance. He hated Prince Potemkin, could not brook those who courted that favorite, and on this point was even suspicious.

Prince Potemkin was undoubtedly the most powerful man in Russia. He had genius and talents, but was little suited to conciliate either love or esteem. The Grand Duke, the Count Panin, and other noblemen of the empire detested him. He was proud of his regiment, which he esteemed the finest in the universe; and prided himself on his skill in regulating cavalry. Another subject to which he gave much attention, was the ceremonies of the Greek church; which he was fond of rendering peculiarly brilliant.* In the long series of personal favorites of the empress, he alone retained unlimited influence over her till the period of his death. He first offered himself to her attention in the time of the revolution in 1762, and having once made himself observed by the boldness of his deportment and his person, he used every art to excite an interest in her. Being once admitted to the immediate circle of her society, he employed all the resources of a courtier to overthrow his rivals, especially the Orlovs. He was the avowed favorite from 1776, and confirmed his power over Catharine by withdrawing himself from time to time, and then returning again as it pleased his humor. By persuading Catharine that his services were indispensable to her security, rather than by the influence of attachment, he gained entire sway over the empress and the state. For Catharine knew very well that her authority, which had been founded on crimes, was impatiently borne by a great part of her subjects, and she deemed it therefore necessary to have at her side a man of fearful energy, capable of inspiring terror, and destroying every thought of opposition. Such a man she believed she had found in Potemkin, and to establish her own safety through him, she conferred on him unlimited command. The use which he made of it may have caused the empress herself at times to tremble. Singular qualities he must certainly have possessed, to maintain this power for sixteen years against all adversaries and rivals till his death, and he must have been favored by singular circumstances; but un-

* Dohm, Vol. I. pp. 404—414, and pp. 585—590. Vol. II. pp. xxvi, xxvii, and xlv,—xlvii.

blushing impudence on his part secured this influence over the feminine weakness of Catharine.

Potemkin had no distinguished talents as a commander ; yet the whole army was under his control ; and all the generals of greatest experience and fame were subject to his caprice. He understood but imperfectly the foreign relations of the empire or the wants of the interior ; and yet it was he, who dictated to the vanity of the empress the measures to be adopted within her immense empire or towards foreign powers. He had no elevated ambition of any kind ; it never occurred to him, that he could do good to mankind by wisely guiding the destiny of that large portion that depended on him. He knew of nothing nobler than the honors that dazzle the beholder ; his whole soul was in the gratification of his vanity, and this he would sometimes do by pretending indifference. He would deny himself nothing ; he would gratify all his whims ; and he would have it known that he could do so. This was to him the great purpose of life. He disregarded all distinctions of birth, or rank, or wealth, and was always bent on showing that he was the only powerful man. Frederic the Second once directed his ambassador to offer Potemkin his influence in gaining for him the crown of Poland ; Potemkin replied, that he had never dreamed of such a thing ; and did not respect the Polish nation enough to be willing to be their king. He treated the most distinguished foreigners with contumely, and listened to the proposals of foreign ambassadors with the contemptuous air of one who but just condescends to hear the requests of his inferiors and dependents. No rank secured the native Russians from insult ; it is even asserted that he went so far as to beat the empress. It is certain, that he often opposed her loudly, and did on purpose the very opposite of what she had desired. Sated with pleasure, he lavished the public treasure with boundless prodigality in the gratification of his caprices. Though Catharine anticipated all his wants, that could be divined, and gave him incredibly large sums of money, he would yet turn to the gratification of his will money entrusted to him for public purposes, and would even forge orders of the empress on the treasury, to get possession of money, and this when he knew it to be peculiarly needed by the state. And Catharine bore all this. Potemkin took bribes from foreign states to promote their objects ; though his views were so contracted, that he could not judge

of the true interests of the empire. Possessed of immense treasures, which he carelessly squandered at the gaming-table or for any fancy, he was accustomed never to pay those, who furnished him with the necessaries of life. Merchants held themselves ruined, when an order came to supply the wants of Potemkin. He had no sentiment of mercy in his nature. He would torment without any object, as if to show that he could do it with impunity.

He had long and earnestly desired the Prussian order of the Black Eagle, but as it was sent him rather later than he expected, he received it with a disdainful air, saying, 'he was much obliged to the king, but really, he already had such a host of that sort of distinctions, he did not know how he should be able to arrange them all.' When Frederic learnt, that Potemkin was aiming at the dukedom of Courland, he offered to assist him; but Potemkin very coolly replied, that Courland was not enough to satisfy him; and, besides, if he wanted it, he could take it himself, without giving the king any trouble about it. And he used on all occasions to set in the most ridiculous light Frederic's strict economy and simple mode of living.

A story is told, and on the very best authority, that Potemkin formally proposed to Frederic a second division of Poland, saying 'the first division was mere child's play; the whole should have been divided at once; it would not have caused greater clamor.' Frederic rejected the scheme, on the ground of its injustice, and adopted in his order in cabinet the opinion drawn up by Görz, and developing the subject in a moral point of view. To Potemkin the answer of Frederic was wholly unexpected; he read the king's letter three several times and then gave it back to the Prussian minister with the words, 'I never should have believed, that King Frederic had such romantic notions.'

He cared as little for human life as for money, if the waste of it pleased his capricious humor. Catharine wished to honor him after the manner of antiquity, and in 1787 gave him the appellation of *the Taurian*. In Russian affairs he did whatever he pleased. If things of moment were sometimes decided without him, it was because he did not take the trouble to interfere, and was willing to let them go. The single affair of the armed neutrality, of which an account follows, was decided contrary to his intentions. But the reason was, the de-

cision depended on political knowledge, of which Potemkin had little, and which Panin possessed abundantly, and knew how to use with skill.

Potemkin has been called a man of colossal greatness. But he was in no wise great. His mind was low and coarse. He began his career of success like the other favorites, chance having made him known to the empress; and he confirmed his power by an excess of impudence, and an entire insensibility to moral feeling and to honor. He cared neither for exercising a wide influence over the destinies of men, nor for gaining an immortality of fame; but wished to live in the midst of external splendor, have all men near him at his feet, and prove himself to be the man who needed to fear nothing.

The success of her first war with the Porte filled Catharine with an exalted idea of her own merits and the resources of her empire. The deference and respect, manifested by other courts to her as a woman, were interpreted by her as acknowledgments of her superior power; and she would perhaps have practised no restraint towards others but for the fear of being checked in the execution of her great design. That design, by which she expected to render her reign eminently illustrious, and establish an immortality of glory for her own name, was the establishing of a Greek or Oriental empire. During her life it was her intention herself to govern this new empire, together with her monstrous possessions in the North, and then to bequeath the latter to her grandson Alexander, and the former to Constantine. The names of the children were tokens of the high destiny that was preparing for them. Constantine, from his birth, was treated as the future emperor of Greece and the East. He was baptized according to the rites of the Oriental Greek Church, which differ somewhat from the Russian, and he had Grecian nurses and attendants from the Archipelago. Accident prevented his being nursed with Grecian milk, but Grecian sounds were the first which he heard. He was called *the Star of the East*, and while yet a child, Greeks were admitted to his presence to do him homage.

The glorious peace of Kudschutz-Kainardgi was negotiated just sixty-three years after the disgraceful one, which Peter the First had made to save himself from ruin. This seemed a good omen. Moreover, the religious, warlike enthusiasm of the Ottomans seemed to be extinct. The rulers were educated within the seraglio to indulgence, not to the labors of govern-

ing. The sultans were dependent on their ministers of state; and these, again, elevated from the very dregs of the populace, and destitute of all political knowledge, owed their security to the Janizaries. In the provinces the regents were almost independent; and little of the money, which they collected, flowed into the public treasury. The numerous Greeks hated the Turkish government and were ripe for insurrection. And while the Turkish empire was gradually sinking, the neighboring European powers were continually advancing in the arts of civil polity and of war.

These views were represented to Catharine in their strongest light. Yet there were facts, which proved them to be exaggerated. If the internal administration of Turkey was so bad, how could the empire continue to exist and array such formidable armies against its enemies? If the pachas were almost entirely free, and if little of their revenues found its way to the Grand Seignior, where were the immense sums obtained to defray the cost of the naval battles and the land service? If despotic caprice controlled property, how came it that agriculture, mechanic arts, and manufactures thrived in Turkey, and produced what formed the chief articles of an important commerce, which European nations were emulous of sharing? And can it be conceived, that these nations would continue trade with a country, in which the disregard of justice took away all security from the capital employed in business? The condition of the ministers of state is the least comfortable; their misfortunes are held up in a strong light; but a private man can even in Turkey enjoy the fruit of his labors, and suffer less oppression than in many an European state. The natives are strongly attached to their country, which they call the land of freedom; and if business leads them to pass even years in foreign lands, they are accustomed to return as soon as possible to the land of their birth. It has even been asserted by the head of a large commercial house, which carried on much business with the Levant and with Russia, that debts due in the former were esteemed incomparably more secure than those in the latter, not only from greater confidence reposed in individuals, but also because the Turkish administration was more impartial and more prompt. To this it must be added, that the writers on the subject always advise the Europeans to endeavor to vanquish the Turks by superiority in tactics, and to avoid the contest between man

and man, as one, in which the European soldier is sure to be worsted. The points,* to which we have here alluded will serve to explain the partial success of the Russians in their attempts to banish the Turks from Europe.

It was the fieldmarshal Münich, who, more than any other, cherished in the mind of Catharine the design of subverting the Turkish empire. This celebrated general, called by Frederic the Second, the Eugene of the North, was in the Russian service even as early as under Peter the First; and during the reign of Anna he was the terror of the Ottomans. He lost his influence under Elizabeth and for twenty years was banished to Siberia. Yet there his mind was brooding over great designs in his exile, and prepared a scheme for the entire ruin of the Turkish power. In 1762 he was recalled by Peter the Third, and now, an old man of seventy-nine years, he reappeared at a court, from which nearly all his contemporaries had passed away, with the fire and ambition of vigorous manhood. Catharine employed him for the very purposes, which he promoted under Peter the Great; and he pursued them with restless activity. The empress was so charmed with his conversation and reposed such confidence in his experienced counsel, that she usually passed an hour every day with him. It was now that he unfolded his plan, which, but for Austria's ill success and the disastrous peace of Belgrade, would have been executed under Anna, and which was now to lend lustre to the administration of Catharine.

The thought took deep root in the mind of the empress, and was confirmed by the success of her generals in the first war with Turkey. Full of hope, she no longer concealed her ideas. She would playfully speak of the ancient Greek tragedies, which were to be enacted anew on the stage of Athens by Grecian players; and medals were designed, if not executed, on the taking of Constantinople. All Europe applauded her for her design. No one asked if it was just, or if Russian despotism was less oppressive than the Turkish. Religious sympathy was awakened; a hostile feeling to a foreign race revived; the thought of the restoration of Greece captivated the imagination, and it seemed the more splendid and pleasing, that the beautiful design was to be executed by a woman. The 'tocsin of the kings' was sounded by Voltaire;

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 365-381.

and he advocated the war of extermination of the Turks, sometimes with fanatical fervor, sometimes with jests and gallantry. 'Barbarians,' said he, 'who despise the fine arts and shut up the women, deserve to be exterminated; and it is meet for a heroine to chastise them for their contempt of the fair.' 'I really think,' wrote Catharine to Voltaire, 'I must soon go to some university to study Greek.'

But if the many applauded, the cabinets opposed. England, though otherwise friendly to Russia, could not favor the banishment of the Turks from Europe; and the union of the Russian and Austrian cabinets aroused the attention of France. For France was interested in maintaining the Porte, because it could furnish so much occupation to powers hostile to France; and still more, for the immense injury, which the French commerce would sustain by the ruin of Turkey. Is there another example in all history of commercial advantages conceded, such as were secured to France by the Porte? Into all the Turkish possessions the French might import and export every kind of raw or manufactured product, paying a duty nominally of three, actually of two and a half per cent. Not only other nations, the Turks themselves paid a double, and on some things, a threefold greater duty. The coasting trade on the Turkish coasts was carried on in French ships, free from any duty or tax whatever. The French residing in Turkey, stood under the sole jurisdiction of their own state. The commerce with France was constantly on the increase. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the exports from Turkey to France amounted to about two millions of livres; but in the middle of that century to twenty-two millions; and in the year 1786 they amounted to thirty-eight millions eight hundred thousand livres. Through the influence of France Spain entered into a commercial treaty with the Porte, and promised, it is said, to permit no vessels hostile to the same to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar; and France was even preparing to break its alliance with Austria, and renew its relations of intimacy with Prussia.

The diplomatic relations of the European powers were at this time exceedingly curious. Prussia had an intimate alliance with Russia, and having faithfully fulfilled its obligations in the first war between Russia and Turkey, believed itself now fairly entitled to a reciprocity of favor, and was reluctant to relinquish its claim to this. The disastrous union between

Austria and France still continued. And now the doctrine of elective affinities, with a slight modification, was to prove itself good in politics. A new ingredient is added in the Porte. Forthwith Austria unfolds itself from the embrace of France, and falls into the toils of Russia; France, left thus alone, endeavors to form a new combination with Prussia, which must first set itself free from its Northern ally. The difficulties, which stood in the way of this last combination, we shall endeavor concisely to explain.

The principal aim of France was, to defeat the schemes of aggrandizement formed by Russia and Austria; the principal aim of Frederic, to dissolve the union between France and Austria. France wished to retain its union with Austria, but to prevent its aggrandizement; and *for that purpose* was willing to act jointly with Prussia in a protest addressed to the court of Vienna. Frederic sincerely desired a union with France, his natural ally, with whom he believed himself really to have common interests; but he was too cautious to trust himself in an alliance, before France should have had a rupture with Austria. He was unwilling, that an *apparent* union between his kingdom and France should be made use of in negotiations with the imperial courts; since he would in that way lose the benefit of his alliance with Russia, and gain nothing. He had no fear that the empress and the emperor would succeed against Turkey; partly because he believed a vigorous nation like the Turks would make themselves formidable by the resistance of despair; partly because he knew the incapacity of the Russian military commanders; and, most of all, because he counted on mutual jealousy, which, in case of partial success, would soon beget a quarrel about the distribution of the spoil, and so take it all out of their hands. Indeed the Prussian king was, on the whole, pleased, that the imperial courts, since they would have war, should turn their attention to the East.

Meantime Frederic used every means to avoid appearing to counteract the schemes of Catharine. But alas for the chances of diplomacy! He commanded his chargé d'affaires at Constantinople, Baron von Gaffron, to be exceedingly circumspect, but not to lose a good opportunity of stirring up the Porte to resist the ceding of the Crimea to Russia, provided he could do so without danger of being discovered. Accordingly the envoy indited a *mémoire* for the most private edification of the Turkish minis-

ter, and gave it to his drogoman to translate and deliver. The drogoman, being bribed, gave the *mémoire* to the Russian ambassador, who soon announced the affair at St Petersburg. Catharine, without communicating the particular circumstances, remonstrated with her faithful ally Frederic, that his chargé d'affaires had been acting against her interests. Frederic disclaimed all participation in the business, recalled Von Gaffron, investigated the matter, and found nothing, that he thought could be known to Catharine to justify her complaints. Still she insisted upon them, and Frederic, to show at least his own innocence, turned Von Gaffron out of office, and put him in prison. Such are the rewards of European diplomacy. Its morality resembles the Spartan principle about stealing. To play a double part is honorable and the patriotic discharge of duty ; but to be discovered is a crime and a disgrace.

While negotiations were conducted with careful reserve between the Prussian and French governments, the courts of Vienna and Petersburg were not less active, and hardly more successful. To Catharine the expulsion of the Turks was the great purpose ; to Joseph the Second it was a secondary consideration, to be made subservient to his views on Bavaria and elsewhere in the West. He acceded to the Russian policy to oblige the empress, that so the empress might in turn favor him. He did not believe success against the Turks so sure or easy as was imagined ; and acknowledged also, that the Austrian interest would suffer from the capture of Constantinople by his northern rival. The nearer the two imperial courts came to the execution of their schemes, the greater difficulties rose between them. Potemkin meant Moldavia and Wallachia for himself ; and so mighty were Potemkin's whims, that Joseph did not dare to utter a wish for their possession. Moreover Catharine deemed it enough to restore to Austria the provinces which it had lost in the peace of Belgrade ; the idea of an Eastern empire was her own ; the affair of getting possession of Turkey was her speculation, and in that business she wanted no partners. Thus kind words and promises of friendship were frequent ; and beneath all mistrust was nourished.

The news of the alliance between Austria and Russia in 1783 produced extraordinary effects. The Porte was alarmed, and Catharine joyfully, and with really wonderful art, turned the fear of the Turks to her advantage in negotiations. For all that she could thus gain was her own ; her treaties with the

Porte were not Austria's affair ; that power had nothing to do with her private concerns. And thus without striking a blow, and without giving Austria a chance at any advantage whatever, she constantly turned to her own account all the benefit, which could be derived from the menace of a joint invasion.

And the chief advantage she thus gained was the possession of the Crimea. The convention of March 10, 1779, confirmed in the most solemn manner the independence of this sovereign state. No foreign power should under any circumstances whatever demand of it an account of its actions ; Russia and the Porte, each promised, by all that they acknowledged as holy, never, under any pretence, to interfere in its concerns. The spiritual supremacy of the Grand Seignior was recognised, but was never to extend to other relations. Should either party by any unforeseen accident become entangled in the concerns of the Tartars, it was agreed, that no step should be taken by it, without consulting the other.

Notwithstanding these obligations, Catharine took part in the troubles, which soon broke out in the Crimea. The new Chan, Schahin Gheray, was devoted to the Russian empress, and trusting in her protection, imposed new burdens, violated established usages, and pretended to be greatly enamored of European culture. To diffuse this in all its lustre, (shall we be believed as we write ?) he formed the resolution of having the large French Encyclopedia translated into the Tartar language. His authority did not last long enough to execute his purpose ; and when Catharine was mistress of the destiny of the Tartars, in a better spirit of toleration, she had a beautiful edition of the Koran printed for the benefit of her Mahomedan subjects.

The Tartars revolted ; and refusing to continue their allegiance to Schahin Gheray, substituted Dewlet Gheray in his stead. The Russians had not yet withdrawn their troops ; the Turks, therefore, felt themselves justified in sending troops to Taman, to relieve those who were suffering for their religious faith. This served Russia as a pretext for hostilities ; and Prince Potemkin undertook the guidance of affairs. Blood and booty were the watchwords. Thousands of families were destroyed, or carried away into bondage in remote Russian provinces ; till finally the Chan and some of the royal tribe declared, 'that, convinced that happiness could be found only under the mild government of the empress, they submitted

themselves and their nation unconditionally and for ever to her authority.' On the eighth of April, 1783, the empress issued her manifesto, that for sundry reasons therein given, 'she had been induced to receive under her authority the peninsula of the Crimea, Kuban, and the island Taman. Her new subjects were exhorted to fidelity and obedience.' The oath of allegiance to the empress was administered; every refusal was punished with death. Thirty thousand were slaughtered at one time; and thus the opposition was soon done away. The Chan, who had betrayed his nation, received for three or at most for four years the payment of the pension, that had been promised him. When that ceased to be paid, he fled to Turkey, and was executed in the island of Rhodes.

As if nothing had happened, Catharine directly proposed a treaty of commerce and amity with Turkey; the members of the Turkish ministry were terrified or bribed, and a treaty was actually closed in June of the same year, of which treaty the conditions were in an unequal degree favorable to Russia. Hardly had this been effected, when she proceeded still further, and demanded of the Porte a recognition of her sovereignty over the Crimea; threatening war, and Austria joining her in the threat, if she received a refusal. The Porte yielded, and the river Kuban became the acknowledged boundary between the Turkish and Russian empires.

Thus Russia tore from the Porte a province, important as an outpost, but still more so as the granary of Constantinople, and as a resource in war, capable of furnishing excellent soldiers. This province was now of vast importance to Russia, for it afforded the means of conducting the most extensive commerce. Catharine and Potemkin both valued it chiefly as the preparation for further conquest. At the mouth of the Dneiper the empress caused a new city, Cherson, to be built, and over one of its gates the inscription was placed in the Greek tongue, 'This is the way to Constantinople.' The new conquests received their ancient name, the Tauric Chersonesus, and Potemkin, who had now obtained the appellation of the *Taurian*, assumed the charge of changing the Tartars into good Russian subjects. In the execution of his office he knew no purpose beyond gratifying his own rapacity and the vanity of the empress. Constitution, manners, and established customs were despised; justice was made a matter of purchase; the wealthy were plundered; many fled; many were driven into

other Russian provinces ; and foreigners were indiscriminately invited from all quarters. In former times the Tartar Chan had joined the Turkish army with fifty thousand well equipped horsemen ; and now, two years after the land had become an integral part of the Russian empire, the census of all the male inhabitants is said to have amounted to but seventeen thousand.

Thus far we have followed Dohm. Before leaving this subject, we cannot but call to mind the remarkable journey, which four years after, in 1787, Catharine made to this part of her dominions, and which resembled a continued triumphal procession. Potemkin wished to exhibit proofs of the rapid prosperity of the Chersonesus, and the newly acquired provinces. Palaces were, therefore, erected to be occupied but for a night ; signs of apparent prosperity and contentment were everywhere hung out for show ; towns were built and people assembled to play the part of inhabitants ; then the houses were left vacant, and the same people, having been carried forward by night, showed themselves on the next day, ready to act the same thing over on another spot. Music and dances were the order of the day ; the plains, over which the Tartars had so recently sped their coursers amidst the loneliness of rude nature and countries occupied by Nomades alone, now resounded with strange notes of revelry, and glittered with all the splendors of imperial magnificence. The deputies of a hundred subject nations stayed the steps of the triumphant conqueror, the new Semiramis, who was come to receive their homage. The king of Poland, too, made his appearance to gaze at the novel spectacle ; and Joseph the Second came all the way from his empire to see the show, and, remaining several days with the empress, the newly built city, Cherson, became gay and brilliant beyond imagination with the splendid *fêtes*, which were given in honor of his arrival. Never had the banks of the Borysthenes been made the scene of such a series of festivals. And here in the solitary city of the desert, intoxicated with triumph, viewing with contempt the withered energies of the Porte, and holding out greedy hands to seize on new diadems, the German emperor and the Russian czarina, perfected their scheme for the dissolution of the Turkish empire, and divided in anticipation their future conquests. This was in 1787. Suppose a prophet had appeared in the midst of their dazzling dreams and magnificent banquets, and

opened to them a glimpse of the coming age. He could have shown them how destiny would laugh their plans to scorn, and mark out a widely different fate for the countries, whose fortunes were the object of their deliberations. He could have shown them the imperial pride of Vienna humbled at the feet of a conqueror, and the crown of Germany cast aside among forgotten diadems; the lands of Austria diminished, and such as were left to her held, as it were, at the mercy of others; he could have shown them the palaces of Petersburg filled with terror, the Russian emperor disgraced by frequent defeats and injurious treaties, and finally, after years of anxiety, safety purchased only by sacrificing the ancient metropolis in the very heart of the country to the flames; while the empire, which their cupidity already declared their own, was, excepting for a short period in a remote province, safe from the terrors of war, and preserved its territory undiminished and its honor unimpaired, elevated in fearless security above the wrecks and ruins of the shattered system of Europe.

The interest belonging to the history of Russia, during the period when she assumed the rank of the first power of Europe, has induced us to give more attention to this period of Russian history. We return from considering the progress of Russian arms in the South and East, to give some details on a topic,* which is of immediate interest to the United States.

England entered upon the war with her colonies without allies. She demanded the assistance of Holland in pursuance of existing treaties. But assistance was refused on the ground that the case to which those treaties were applicable did not yet exist. From no nation could England hope more than from Prussia. It was known that Catharine the Second cherished a predilection for the English nation, and was decidedly averse to France. All insurrections of subjects against their rulers, were by her opposed from principle, and the suppression of them seemed the common cause of rulers. Hence the hope was conceived on the part of the English, that a treaty of alliance might be closed with her, binding her in the event to render them assistance. This subject was entrusted to Sir James Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, the British minister at St Petersburg, a diplomatist of extensive information and great activity. Panin, the chancellor of the Russian empire,

* Dohm. Vol. II. pp. 100-150.

knew the state of the country too well, its finances exhausted by the war with the Porte, to admit of participating in a dispute carried on in another hemisphere, perhaps to be followed by entangling connexions, and an injury to Russian commerce. Catharine herself was also disinclined to relinquish the free and independent station in which she found herself.

Harris, seeing little prospect of gaining his point in a direct way, endeavored to succeed by the influence of Potemkin, whom no means were spared to gain. An ambassador of a court concerned in the result, once observed to Count Panin, that he feared Potemkin was in the interests of England, as he had received of England fifty thousand rubles. Panin answered, smiling, 'Potemkin is not a man to be bought for so small a sum.' And in fact, on inquiry, it proved that he had had not so many rubles, but pounds sterling. By means of Potemkin, Harris proposed to Catharine directly an alliance with England for the reduction of the English colonies, promising in return the assistance of England in any further plans of Russia to subdue the Porte. But it belonged to the chancellor of the empire, from his office, to make an estimate of the tendency of such a proposition, and frame the proper answer to it. Drawing his arguments from the true interests of the Russian state, he demonstrated so clearly, that it was against the welfare of Russia to form such an alliance with England, that the empress was convinced, and the answer given, 'that while the most friendly dispositions were entertained towards England, the present time, when this power was engaged in war with several powers, was not a proper one for forming an alliance; Russia desired the restoration of peace; her threat of taking part in the war would but serve to extend and protract it.' Harris was in consternation at this answer; but he received in private from Potemkin, and it is said by some, from the empress herself, assurances of unchanged good will, and an expression of the hope that circumstances would soon admit of her conforming her actions to her wishes.

Accident seemed to favor the designs of the English ambassador. Two Russian vessels, laden with corn, and bound to the Mediterranean, were captured by Spanish privateers, under the pretence that they were intended to supply the fortress of Gibraltar. The empress was indignant; was bent on obtaining singular satisfaction, or, if refused, on avenging herself on Spain by declaring war, and so uniting with England.

These views she communicated to Count Panin ; but without consulting him, ordered a fleet to be fitted out at Cronstadt, which, in the event of an unsatisfactory answer from Spain, was to join the English. The English envoy was informed of it, and made haste to communicate the good news to his court. Potemkin triumphed in his imagined advantage, gained over the chancellor.

The fitting out of the fleet did not long remain concealed from Panin, nor was he in doubt as to its destination. But he determined nevertheless to carry his own views into effect. Far from appearing to oppose the designs of the empress, he declared, that he himself participated in her indignation at Spain, and approved her determination to require satisfaction for the injury done to the free commerce of her subjects and her insulted majesty. Nay, he would go further ; he would even exhort his sovereign to seize this opportunity of solemnly announcing to Europe, that the empress of Russia would in nowise suffer the wars waged between other powers to affect the trade of her subjects. She would promise strict justice on her part and neutrality to all, but would consider any one as an enemy, who should invade the commerce of her subjects while conducted within the limits of justice.

Principles so manifestly equitable, added Panin, will meet with universal approbation. The nations had long desired to see them adopted and maintained ; but had desired thus far in vain, as till now no monarch had been possessed at once of sufficient power, and wisdom, and philanthropy to carry them into execution. But these were now united in Catharine, and she had an opportunity of acquiring a new fame, of becoming a lawgiver for the high seas, and so affording property a security, and trade a freedom, such as they never had possessed. Nations would admire her for the mild energy, with which she set bounds to the horrors of war, and future generations acknowledge her as their benefactor.

Catharine was completely carried away by these representations. She laid her commands on Panin to prepare a statement of the principles he had developed, to be communicated to the belligerent powers, as the rules prescribed for her subjects ; at the same time to call on all neutral states to adopt them, and to carry them into effect with their united force.

And this was the origin of the famous armed neutrality, which established as a principle, that neutral ships may freely

navigate from port to port on the coasts of belligerents ; that free ships make free goods, excepting contraband articles ; that nothing is contraband but arms and military stores ; that no harbor can be considered as under blockade unless that harbor is in fact so effectually blockaded, that no vessel can safely enter it.

Thus a system, destined to become so conspicuous in the history of the world, and involving principles of such vast importance in the concerns of commerce, owed its origin to no enlarged conceptions of the maritime rights of nations, and to no wisdom having regard for the general interest and welfare of mankind ; but was the result of the cunning of a statesman, who contrived to give this direction to the vanity of his sovereign, and thus to extricate himself from the embarrassment in which he would otherwise have been placed. Thus, when the mysteries of diplomacy are explained, we find the greatest concerns of public life depending on the irritated pride of an individual.

The greatness of the idea which Panin proposed to the empress, consisted in providing a few distinct and clearly expressed rules for regulating the difficulties, which from time to time had arisen in conducting commerce in seasons of war ; and in uniting all nations for the maintenance of those rules. Even those nations, which were to be benefited the most by the security of the rights of neutrals, had been inconsistent in their demands ; and Holland, for example, had in times of war essentially violated and limited the rights, which in times of its own neutrality it was desirous of asserting in their greatest latitude. Between 1746 and 1750 many Prussian ships, or other property, had been taken by English privateers. Frederic the Second demanded satisfaction, and as this was obstinately refused, he erected at Berlin a tribunal, before which his subjects were commanded to state and establish their losses. Strict impartiality was enjoined ; and the decisions were regulated by existing contracts, or by public opinion on the acknowledged rights of nations. And then the king satisfied the demands of his subjects out of the debt formerly due to the English by Austria on security in Silesia, and assumed by Frederic in the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, by which Silesia was ceded to Prussia. In 1778 the Danish minister, Count Bernstorff, had proposed to the Swedish king, Gustavus the Third, an alliance for the mutual defence of free trade ;

and both had applied to the Russian empress for her coöperation, which was refused. Thus Panin has the merit, not of originally proclaiming the rights of nations as to free trade, but of having defined those rights in a few distinct propositions, and of having procured a union of many states for their acknowledgment and support.

The manifesto of the empress was delivered at the courts of London, Paris, and Madrid. She had no foreboding of the immense importance of the measure she had adopted, nor of the effect it would produce. So ignorant was she of commerce, that she flattered herself as having at once vindicated her honor and shown her strong regard for England. Panin took care not to undeceive her; and through fear of obstacles that might retard or ruin his scheme, he begged the empress would communicate on the subject with no one till the couriers were despatched. The empress promised and kept her word. But she could not refrain from confidentially saying to the English ambassador, that there would soon be delivered in her name to the belligerents a manifesto which would be completely satisfactory to England; and condescended even to give him leave to communicate thus much to his court. Sir James Harris hastened to communicate the joyous intelligence, and expectation was raised to the utmost. When, but a few days after, he learnt the true nature of the measures that had been taken, so directly opposed to the usurped authority of Great Britain, he could not but be anxious, lest he should be accused at home of inconceivable carelessness. The effect produced at London can hardly be described; the disappointment was proportionate to the intense expectation of great advantage. It was with difficulty that the English ministry could be induced to abstain from bitter reproaches, while the king replied to the manifesto by a cold assurance, that he should follow the treaties which existed between himself and Russia, and in following them no cause of complaint could be given to Russian subjects.

The courts of France and Spain, on the contrary, were filled with gladness. The satisfaction demanded was promptly given by Spain. The principles of the empress were extolled, and her own merits magnified. The empress began to understand the tendency of her measures, and, delighted with the glory which she had unconsciously acquired, she acknowledged the wisdom of Panin's counsel; gave her earnest attention to

the principles she had established ; and abandoned entirely the thought of an alliance with England.

The hope of fixing for ever the doctrine of maritime liberty now divided the thought of Catharine with her scheme for founding an oriental empire. She had the pleasure of finding other states advance to meet her in her design. None adopted her policy with more zeal than Gustavus the Third of Sweden, and in July, 1780, he announced to the belligerents his intention of strictly following the principles advanced by Catharine. Count Bernstorff, the minister of Denmark, was favorable to England, yet following the true policy which the interest of his country required, he also joined the alliance without delay.

It was now the policy of England, at least to prevent, if possible, the accession of Holland to the alliance of the Northern powers. The tardy mode of doing business in the republic delayed its decision till November ; but at last that decision was made, and envoys were already despatched to St Petersburg, when England, feeling that a war with Holland would be the less evil, made a sudden declaration of hostilities. Holland invoked the aid of the allied powers ; and Gustavus proposed a joint and earnest interference in behalf of the republic. England maintained, on the contrary, that Holland was a belligerent, and as such was incompetent to accede to an alliance of neutrals ; offered sundry causes, real or pretended, to justify its declaration of war, and finally succeeded in having the question between itself and the republic referred for consideration to the negotiations for a general peace, to be conducted under the auspices of Russia and Austria. We hardly need call to mind, that the republic suffered in this war a shock, from which it never recovered, and England would concede peace only on the sacrifice of valuable East India possessions.

The king of Prussia was invited by Panin to join the neutrality. At first he declined, partly because he did not wish to entangle himself in engagements in his old age, and partly because he was possessed of no maritime power. But afterwards, when Catharine wished to give a more imposing character to the system of neutrality by the addition of Prussia and Austria, Frederic was induced to join it. In the treaties with Austria, the act signed by the empress had no name but her own. It was the privilege of the German emperor, in all compacts with other European powers, to be the first to subscribe to each copy of the treaty ; Catha-

rine's vanity was saved by the exchange of papers, signed each by but one party. Finally the king of the two Sicilies and the queen of Portugal joined the alliance. Thus the Russian empress could glory in the recognition of her principles by all the larger neutral powers of Europe, that took part in commerce. One thing of importance was indeed wanting; that the belligerent nations themselves should adopt them in their treaties of peace. The wisdom of Gustavus prompted him to urge a common effort to obtain such an acknowledgment from France and England. But Catharine was at that time no longer guided by Panin, and the proposal was declined. She was content with the empty honor of *seeming*, in connexion with the German emperor, to have effected the restoration of peace. Every body knows, that the envoys of the two imperial courts exerted, in reality, not the least influence on the peace of 1783, and it was not till everything was settled, that they were invited to hear the treaties read and jointly to sign them.

It is said, that the Swedes derived the greatest advantages from the system of neutrality. They made their speculations with the most judgment and greatest activity. Next to theirs the prosperity of the Prussians and Danes was increased. The Austrian Netherlands, also, took advantage of their favorable situation, and much capital that had been idle was put to profitable use.

Such are the main points in the history of the armed neutrality. The honor of Russia would have been better established, had its rulers subsequently maintained the same principles with inflexible firmness and undeviating consistency.

The volumes of Dohm contain interesting accounts of Maria Theresa, and still more so of the personal character, foreign relations, and domestic policy of Joseph the Second. Our limits permit us to do nothing more than to refer to them.

The third volume contains a sketch of Joseph the Second's designs of aggrandizement by an exchange of the Netherlands with Bavaria. This design was defeated by Frederic, who, to assure the future tranquillity of the empire, formed an alliance among the German princes for the support and defence of the German constitution. Never was anything better conceived, or more happily executed. Without any effusion of blood, the designs of Austria were frustrated, and an opposition made, which was sufficient to baffle any future attempts of a

similar nature. The treaties between the German princes were finished and signed little more than a year before Frederic's death.

The last public treaty which Frederic ratified, was one negotiated at the Hague between the Prussian envoy, Von Thulemeyer, and our American plenipotentiaries, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson. In this treaty, the great principles of the armed neutrality are recognised, and, in case of war, both parties pledge themselves to fit out no privateers* for the purpose of plundering private property.

The fourth and fifth volumes of Dohm are occupied particularly with Frederic. The fifth contains an account of the chief works which relate to him, and their respective historical worth. The fourth is filled with a copious account of Frederic's character as a man and as a ruler. But fearing to prolong this article, we do not venture to describe his habits, or draw an estimate of his merits. Yet in leaving the subject, we must say, that the perusal of Dohm's work has compelled us to think highly of the qualities of Frederic. He was benevolent, and, except where duty demanded severity, mild and forgiving. He was a most laborious man, rising sometimes at two in the morning, and always finishing a good day's work, before most men had begun. The year was divided into regular parts, to each of which appropriate cares were assigned. So also the day was regularly divided; the first hours were given to business in his cabinet; then he attended the military exercises. At twelve he dined; at nine in the evening retired to rest. His pleasures were few and simple. Study, conversation, music, and the enjoyment of nature were all. When young, he danced very gracefully. He was also fond of the theatre. He did not like the chase; and laughed at the idea that a hunt furnishes an image of war. He rejected the use of cards, as an unworthy waste of time. He always gave some of the day to reading. The society of his wife he never enjoyed; she spent her time in writing or translating books of devotion.

There are two great points, which made Frederic's reign important to the world. Though he was himself not scrupulous about seizing what he could get, he still rescued the liberties of Germany from imminent danger, and preserved

* See 'America,' &c. pp. 264-267.

Bavaria in the list of independent sovereignties. And though he had himself no faith in immortality, and hardly knew that there is a God, he yet was an instrument in the hands of Providence for upholding the Protestant religion on the continent of Europe. Had he not succeeded in raising Prussia into the number of the great powers of Europe, the Roman Catholic faith would have been predominant in every important state from Lisbon to Warsaw, and the reformation have been left without any strong defence in the very land of Luther.

ART. II.—1. *The Law of Infancy and Coverture.* By PEREGRINE BINGHAM, of the Middle Temple. First American Edition. 8vo. pp. 367. Exeter. 1824.

2. *Traité du Contrat de Mariage, de la Puissance du Mari, du Contrat de la Communauté, et du Douaire.* Par POTHIER. 4 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1821.

POETS have sung the praises of woman, throughout all ages, in strains of admiring enthusiasm, strikingly contrasted with the actual condition of the female sex. They have painted her in the brilliant coloring of love; and then raised the matchless creation of their fancy to an elevation in the ranks of life as ideal as it is exalted. Chivalrous devotion to the cause of beauty, humble adoration of the charms of person and tenderness of heart that belong to the gentle soother of human adversities, are the favorite themes of inspiration in the ardent season of youthful passion. We place her so high,

It were all one
That we should love a bright particular star,
And think to wed it.

But a spirit, alike destitute of manliness and of gallantry, has too often presided over the formation of the laws, which fix the rights and obligations of woman in the social scheme. These have fluctuated in different countries, and at successive periods of human history, according to the varying combinations of causes by which national character is governed.

Inquire among barbarous tribes, who earn a scanty subsist-

ence by hunting or fishing, or among nomadic nations, who range over extensive regions with their flocks and herds in primeval freedom, and you find that man arrogates to himself all the nobler pursuits of ambition, whilst woman is degraded too frequently to the level of a domestic drudge, or made the overtasked bondwoman of her selfish lord. War, with all its invigorating perils and its heart-stirring glory, is his ; the chase, that mimic picture of war, is his ; to mould infant states into the elements and proportion of greatness, to control the destinies of empire, is his ; while in such uncivilized conditions of society, hers are the tamer duties of home at best, and oftentimes the severer labors of the field, which none but a savage would impose upon the gentler sex. Ascend one step higher in the scale of civilization, and follow woman amid the dazzling splendors of oriental luxury, and there you find she ministers more essentially to the refined happiness of man ; but it is only as the purchased or favored companion of his hours of softness, not as the intellectual being, who is man's equal in all the best properties of his nature, his superior in some, and beneath him in nothing but those robust features of understanding and sterner qualities of character, which seldom, in the same person, harmonize with the kindlier affections of the soul. Nowhere, but in the fortunate countries which enjoy the blessing of European refinement, does woman approach in condition to that just equality with the other sex, which the sober and rational pursuit of their common felicity requires she should possess, which in the mere contest of physical strength she probably might never attain, but which man is proud to concede and woman to receive at his hands, where both the gift and its acceptance are alike honorable to humanity.

Yet even there, either man has been accustomed to profess more consideration for the rights of woman than he truly felt, or the execution of his purposes has lagged behind the intention. There is a pleasure which the polished Athenian, with all his epicureanism of taste, had but imperfectly learned, that of frequenting and rightly appreciating the society of the other sex, educated to as high a degree of intellectual culture as himself, and accomplished alike to move in her appropriate sphere of dignity and usefulness. Roman austerity was too near akin to unsocial rudeness, at least in the days of the republic, Roman courage too fond of camps, conquest, and free quarters, Roman ambition of too exclusive and selfish a char-

acter, to admit woman to the elevation by the side of man, which is the surest evidence of genuine public refinement. The examples to which we shall presently refer, of highly educated Roman matrons, constituted the exceptions and not the general rule. Nay, in communities over which the benign influences of christianity have fallen, which boast that they are imbued with the spirit of chivalry, whereof gallantry towards the sex was a main ingredient, in the fortunate nations of modern Europe and their more fortunate offshoots in the New World, it is most true that the exalted standing of women grows out of the manners, temper, usages, and unwritten institutions of the people, rather than the established laws of the land. In countries that derive their laws from the civil code, woman retains many valuable rights of property in the married state, but elsewhere her legal condition during coverture is defined by the simple and comprehensive, because despotic rule, of the complete merger of her rights, whether relating to person or property, in those of her husband. Exceptions to this will be stated in their proper place; but according to the significant phraseology of our law, she is only his *feme* or wife, but he is her *baron* or lord.

We do not propose to ourselves, in the remarks which are to follow, to set up for the female sex any extravagant standard of legal privilege, nor to lay lance in rest for the support of quixotic pretensions, in her behalf, to political or municipal rights adverse to those of the male sex. The constitution of nature, ordained by no human conventions, recorded in no fundamental charter of government or petition of rights, but written over the face of the universe, and stamped indelibly upon the very organization of our race, has, we conceive, settled the question, whether the female sex should exercise political franchises equally with man. As the nominal head of a monarchy, the empire of woman has in many signal cases proved highly auspicious. But this fact rests upon principles of its own. It will not answer to infer that the troubled arena of politics or of war best befits the refined character of woman, her gentle virtues, or the blended intellectual, moral, and personal beauty, which holds the stronger sex in bondage. We must take our election. Give to woman

Ogni virtute,
Ogni bellezza, ogni real costume,
Giunti in un corpo con mirabil tempore ;

and still it will be impossible to unite, in the same individual, the feminine loveliness of Venus with the manly limbs and rough-hewn sinews of Aleides. Nature, therefore, has clearly indicated the orbit, in which either sex should revolve; and were they to cross each other's paths, confusion and disorder would inevitably ensue to punish their rash eccentricity. We do not esteem it any hardship, as some have done, that the property of an unmarried female is taxed without being represented. The maxim, that taxation and representation should go hand and hand, is most salutary; but no general maxim in morals is free from exception or qualification. Taxation procures for property the protection of the body politic; and neither the alien-friend who claims the safeguard of our laws, nor the unmarried female, nor the minor, whose estate the government guaranties against domestic pillage and hostile invasion, has just cause to complain of exclusion from elective privileges. Disclaiming, therefore, in the outset, any design to call in question the great principles of social compact, whose truth the experience of all the world confirms, we proceed only to call the attention of our readers to such peculiarities in the legal condition of woman as may lead to instructive conclusions. It is not the institutions of an Amazonian republic, in the regions of fable or in some Utopia of our own, that we seek to commend; but we shall speak of man as we find him, or as we may hope, without falling into Condorcet's vision of perfectibility, he shall one day become.

It would be highly agreeable to examine the legal condition of women among the ancient Greeks; but to avoid prolixity or distraction of views, we shall commence with inquiring into her duties and rights by the civil law. At Rome, the condition of the female sex, in the time of the kings and the early consuls, was purely domestic; and the sole aim of her education was to fit her for superintending the interior economy of her family, and instructing her own daughters in the arts of household industry. It was made a condition of peace, on the conclusion of the war occasioned by the rape of the Sabine virgins, that the Romans should not exact any labor from their new wives except spinning. (*Plutarch. Romulus.*) Caia Cæcilia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was celebrated for her skill in the art; whence her name was borne by the bride in the marriage ceremonies. (*Plin. viii. 48.*) Other portions of the solemnity had a similar allusion; thus handmaidens followed the bride,

bearing a distaff, with a spindle and wool, intimating that such was the appropriate occupation of the Roman matron. Hence the frequent allusion in the poets to this primitive branch of female industry (*Æneid*, viii. 408 and ix. 488, and *Ovid. Fast.* ii. 741); and hence, the old writer, while enumerating the qualities of a good wife, to *probity, beauty, fidelity, and chastity*, added *lanificæ manus*, skill in spinning and weaving wool. And although Suetonius (*August.* 73) relates that Augustus seldom wore anything for his domestic garb but of the manufacture of his wife, daughter, and the other ladies of his household; yet Columella laments, as a proof of the degeneracy of matrons in his day, *ut ne lanificii quidem curam dignentur*, that they disdained even the care of the spindle and distaff. He commends the matrons of the olden time, who assumed the whole charge of domestic affairs, and by their assiduity and activity at home, endeavored to equal and second the laborious industry of their husbands abroad; and however preëminent for beauty, aspired to no distinction, were ambitious of no merit, but that of superiority in the thrifty arts of housewifery.

In this period of Rome's frugal simplicity it was, when man deemed his *consort*, the partner of his life, worthy of no higher employments or enjoyments than handicraft labor, that the ancient law conferred on a husband immense power over the person of his wife. He might exercise, in short, the *patria potestas*, the tyrannical paternal power, which extended, in its original severity, to life and limb, in the government of his wife as well as of his children and household. (*Brown's Civ. L.* i. 85.) Tacitus records a remarkable instance in which this power was exercised at a late period. We copy it in his words. In the reign of Nero, Pomponia Græcina, a woman of rank, being married to Plautius, who enjoyed the honor of an ovation for his victories in Britain, being afterwards accused of *foreign superstition*, was consigned to the judgment of her husband; and he, *after the ancient usage*, in the presence of their relations, took cognizance of the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. (*Tac. Annal.* xiii. 32.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the elder Pliny affirm, that for grievous crimes he might inflict death upon her (*Dionys.* ii. 25, *Plin.* xiv. 13); and of course he had authority to subject her to corporal punishment for lesser offences. Out of such barbarous usages sprung the position of the old Roman law, which permitted a husband to chastise his wife with the same instru-

ments of punishment that he applied to his slave ; *flagellis et fustibus acriter uxorem verberare*. Having reference to the same point, is the saying of Cato the Censor, that he who struck his wife or child, laid his sacrilegious hand on the most sacred things in the world. But all these things are exploded severities, which the civil law in the days of its perfection justly condemned. For the least violence done to the person of a wife by her husband, having regard to the condition of the parties, entitled her to a separate maintenance. The civilians hold, that among persons of respectable condition, the slightest blow given by a husband to his wife, unless occasioned by very gross provocation, and even continued ill usage without being carried to the excess of personal violence, is good cause for granting her a divorce from bed and board. (*Poth. Con. de Mar.* 492.)

The civil law also authorizes the husband to require the society of his wife, and to exert such control over her person as may be necessary for the attainment of that object. It gives him a right of action against any person who entices her from him and with whom she takes refuge ; and process against her to compel her to return to his abode. (See *Code Napol.* 214.) In opposition to this she can urge no objection, except such as may be good cause of separate maintenance or of divorce. The modern writers on the civil law elucidate this point by various cases. Thus, it is said, the wife cannot allege, as sufficient reason for leaving his house, that the atmosphere of the place is injurious to her health, or calculated to engender infectious distempers. But she is not obliged to follow him if he removes from their common country ; for her obligation to her country is holden to be paramount, and although he may choose to abandon it, he cannot compel his wife to imitate his abjuration. Such are among the principal modifications, to which the right of a husband over the person of his wife is subject by the civil law. The rights of property we shall consider in the sequel ; but what we have already said is sufficient to show how ill founded is the exultation of Blackstone at the cruelty in this respect, which he charges upon the laws of Rome. (1 *Com.* 445.) It is one of those disingenuous reflections, which he throws out against the civilians on several occasions, generally when he is upon a weak point of the common law, to disguise which he seeks to create a diversion by bringing into view some alleged defect of the rival code.

Our readers are to remember that ultimately mere consent, without any outward ceremony whatever, constituted a valid marriage at Rome, as it does now in Scotland and several other countries of the civil law. It was only by a solemn marriage so called, that the *patria potestas*, with all its monstrous consequences, was conferred on a husband; and even then, if his wife had not been emancipated by her father, she remained under her father's power, not her husband's. (*Brown, C. L. i. 86.*) And while upon this point, we may observe, that, as a consequence of the marital authority of the husband over his wife, she, as the mother of his children, did not participate in his power over them, which was paternal merely, not parental. They were alike subject to the master of the family. (*D'Arnay, Hab. des Rom. 250.*) 'A fiction of the law,' says Gibbon, 'neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family the strange character of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her own husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power.' (*Rom. Emp. ch. 44.*) A solemn marriage among the Romans was effected in three ways; 1. By prescription, when a woman, having the consent of her parents, went to her husband's house with intent to contract matrimony, and lived with him uninterruptedly one full year; 2. By confarreation, when the parties partook of sacrifices, and eat in communion from a consecrated wafer; and 3. By cœmption, which was a supposed mutual purchase, each delivering to the other a small piece of money, and repeating certain set words of contract. (*Heinec. Antiq. Roman. l. 1. t. 10.*) When thus married, the bride was said to come into the hands of her husband. (*Taylor, Civ. L. 283.*) She thereby resigned to him all her goods, and gave him full power over her person, acknowledging him for lord and master. She became his *consort* for life, the partner of all his rights, civil and sacred; and if he died intestate, she inherited his estate equally with his children, and if he left no children, she was his sole heir. Indeed so many important legal effects followed a solemn marriage, when celebrated with appropriate rites, that these, making no part of its essence, nor being requisite to render the contract complete, gradually fell into desuetude, as the increasing wealth of the city caused the rights of property to be more complicated, and foreign conquests introduced greater refinement of manners. Marriage by consent, a mere civil contract, supplied the place of the ancient religious ceremonies.

After the Romans had carried their arms out of Italy, when a taste for science and the arts began to gain ground in the republic, the education of woman was no longer confined to the humble sphere of household cares. Ladies of rank and fortune became ambitious to acquire the charms of mind as well as person; literature ceased to be cultivated by the male sex alone; and woman sought to drink at the same fount that inspired the world of poets, philosophers, and orators around her. Cicero commemorates several Roman ladies of his age, remarkable for highly finished education. The two Gracchi, as distinguished by their eloquence as their tragic destiny, were taught the graces of speech, by which they reigned in the assemblies of the people, under the tuition of Cornelia, who was a model of purity in the use of her native language. (*Plutarch. Tib. Gracchus, Cic. Brut. c. 58.*) And Tacitus, or whoever else was the author of the beautiful dialogue on oratory, places alongside the example of Cornelia, that of Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, and of Atia, the mother of Augustus, who presided over the education of those future masters of the world. (*De Orat. c. 28.*) Appian preserves the speech of Hortensia, daughter of Tully's rival in the forum, who, when the triumvirs required an arbitrary and forced contribution from fourteen hundred ladies of rank, in order to raise levies against Brutus and Cassius, boldly pleaded the cause of herself and her companions before the tribunal, to which the oppressed people dared not to lift their eyes. (*Appian. Civil. l. 4, ed. pr. Steph. p. 310.*) Cicero was on terms of close intimacy with a lady named Cærellia, famous for her literary taste. (*Epist. Attic. xiii. 21.*) He applauds the elegant latinity of Lælia, daughter of C. Lælius, and her two daughters by Mucius Scævola the augur, one of whom married the orator L. Crassus, and had daughters, equally celebrated with the rest of their family for elegance of understanding and the judicious pursuit of letters. (*Cic. Brutus, c. 58.*)

The augmented consequence, which such examples of cultivated female taste conferred on the sex, could not fail to produce a melioration of the extreme rigor of the laws of marriage. A change for the better, as it would seem, must have taken place gradually, like most radical changes in the manners of a nation, and almost imperceptibly. It began by the disuse of the rites of confarreation, the most solemn form of marriage. At what precise period this happened, does

not clearly appear; but probably before the time of Cicero, because the orator, in his defence of L. Flaccus, alludes to marriage as contracted only by cœmption and by prescription. (*Cic. pro L. Flac. c. 34.*) The disuse, however, is distinctly averred in a remarkable passage of Tacitus. In the reign of Tiberius, a question arose concerning the choice of a *flamen dialis* in the place of Servius Maluginensis; and the emperor's rescript recommended some new provision upon the subject. 'According to the ancient usages,' said Cæsar, 'three patricians, born of parents married by confarreation, were to be nominated, and one of them must be chosen for *flamen dialis*; but the number of them was now greatly diminished, the rites of confarreation being obsolete, or observed by few. For this many causes might be assigned; a principal one being the inconsiderateness of either sex; but the ceremony itself was purposely avoided, on account of the embarrassments attending it.' 'The senate ought to provide a remedy either by a decree or law; just as Augustus had softened many of the barbarous forms of antiquity into the existing improved usages.' (*Tacit. Annal. iv. 16.*)

A Cato or Brutus might have replied, perhaps, had there been a Roman of the old republican stock alive to address the tyrant with free speech, that among those customs derived *ex horridâ illâ antiquitate*, which Augustus had discarded, the sacred bulwarks of liberty had fallen; and that the *præsens usus* which Tiberius applauded, was the arbitrary despotism of usurpers. But the mitigation of the *patria potestas* in the hands of a husband was not the less a benefit; nor the substitution of intellectual pursuits for the female sex in the place of mechanical ones, the less an improvement. If the ladies of Octavianus Cæsar's family wrought his garments in evidence of their skill, or as voluntary testimonials of their regard for the emperor, it might be well; but really our opinion of his taste and good sense would be greatly lowered, if we could believe that he exacted it in obedience to some of the primitive Roman notions of domestic economy. When the wealth of the city was such that a patrician would possess a vast family of slaves, to the number of hundreds, and in some cases of thousands (*Athenæus, vi. 20*), having in the comprehensive language of Tacitus, whole nations of either sex in his household (*Annal. iii. 53. xiv. 44*), educated to perform every duty therein except that of its head, it would be strangely preposterous if ingenuous

Roman matrons must waste their time upon the same housewifery accomplishments, that were in vogue when thatched cottages occupied the future site of the marble basilica of the Palatine.

To form a just idea, therefore, of the condition of women at Rome in respect of property, we must look to the law as understood in the latter years of the republic and the early ones of the empire. Considering marriage by consent as the established form, the civilians founded upon it the doctrine, that husband and wife might grant to and contract with each other, and mutually sue and be sued ; only it was provided, lest one party should ever be tempted to take ruinous advantage of the other's fondness, and affection become the dupe of art, that gifts between them without a valuable consideration were void. To prevent either from injuring the other's property, the contracts of the husband were inoperative upon the wife, as hers were upon him, and they were wholly unconnected in their agreements with a third person. Hence a wife might sue or be sued separate from her husband ; and although he was obliged to maintain her, yet if he failed to do this, it only gave her a right to sue him for alimony, but did not subject him to liability for debts of her contracting. (*Brown, Civ. L. 82.*)

In order to understand the legal state of a wife's property during marriage, it must be premised, that her estate was divided into two portions, namely, *bona dotalitia*, and *bona paraphernalia* ; the first being, properly speaking, her marriage portion or dowry, the second being any property over and beside her dowry, and not confined, as with us, merely to wearing apparel, jewels, and the like. Property included in the latter denomination, whatever its quantity or quality, was absolutely at her free disposal, to be used or aliened by her at pleasure, without her husband's consent or authority. It was otherwise with the dowry, when no special agreement had been made concerning it. The marriage operated a transfer to the husband of all the *bona dotalitia*, conferring upon him a qualified property therein, subject to his wife's right of restitution if she survived him, or on the dissolution of the marriage during their lives.

According to Pothier's view of the matter, which seems to us rather artificial, she was not proprietor of the dowry during marriage, but only creditor of her husband for its restitution ; on account of which right of restitution it is, he says, that the

texts of the law call it her property and patrimony. (*Puissance du Mari*, 710.) But it is evident, from consideration of the fact, that it was far more proper to call her the owner. No part of it survived to the husband by law, even if there were children by the marriage. If it consisted of immoveables, he received the rents and profits, in consideration of his supporting the charge of the marriage state; but he could alienate no part of the capital (*fundus dotalis*) without her consent, nor bind it with her consent. If the dowry consisted of moveables, he was permitted, for the interests of commerce and because of the necessity of disposing of perishable articles, to alienate them; but he was bound to make good the value; and to assure her of this, he gave security by the *donatio propter nuptias* out of his own property, for the restitution of her fortune, or an equivalent for it, on the dissolution of the marriage. This security he could neither alienate nor mortgage, even with her consent, unless in certain specified cases of extreme necessity, or by providing an equivalent. In addition to this she had a general lien upon all his property to the amount of her dowry, and was entitled to preference over all other incumbrances, even those of prior date. If he became insolvent or embarrassed in circumstances, she might take possession of her portion or the security, or bring her action for it. (1 *Brown's Civ. L.* 266).

Now these rules we conceive to be, in the main, most equitable and just. From this encomium we should except, perhaps, only a single thing, the provision, namely, preferring the wife's claim to those anterior in date; which seems to us injurious to the rights of *bonâ fide* creditors. How different our own law is in every respect, will appear in the sequel. But the foregoing principles are acknowledged in all countries whereof the jurisprudence is founded upon the civil law, subject to greater or less modifications, introduced by the barbarian conquerors of the empire, by the christian clergy, or by changes incident to the lapse of time. Take the old customary of Paris for an example. The law distinguished the wife's property into her private estate, and estate held in community, which is the technical term for the species of partnership in effects created between husband and wife by the marriage. He had entire control over the goods of the community, so long as it lasted, with the right to dispose of them without his wife's interposition. But she and her heirs became creditors of the community

to the amount of her contribution, having a lien therefor upon all the specific effects in the hands of the husband or his heirs at the dissolution of the marriage. The private property of the wife, so called, consisted of immoveables, or estate having the nature of a perpetuity, and such moveables as by the marriage contract should be expressly excluded from the community. Over all this, a husband possessed certain rights of bailment and administration, comprised principally in three particulars. First, titles of honor, baronial rights, allegiance, feudal duties, and everything honorary attached to her private estate, belonged to him during the marriage. Secondly, he was entitled to receive all the rents and profits of her estate. Lastly, he had a right to administer and manage the property for their common advantage, including the power of making short leases. (*Poth. Puis. du M.* 2.) And more recently the *Code Napoleon* (L. iii. t. 5.) authorized parties to declare in a general manner, that they intended to be married either under the law of community or the law of dowry, that is, subject to the customary or the civil law, and provided specifically for the rights and duties which should flow from either alternative.

The relaxation of the primitive rigor of marital rights at Rome, favorable as it was to the pecuniary condition of woman, was unfortunately brought about by means, which introduced a pernicious facility of divorce. We say pernicious, because, notwithstanding the specious reasoning of Milton and some other writers who have maintained the contrary, it seems to be conceded by the soundest lawyers and moralists, that the experience of republican Rome and of republican France settles the dispute. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 197, 503; 1 *Haggard*, 36). The fluctuations which the Roman law underwent are remarkable. Originally, it may be supposed, when the paternal power existed in all its rigor, the husband might sell his wife as well as his children, or harshly expel her from his bed and house. (*Gibbon*, ch. 44.) Romulus permitted the liberty of divorce to the husband, if his wife violated the conjugal faith, used false keys, or drank wine without his knowledge. The right was denied to the wife; but if abused by the husband, he forfeited his goods, one half to his injured wife, and the other half to the goddess Ceres. (*Plutarch. Romulus*.) Divorce, it is supposed, was also sanctioned, and the privilege of it extended to both sexes, by the Twelve Tables. (*Cic. Philip.* ii. c. 28.) But, to the honor of Roman domestic

character be it said, no example occurs of the exercise of this privilege by a husband until the year 523 A. U. C., when Spurius Carvilius Ruga, remembered only for this act, repudiated a fair, a good, and, as our authors affirm, a beloved wife, because of her barrenness. (*A. Gellius*, iv. 3; *Val. Max.* ii. 1.) For this 'he was questioned by the censors,' to use the language of Gibbon, 'and hated by the people; but his divorce stood unimpeached in law.' But in process of time, the right was greatly abused, as passion, caprice, or interest suggested motives to the husband or the wife for the dissolution of their union.

A marriage contracted in the most solemn forms could be terminated by some corresponding solemnity; for confarreation, there was the opposite sacrament of diffarreation; and they who were united by mutual purchase could be separated by remancipation. And in later times, when marriage was merely a voluntary union by consent, it could be dissolved, like any other *community*, and by the slightest act, word, or writing, that distinctly signified the will of the parties. The marriage contract might be torn in the presence of witnesses, or the keys taken from the wife, or the words '*Res tuas tibi habeto*,' pronounced by a freedman, or despatched in a written message; and the most tender and solemn of human connexions was thus lightly thrown off at will. (*Adam's Rom. Antiq.* 511.) If the divorce was made without any fault of the wife's, she received back all her property; but if she was culpable, the husband retained part of her dowry, as a consideration for his remaining subject to provide for the support and education of their children; and if she was repudiated for infidelity, she was punished by the loss of all her dowry. (*D'Arnay*, 238.) Such a consequence might sometimes prove not unacceptable to a mercenary husband; and that entertaining old gossip, Plutarch, mentions one Tinnius, who married Fannia, a woman of notoriously bad character, and then divorced her, as it seems to have been suspected, out of speculation, in order to secure her dowry. (*Plut. Marius.*) When the exercise of the right of repudiation had grown less odious than at first, the facility of divorce gave rise to many cases of the deepest individual affliction. The great Æmilius Paulus divorced his wife Papiria, the mother of a family of heroes, without any assigned cause, or any reason whatever, which his friends could divine. (*Plutarch. Paulus.*) C. Sulpicius Gallus repudiated his wife because she appeared in public with her head uncovered. Sempro-

nus Sophus repudiated his, because she went to the theatre without his knowledge. Q. Antistius Vetus did the same, because his wife conversed in public with a woman of low condition. (*Val. Max.* vi. 3, no. 10, 11, 12.) Julius Cæsar divorced his third wife, Pompeia, the niece of Sylla, because Clodius gained admission into her house, in the disguise of a female musician, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the Bona Dea; yet, when questioned on the subject, he admitted that he did not believe Pompeia to be guilty, but that Cæsar's wife must not even be suspected. (*Plutarch. Cæsar; Sueton. Jul.* 6.) Cicero divorced his wife Terentia, at the close of the civil war, after living with her more than thirty years, alleging that her temper was overbearing, and that she had deranged his domestic affairs by want of economy. Ere long, however, he married Publilia, a young heiress of whom he was guardian, as Terentia said, on account of her beauty; but his freedman, Tyro, affirmed that it was because of her wealth, which he needed to discharge his debts. But after he lost his daughter Tulliola, Cicero repudiated his new bride, because he thought she rejoiced at Tulliola's death. (*Plutarch. Cic.*) Augustus separated from his wife Scribonia, either for her bad character, or because she complained too much of his own infidelity, and then compelled Tib. Claudius Nero to repudiate his wife Livia, although with child at the time, in order to marry her himself. (*Stem. Cæs. ad fin. Tac.* no. 45, 66.) Considering all the facts, too much censure, we conceive, has been cast upon the younger Cato for surrendering his wife, Marcia, to his friend Q. Hortensius. Cato regularly repudiated his wife, and she was regularly married to Hortensius; there being nothing peculiar in the case, except that he repudiated her for this very purpose. (*Kennet*, 319.) After the death of Hortensius, Marcia was again married to Cato. These examples might be multiplied to a great extent; but we have deemed it enough to select a few cases by way of illustration, either remarkable in themselves, or on account of the individuals principally concerned.

The instances we have given are all of repudiation by the husband; but women did not fail to avail themselves of the privilege. We have a parallel even for the case of Paulus Æmilius; for Cælius, in one of his letters to Cicero, tells him, among other news of the day, that Paula Valeria, the sister of Triarius, had seen fit to repudiate her husband without any

particular reason, upon the very day of his return from the province ; and was now about to marry D. Brutus. (*Epist. ad Div.* viii. 7.) Seneca sarcastically observes, that many women, in his day, counted the years, not by the number of consuls, but of their husbands (*De Benefic.* iii. 16) ; and Juvenal alludes to the same state of manners in his satires (*Sat.* vi. 20). Yet it never became reputable for women, whether divorced or widows, to have several husbands. We read in Propertius of a lady, who prided herself that she had been *uni nupta*, 'married to but one husband,' and desired to have it engraven upon her monument. And *univira*, 'once married,' is found in many ancient inscriptions as an epithet of honor. None, who married a second time, were permitted to officiate at the annual sacred rights of Female Fortune. Yet examples were not rare of ladies of rank and character, repeatedly married. Fulvia, the imperious wife of Antony, had been previously married, first to Clodius, and afterwards to Curio. Terentia, after being divorced by Cicero, married his enemy, Sallust, and had Messala for her third husband. Nay, Dio relates that Vibius Rufus, who was consul in the reign of Tiberius, boasted of possessing two things, which belonged to the greatest men of the preceding age, namely, the wife of Cicero, and the chair in which Cæsar sat when he was assassinated. Tulliola, scarcely a year after the death of C. Piso, was wedded to M. Furius Crassipes ; and being soon afterwards repudiated by him, was married the third time, to Cn. Dolabella, whom she quitted on account of his bad temper. Indeed, without citing these particular instances, it is evident that second marriages were frequent, since otherwise it would not have been deemed so honorable to live in widowhood ; for public respect is apt to follow those acts, which are less common, and, which, indicating superior exertion or superior self-denial, therefore attract the greater applause. (*D'Arnay*, 239.)

It should be added that the Romans, with all their licentiousness and laxity of manners, never sanctioned polygamy, except for a short time in the reign of Valentinian the First, who, wishing to marry a second wife himself, made the right universal. But the practice did not generally obtain, and the old prohibitory laws were revived by Justinian in compiling the Code and Digest. Plutarch, indeed, considers Antony as having violated the principle, and married two wives at the same time, Octavia and Cleopatra ; but as by the laws of Rome a legal mar-

riage could be contracted only between free citizens, Cleopatra was not, and could not be married to Antony (*Taylor, C. L.* 345), nor Berenice, queen though she was, be the wife of Titus (*Gibbon, ch. 44*). Well aware of the injurious consequences attending the extreme facility of divorce, Augustus attempted various expedients for checking and chastising its license, none of which proved very efficacious. The prevalence of celibacy in Rome at this period has been ascribed partly to the fact, that freedom of divorce was less favorable to males than females, because it left the former burthened with all the children who sprung from the marriage. To remedy the evil, Augustus passed the famous law *Papia-Poppæa*, imposing various disabilities upon the unmarried, and conferring correspondent advantages upon the father of a family. So earnest was the emperor in the promotion of this object, that he gave Hortensius a sum of money to enable him to marry according to his condition, and prevent the extinction of the illustrious family of the Hortensii; a case strongly contrasted with that of a nobleman in England, George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, who was degraded from the peerage in the reign of Edward the Fourth, by act of parliament, on account of his poverty. When the christian religion had gained a permanent footing in the empire, a struggle ensued between religious principle, which tended to restrict, and the customs of the country, which continued to protect, divorces by consent, until long after the time of Justinian. (*Gibbon, ch. 44; Poth. Con. de Mar.* 436.) But with the declining power of the western emperors, a new jurisprudence on this subject arose, more compatible with the dignity and purity of the matrimonial connexion. Marriage again resumed, in the countries of the civil law as well as elsewhere, the sanctity which originally attached to the contract, without which everything most venerable and most to be cherished in domestic life would fall a sacrifice to irregular passion. It is not probable that any nation will soon renew the experiment, which was tried in France during the revolution, when marriage was again reduced to a union so loose and transitory, that it was justly described as 'the sacrament of adultery.' (*Scott's Napoleon, I.* 240.) The Code Napoleon (*No. 275 et seq.*) checked, indeed, the unlimited freedom of divorce, by throwing obstacles in the way of separation by consent, but still suffered it to take place, if the parties persisted in desiring it. (*4 Johns. Ch. R.* 194.)

Preparatory to entering upon a detailed explanation of the rights of woman by our own law, it is proper to state the general principle, on which all the particular doctrines are founded. This cannot be put in stronger language, nor in terms more to our purpose, than Sir William Blackstone uses. 'By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law, that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law French a *feme covert*; is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron*, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture*. Upon this principle, of a union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquires by the marriage.' (1 *Com.* 442.) If any confirmation of the legal correctness of the illiberal doctrine laid down in the foregoing extract were needed, it might be derived from a comparison of the condition of a married woman with the nearest analogous case, that of a person under age.

Various disabilities attach to the condition of minority. Infants, that is, persons under age, are supposed to be destitute of sufficient understanding to contract. The law therefore protects their weakness and imbecility, so far as to allow them to avoid all their contracts, by which they may be injured; but in favor of infants, they are bound by all reasonable contracts for their maintenance and education, and also by all acts, which they are obliged by law to do. (6 *Mass. Rep.* 78.) For the most part, their bargains are not void, but voidable only; which they may rescind or ratify at their election on their arriving at full age. They may ratify the agreement, if they think it for their advantage, and rescind it if it was inexpedient. But the disabilities incident to a married woman are not designed for her benefit and protection; but for the security of her husband. Hence her contracts are not voidable merely, upon a given contingency, or at the election of her husband, but with few exceptions, they are absolutely void; and this simply on the ground of the suspension of her legal existence during the coverture. For this monstrous doctrine of our law no better reason can be assigned, we imagine, than Bingham alleges, namely, the right of the stronger. (*Coverture*, 182.) It is sanctioned neither by justice, nor public policy, nor the exi-

gencies of social life. On the contrary, it is a principle, whose antiquity is its only commendation, and which, in its operation, has involved the courts in continual embarrassment.

It is unjust, because it throws the wife and her property entirely into the hands of her husband, and leads to acts of oppression on his part, and of suffering on hers, as numerous as they are remediless. It is idle to apprehend, that to allow her any separate and independent rights would occasion domestic dissension, or impair that reasonable preëminence, which ought to belong to the master of the family. The experience of the great body of the civilized nations of Europe demonstrates the reverse. The knowledge possessed by both parties, that each retained valuable rights, notwithstanding the union of persons, would necessarily promote mutual forbearance and respect. It is not enough to say, that because man has more experience of the world, greater knowledge of and aptitude for business, therefore woman should be deprived of legal existence. All the advantage of his superior skill is attainable by allowing him the government of his family, and the administration of all the property belonging to him and his wife. That the extent of her disability is against public policy, and contradicted by the exigencies of society, clearly appears; because, for three centuries past, the law in this respect has been constantly making progress from the barbarous severity of its original institution into an improved state, more consonant with the complicated relations of property at the present day, and with the refined opinions and feelings of a lettered and cultivated age, in which woman has ceased to be the handmaiden, and has risen up to be the choicest companion of man. We have seen how the course of improvement in manners at Rome unloosed the rigorous bonds which fettered the condition of woman. In England and in our country, the melioration has been less considerable, either in fact or in theory; but legislative assemblies have occasionally done something; and the courts, obeying the necessity of the times, have done more, by moulding the plastic substance of the common law into such form and consistency as their discretion approved. Still, as a cursory review of female rights by our law will show, even with all the benefits derived to woman by the irregular interposition of the courts of chancery, her legal condition is honorable neither to the generosity nor to the good

sense of that sex, which alone exercises the right of establishing laws.

Whether these observations are well founded or not, will be ascertained from examination of the doctrines of the common law, as they are expounded in the books. The cases adjudged upon this subject cannot be more conveniently classed, than by discriminating between them as they relate, first, to the person, and, secondly, to the property, of individuals in the married state.

To begin, then, with the relations in which woman is considered *criminaliter*. By the common law, it is no higher crime for a husband to kill his wife, than if he killed a stranger; but if the wife murders her husband, it is considered a more atrocious act. She is regarded not only as violating the restraints of humanity and the ties of conjugal affection, which would be equally true of the husband if he were the offending party; but, by help of an absurd fiction, she is further adjudged to have broken the *allegiance* which she owes to her lord, and to be guilty of the crime of treason. And for this offence she was liable, previous to the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, to the same punishment as if she had murdered the king, namely, to be burned alive; although petit treason, when committed by a man, as if the servant killed his master, was only punished by hanging. There is no question as to the legal principle of the difference; and it would be idle to attempt to disguise it. The murder of the baron by his feme was put upon precisely the same footing with the murder of the noble by his vassal, or of the bishop by a clergyman in his diocese; that is, of treachery to the person's liege lord and immediate sovereign. (4 *Bl. Com.*) And yet if we look to the true end and aim of all punishment, the prevention of crime, nothing is more absurd and mischievous. The husband is the stronger party; frequently he is bred to arms; more frequently still his profession or mode of life renders him familiar with deeds of violence. Under whatever system of laws, and in every country, the temper of the female sex is comparatively domestic, affectionate, and averse to cruelty; whilst the male sex are not unapt to lose their relish for the kindly charities of home in the stirring scenes of war, business, or politics, and are but too prone to acquire acerbity of feeling and harshness of character amid the stormy conflicts of life. Man bears the disappointments inseparable from our lot with less equanimity

than woman ; temptations to vicious excess, resentment, sickness, his failure in favorite plans, unforeseen obstacles in the path of life, the daily altercations to which he is subject in the world ; a hundred causes, from whose operation woman is altogether exempt, or which she meets with superior fortitude, all betray man into those occasional bursts of passion, which either precede or accompany the commission of violent crimes. Hence it is, that examples of the murder of the husband by his wife are extremely rare ; while, to the disgrace of human nature, the opposite case has but too often occurred. And the inference we consider to be most plain, that if either party in the married state should be punished more than the other, for a domestic murder, it ought to be, not the wife, as by the common law, but the misguided wretch, who raises his hand to take away the life of his defenceless companion. It is the wife, and not the husband, who needs the protection of the law.

Another curious difference between the conditions of the two sexes in criminal matters, by the common law, arose out of the immunities claimed of old in favor of the clergy. Originally it was held, that no man should be admitted to the privilege of clergy, that is, of exemption from trial and punishment by the lay tribunals, except such as actually bore the clerical habit and tonsure. But in those days of ignorance, the mere ability to read soon came to be regarded as sufficient evidence that the party was a *clerk* (*clericus*), and entitled him to the benefit of clergy. Afterwards, when the blessings of knowledge began to be more generally disseminated, and learning was no longer exclusively confined to the church, laymen as well as divines, gained admission to the privilege of clerkship, under certain modifications by statute, provided they were able to read. But women, being debarred by their sex from taking holy orders, were denied the benefit of clergy, however learned they might be ; and remained subject to capital punishment for the first offence in simple larceny, manslaughter, and other felonies ; although for the same offence, a man, who could read, was liable only to burning in the hand and a few months' imprisonment. However, in the reign of William and Mary, statutes were enacted, allowing women, guilty of any clergyable felony, to claim the benefit of the *statute*, in like manner as men might claim the benefit of *clergy*. (4 Bl. Com.)

The barbarous punishments, denounced by the common law against the crime of treason, are too well known to require recapitulation here. A part of the sentence, inflicting the most shocking outrages upon the body of the unhappy malefactor, was modified at an early period, in favor of women ; for, as decency forbade the exposing and publicly mangling of their bodies, their sentence was, to be drawn to the gallows and there burned alive. But let it be observed, that while the law, merciless as it seems to be, shrunk from the brutality of the ordinary punishment in one particular, it took care to be more severe in another, by way of compensation for this imperfect leaning towards humanity. For the male traitor was first hanged, then mangled and burned, and finally decapitated and quartered ; but the female was burned alive in the outset. (4 *Bl. Com.*) We shudder at the detail of these horrible cruelties, perpetrated in the abused name of justice. Happily some approaches to a better state of things have been forced upon parliament in later times ; since by the statute 30 George III, ch. 48, before cited, it is enacted, that females, convicted of treason, shall be merely condemned to be drawn and hanged ; and the milder character of penal jurisprudence in this country has preserved us from the degradation of legalizing such enormities.

As a corollary from the doctrine recognised by the common law, of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband, it was adjudged, in *Lister's case* (1 *Strange*, 478), that where a wife makes undue use of her liberty, either by squandering away her husband's property or by resorting to improper company, it is lawful for the husband, in order to preserve his honor and estate, to lay her under reasonable restraint. Nay, in *Hardyman's case* (2 *Str.* 875), where a husband declared his wife should neither sit at his table, nor have the government of his children, but be confined in a garret, by reason of her misconduct, Lord Raymond very cavalierly observed, that she deserved no better usage.

But although the husband may confine his wife, yet he may not imprison her. (*Prec. Chancery*, 492.) And if the parties are living apart, under articles of separation, the court will not permit the husband to seize the person of his wife ; as was decided in a case where the celebrated John Wilkes figured to little advantage. The report of the case is worth transcribing, as relating to a personage of so much importance in his day.

‘ KING’S BENCH, EASTER TERM, 31 GEO. II. }
Rez vs. Mary Mead. }

‘ A *habeas corpus* having issued in the last vacation, at the instance of John Wilkes, Esquire, to bring up the body of Mary Wilkes, wife of the said John Wilkes, and daughter of the said Mary Mead, before Mr Justice Dennison, Mrs Mead now brought her into court.

‘ The substance of the return was, that her husband, having used her very ill, in consideration of a great sum which she gave him out of her separate estate, consented to her living alone, executed articles of separation, and covenanted never to disturb her, or any person with whom she might live ; that she lived with her mother at her own earnest desire ; and that this writ of *habeas corpus* was taken out with a view of seizing her by force, or some other bad purpose.

‘ The Court held the agreement to be a formal renunciation, by the husband, of his marital right to seize her, or force her back to live with him. And they said, that any attempt of the husband to seize her by force and violence would be a breach of the peace. They also declared, that any attempt made by the husband to molest her, in her present return from Westminster Hall, would be a contempt of the Court ; and they told the lady, she was at full liberty to go where, and to whom she pleased.’ 1 *Burrow*, 542.

Thus much for one side of the question. But we nowhere discover that the courts of law authorize or countenance any attempt to make the right of restraint reciprocal. The disinterested makers of law take good care not to commit such a solecism. And yet far greater necessity exists for affording protection to the ‘ honor and estate ’ of the wife against the extravagance or the profligacy of her husband, than for the reverse. It is not in the power of a wife, to waste her husband’s property by lavish expenditure, without his consent ; nor, indeed, her own property either. Of his income or his capital she can obtain no more than he pleases to bestow ; and he is liable, as will be explained at large hereafter, for no debts of her contracting, except they be for necessaries. But he, on the other hand, can profusely squander away most of his own property, and most of hers beside, in riotous living, or risk it upon the throw of a die, or embark it in desperate speculations, in consequence of which she may be reduced instantaneously from affluence and ease to indigence and wretchedness.

Again, there is little danger that a wife will abandon her husband’s bosom, unless she be driven from it by ill usage, or

corrupted and seduced by some profligate friend, whom he himself domesticates at his fireside. And this, compared with the instances wherein a husband deserts his wife, is a rare case. She is bound to his house and his hearth by the nature of her duties, by the care of her children, by the laws of the land, and by the despotic usages of society, more imperative and imprescriptible by far than all the codes in the universe. Her functions are domestic; her education is domestic; her temper is domestic; the constitutions of Providence have made her domestic; her happiness, her pride, her glory, all that exalts her in estimation above the other sex, lies in the round of endearing charities, which enliven, bless, and purify the domestic circle. She may be drawn from it, for a season, to mingle in the amusements of the world, and the pleasures of general society, which occupy their appropriate place among the agents that form her character; but it is on home, that her affections must finally and chiefly rest. It is a principle too firmly implanted in her soul to be shaken by slight causes.

Not so with the other sex. Wherever a man's heart may be, his serious pursuits and regular occupations are abroad, in his counting-room, or his office, upon the exchange, or in the forum, or wherever else the calls of interest, ambition, or duty may demand his presence. His being is not so essentially domestic. It is always in his *power* to abandon his abode, if caprice or evil passions prompt him, without of necessity losing his claims to free admission in society, certainly without fatal prejudice to his means of subsistence and of enjoying life. It by no means follows, because he is a wanderer, that he is therefore miserable; nor because he is homeless, that he is therefore an outcast. His sex is to him a charter of freedom; and if he possess a few grains of the ingenious Quesnay's *poudre de prelinpinpin*, he bears the universal passport, the warranty of welcome in every land. Hence it happens, we believe, and the records of justice will make good our assertion, that for one wife, seduced from home, there are many husbands, who abandon it; and for a single case in which a husband is under the necessity of asking aid of the laws to reclaim his wife, very many occur in which the wife is consigned to more than the sorrows of widowhood by the desertion of her unfeeling husband.

Anciently, it was held in England, that a husband might inflict moderate chastisement on his wife for her domestic government,

subject to the same restrictions which applied to the right when exercised upon children or servants. (1 *Bl.* 444.) In Fitzherbert, there is the form of a writ of *supplicavit* for binding over the husband to security of the peace on account of his threatening his wife's life, or mutilation of her limbs. (*Fitz. N. B.* 80.) The writ commands the sheriff to see that the husband shall do no injury to the body of his wife, other than such as, for the purposes of domestic correction and government, may lawfully and reasonably appertain to a husband. (See *Moor*, 874; 2 *Johns. C. R.* 141.) But in Lord Lee's case, Sir Matthew Hale said, that *moderate castigation* in the register, was not meant of beating, but only of admonition and confinement to the house, in case of extravagance. (3 *Keble*, 433.) Therefore it is that Blackstone says; 'With us, in the politer reign of Charles the Second, this power began to be doubted; and a wife may now have security of the peace against her husband, or in return a husband against his wife. Yet the lower rank of people, *who were always fond of the old common law*, still claim and exert their ancient privilege.' (1 *Com.* 445.) If we are to judge of the excellence of 'the old common law' by this its adaptation to the vulgar feelings and habits of the most degraded members of the community, it would hardly seem deserving of much commendation. Indeed the remark instantly suggests the parallel case, in which Sir William's annotator declares that 'general terms of scurrility may be used with impunity, and are part of the rights and privileges of the vulgar.' (3 *Com.* 125, *Christ. note.*) To those only, we feel sure, who are lost to all sense of shame, would the privilege of striking a wife be now extended by the courts, either in England or America.

Indeed, this right was doubted much earlier than the reign of Charles the Second. For in Sir Thomas Seymor's case (*Moor*, 874, *more full in Godbolt*, 215), it is said; 'Cook, chief justice, held, that the husband could not give correction to his wife; but Nicols and Warburton, justices, held the contrary.' This opinion is creditable to the feelings of Sir Edward Coke; but true it is that the old authorities are against him. Bracton has the expression; 'There are some persons under the rod (*sub virgâ*), such as wives. (*Lib. i. c. 10, p. 2.*) And the well known opinion, respecting this point, pronounced at *nisi prius*, by Sir Francis Buller, a judge, as every lawyer must concede, whose character and talents adorned the bench, we imagine has been censured by many, who never entirely com-

prehended its import. He is reported to have sanctioned the doctrine of the husband's right of domestic chastisement; and when questioned as to the dimensions of the rod or thong with which it should be inflicted, to have assimilated it, with great simplicity and *bonhommie*, to the size of his own thumb; which gave occasion to the fair sex to express much very pardonable curiosity concerning the magnitude of that part of his lordship's hand. But the similitude itself is traced to the times of Bracton; who, tradition reports, was much more unfortunate than Sir Francis Buller, because the women of the town where he lived punished him for his disregard of their comfort by plunging him in a horsepond. (12 *Serg. & Raw.* 226.) The principle, stating the thing in a naked abstract shape, certainly is admitted by the law; and Sir Francis may have said so; but if the principle were put to the test by an actual case, we do not believe a court or jury would justify the battery of a wife by her husband much sooner, nor under much less aggravated circumstances, than if it were the opposite fact, of the battery of a husband by his wife. No judge or jury, we apprehend, could be found to outrage public opinion by lending their countenance to such violence on either side, unless in the contingency of some unhappy female of masculine character, in the deepest debasement of moral and social condition.

In the ecclesiastical courts in England many decisive cases on this point occur. Thus Sir William Scott says, the court will not interfere on account of ordinary domestic altercations, but that whenever 'words of menace' are proved, the wife may claim protection. (2 *Phil.* 111; 1 *Hag.* 458.) So like security is there extended to the husband (1 *Hag.* 409); and if a wife wilfully provokes her husband to violence, she loses all right of legal redress for it, unless his resentment was altogether disproportioned to her own misconduct. (2 *Phil.* 133; 1 *Hag.* 364.) But acts of domestic oppression much short of a blow, such as continued insult, indirect efforts to inflict distress, as by cruelty towards a child for the purpose of wounding the mother's feelings, and the like, afford, in strong cases, adequate ground for allowing a separate maintenance. (2 *Phil.* 207.) And we state this right of protection as being reciprocal by the principles of the law; because it undoubtedly is so in England, and the decision of Chancellor Kent to the contrary rests upon the particular terms of the statute of New York. (4 *Johns C. R.* 503.) And the last named eminent judge confirms the

position above stated that, although mere petulance, and rudeness, and sallies of passion, might not be sufficient, yet acts of perpetual violence, danger of life, limb, or health, or just apprehension of bodily hurt, will entitle the wife to the protection of the court. (4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 189.) But the judicious remarks of Sir William Scott, in a case in the Consistory Court, are particularly deserving of attention. He observes;

‘What merely wounds the mental feelings is in few cases to be admitted, where they are not accompanied with bodily injury, either actual or menaced. Mere austerity of temper, petulance of manners, rudeness of language, a want of civil attention and accommodation, even occasional sallies of passion, if they do not threaten bodily harm, do not amount to legal cruelty; they are high moral offences in the married state undoubtedly, not innocent surely in any state of life, but still they are not that cruelty, against which the law can relieve. Under such misconduct in either of the parties, for it may exist on the one side as well as on the other, the suffering party must bear in some degree the consequences of an injudicious connexion; must subdue by decent resistance or by prudent conciliation; and if this cannot be done, both must suffer in silence.’ ‘Still less is it cruelty, where it wounds not the natural feelings, but the acquired feelings arising from particular rank and situation;’ ‘of course, the denial of little indulgences and particular accommodations, which the delicacy of the world is apt to number amongst its necessities, is not cruelty.’ 1 *Haggard*, 38, *Evans vs. Evans*.

Whether it be that peers are more pugnacious at home than commoners, or that their domestic affairs are scrutinized and reported more faithfully, certain it is that many examples of their domestic tyranny have made their way into the books. Perhaps it may be because peers can be put under recognisance to keep the peace only by the courts of king’s bench or chancery. (4 *Bl. Com.* 251.) Among the examples of dishonorable notoriety are the cases of Lord Lee, the Marquess of Carmarthen, Lord George Howard, Lord Vane, the Earl of Stamford, Earl Ferrers, and Lady Strathmore. (1 *Hawk.* 255, *note*.) The case of Lawrence, Earl Ferrers, two years afterwards convicted of murder, and executed (*Foster*, 138), who frequently suffered himself to be betrayed into violent transports of passion, to the imminent peril of his lady, a sister of Sir William Meredith, is interesting in a legal point of view, as illustrative of the admirable juridical character of Lord Mansfield. Earl Ferrers had been commanded, by writ of *habeas corpus*

issuing from the king's bench, to bring up the body of his countess, on complaint of her friends; and the earl, disobeying a first and second writ, was at length compelled to appear by a peremptory writ of attachment. On that occasion the question was canvassed and settled, whether the king's bench could issue an attachment against a peer during the sitting of parliament for contempt of court only; and Lord Mansfield successfully maintained the affirmative, on the bench and in the House of Lords. When Earl Ferrers came to Westminster Hall, he sent a message to the chief justice, desiring to speak with him; but Lord Mansfield bid the messenger tell the earl, that when an affair was depending before the court, he could not speak with any body upon it *but in court*. Thereupon the parties came into court, Lady Ferrers having articles of the peace ready to exhibit. The earl then desiring to interrogate his lady, Lord Mansfield told her she was not obliged to answer any questions previous to swearing the peace; and the earl or his counsel, seeking to draw an answer from her by intimating that it might prove for her interest to reply, Lord Mansfield immediately said he had before told her she *need not* answer them; and now he would *not suffer* her to answer them; and the earl accordingly gave the security required without further delay. (1 *Burrow*, 631.)

Our ungallant fathers of the common law provided a peculiar punishment for common scolds, but carefully confined the crime and the punishment to scolds of the female sex. Scolds are defined in the books to be 'troublesome and angry women, who, by their brawling and wrangling amongst their neighbors, break the public peace, increase discord, and become a public nuisance to the neighborhood.' (*Tomlins' Jacob*, s. voc.) Our ancestors thought, perhaps, that men being indictable as common barrators or movers of suits and quarrels, and there being no precedent of such an indictment having fallen upon a woman (2 *Rolle's Rep.* 39), although Hawkins thinks there is no good cause why it should not lie (1 *P. C.* 525), therefore it was not amiss for the latter to be exclusively liable to punishment for scolding. The barrator is only subject to fine or imprisonment; but the scold was indictable as a common nuisance, and if convicted was sentenced to be placed on a certain engine of correction called a castigatory, trebucket, or cuckingstool, and after being exposed thereon to be plunged in the water. (4 *Com.* 168, 1 *Hawk.* 361, 365; *Toml. Jacob*, s. voc. *Castig.*)

Several cases are reported in England of questions arising on such prosecutions. The indictment is insufficient if she be merely charged as *communis calumniatrix* (2 *Strange*, 849), or as a *common brawler* (2 *Str.* 1246); it must use the technical phrase *rixatrix* or scold (6 *Modern*, 11); and must lay the scolding to be to the common nuisance of the neighborhood (2 *Hawk.* 325). In queen Anne's reign a poor woman, of the name of Foxby, had the misfortune to be indicted for this misdemeanor, but by resolutely standing upon her defence, fairly baffled her persecutors. Her case comes up no less than four times in a single book of law reports. Being convicted, she moved an arrest of judgment, because the indictment ran, that she was a common *calumniatrix* instead of *rixatrix*; and judgment was arrested. But when the exception was taken at Trinity term, Chief Justice Holt jocosely suggested to her, that 'it were better ducking in Trinity than in Michaelmas term.' She was again indicted, it would seem, as *communis rixa*; and this being held to be defective (*Ld. Raymond*, 1094), judgment of the court below was reversed upon writ of error in the king's bench. It was requisite that the error should be assigned by the party in person; and when she moved the court for permission to appear by attorney, on account of illness, the court refused it, but allowed further time for her appearance. The court said; 'Scolding once or twice is no great matter; for scolding alone is not the offence; but frequent repetition of it to the disturbance of the neighborhood makes it a nuisance, and as such it has always been punishable in the leet, and so indictable.' It is added; 'They enlarged the time till next term, to see how she would behave herself in the mean time; for Chief Justice Holt said, ducking would rather harden than cure her, and if she were once ducked, she would scold on all the days of her life.' (6 *Mod.* 11, 178, 213, 239.)

We are not aware, that this relic of ancient coarseness has been recognised in this country, as adhering to any of the American codes; and a recent English writer speaks of the punishment as being antiquated and almost obsolete. A case lately decided in Pennsylvania may be considered as furnishing a safe precedent for all the other states in the Union. The Court of Quarter Sessions for the county of Philadelphia, in October, 1824, convicted Nancy James of being a common scold, and in obedience to several precedents in the same court, but none later than 1782, sentenced her to the cuckingstool and

to be three times plunged in the water. Upon writ of error, brought in the Supreme Court, this tribunal had sufficient manliness to resist the attempt to revive the barbarous usage, and pronounced that the punishment itself had no legal existence in Pennsylvania. (12 *Serg. & Rawle*, 220.) In Massachusetts it is settled that this mode of correction, as singular and ludicrous as it is cruel, is incompatible with a provision of the constitution, which prohibits the infliction of all 'cruel and unusual punishments.' (*Davis's Justice*, p. 525.)

Generally, a *feme covert* is held to answer as much as if she were *sole*, or unmarried, for offences against the common law, or a statute, and may be separately punished for them by way of indictment; for this being a proceeding grounded on the infraction of a law, it would be unjust that her husband should be included in it for an act to which he is in nowise privy. Thus we have precedents of indictments against women for treason, murder, robbery, theft, burglary, forcible abduction, riot, assault and battery, trespass, slander, usury, and many other crimes, which it is needless to enumerate. But if a married woman incur the forfeiture of a penal statute, her husband may be made a party to the process, and shall be liable to answer for the penalty recovered. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 1, s. 13.)

But the doctrine of the legal subjection of a wife to her husband is brought to bear greatly to her advantage upon criminal matters. She is so far favored in respect of the power and authority which he has over her, that a *feme covert* shall not suffer punishment for larceny or burglary committed in company with, or by coercion of her husband. (*Kelyng*, 31.) Indeed, Blackstone lays down the principle much more broadly, saying that in such cases she is not punishable for theft, burglary, or other civil offences against the laws of society, she being considered as acting by compulsion, and not of her own will. (4 *Com.* 28; 10 *Mass. Rep.* 152.) But he afterwards subjoins, that the rule does not apply to crimes that are *mala in se*, for the perfectly satisfactory reason, that 'it would be unreasonable to screen an offender from the punishment due to natural crimes by the refinements and subordinations of society. But if she commit robbery in company with, or by coercion of her husband, she is punishable; and the reason assigned for punishing in this instance, and not doing so in that of burglary or larceny, is because in the latter case the wife is, by a

fiction of law, supposed not to know what property her husband may have in the goods clandestinely taken (10 *Mod.* 63), but in the former the presence of the true owner of the goods constituting the essence of the crime, she cannot but know in what right they are taken (1 *Hawk.* 4). For the same cause of her legal subjection to her husband, she is not deemed accessory to a felony, for sheltering her husband who has been guilty of it, as the husband shall be for receiving her; nor if she receive her husband, when he has committed treason, is she punishable as a principal in the crime, because being under his power, the law presumes she is constrained to receive him; neither is she affected by receiving jointly with her husband any other offender. (1 *Hawk.* 4.)

But if she commit a theft of her own voluntary act, or by the bare command of, and not in company with, or by coercion of, her husband, she is no longer protected. Nor shall the plea of coverture avail the wife, nor any presumption of the husband's coercion extenuate her guilt, if she commit treason, murder, or manslaughter; because of the enormity of the act in respect of all these crimes, and in respect of the first for the further reason, that the law will not suffer the husband to claim that obedience from his wife, which he himself as a subject or citizen has refused to pay. (4 *Com.* 29.) And at the present time courts are much more strict in requiring proof of the husband's coercion than formerly; and it may be doubted whether the mere presence of her husband would be considered to furnish more than a *prima facie* presumption of coercion. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 705.) Indeed, the practice seems to have been originally encouraged out of tenderness to her sex, and in order to evade the unjustifiable rigor of the law, which denied the benefit of clergy to the wife; for it would have been extremely odious, where a husband and wife had jointly committed the same felony, to execute the wife and dismiss the husband with a slight punishment. (*Christian's note*, 4 *Bl. Com.* 29; 2 *Stark. Ev.* 704.) Therefore, since the statute, extending the benefit of clergy to females, was enacted, it has been held, that nothing short of the actual presence of the husband, and his direct personal participation in the act, will excuse the wife. (2 *Starkie's Ev.* 581.)

Another distinction contained in the books is worthy of note for the singularity of its operation. As a husband and wife are considered but as one person in law, a *feme covert* cannot

be guilty of larceny by stealing her husband's goods ; because, say the lawyers, it is tantamount to a man's committing theft upon himself. Furthermore, the husband, by endowing the wife, at their marriage, with all his worldly goods, communicates to her a qualified interest in them ; for which cause even a stranger cannot commit larceny in taking the husband's goods by the delivery of his wife ; but he may, by taking away the wife by force and against her will, together with the goods of the husband. (1 *Hawk.* ch. 33, s. 19.)

Many other illustrations of this part of our subject might be given ; but to avoid the hazard of fatiguing our readers with too much crown law, we shall pass on to a different class of considerations. And ere we enter upon the rights of a *feme covert* as to property, we crave to be indulged in stating here certain consequences of the matrimonial relation, as to legal proceedings, which stand by themselves. Thus it was anciently holden, that no woman was competent evidence to prove the legal condition of a man, as whether bond or free. (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) So also women, together with peers, children under twelve years of age, and the clergy, were exempt from the general attendance at the sheriff's court-leet, where all other persons were compelled to appear. (*Stat. Marleb.* c. 10.) It is another curious point of the old law, that a woman could not be an *approver*, that is, one, who, standing indicted for treason or felony, confesses his guilt, and to obtain a pardon undertakes, at his peril, to convict his partners in crime ; and the reason of it was, because the *appellee*, or party accused by the approver, was entitled to the wager of battle to prove his innocence ; and a woman, being incapable of waging battle in person, was debarred the privilege of approving. (2 *Hawk.* 294.)

But it is a rule of law of more importance, since it is one of daily use, that the husband and wife cannot be witnesses for each other, because their interests are identical ; nor against each other, because this would be contrary to the policy of marriage, and might create domestic dissension and unhappiness. (1 *Com.* 443.) It is edifying to observe the reasons which the old lawyers give for the rule. Thus Sir Edward Coke very summarily settles it on the ground, that *they twain are one flesh*. (*Coke Lit.* 6 b.) Sir William Blackstone says, 'if they were admitted to be witnesses for each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, *Nemo in propria*

causâ testis esse debet ; and if *against* each other, they would contradict another maxim, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.* But this is altogether artificial ; and the simple reason is the right one, their identity of interest and affection. That this alone is the true reason is confirmed by the fact, that identically the same incapacity exists by the civil law, which even goes further, and refuses the reciprocal evidence of father and son, and brother and sister. (*Brown. C. L.* 85.) Without entering at large into the numerous applications of the principle, it will suffice to observe, first, where either husband or wife is a party in any proceeding, civil or criminal, the rule is universal, that the other is altogether incompetent to testify. Secondly, where one of them, not being a party, is interested collaterally in the result, neither is witness *for* the other ; and if the husband be disqualified by reason of interest, the wife is also disqualified ; but in certain cases, where the husband's interest does not protect him from examination, neither will it protect the wife. Thirdly, where neither of them is either a party to the proceeding or interested in the result, the husband or wife is competent to prove any fact, provided the evidence does not directly criminate the other. (2 *Stark. Ev.* 706-714.) These explanations are sufficient to elucidate the operations of the general principle, to which there are few exceptions, and those only in cases of evident necessity, as, for instance, the wife is admissible to prove a charge against her husband of violence committed on her person.

We proceed to consider the consequences of the constructive unity of the husband and wife, in its influence upon the rights of property, where it operates with the greatest hardship against the wife. The reader must bear along in his mind this fundamental principle, that they are one person in law, and he will readily see why it was that, according to the common law, by no conveyance could the husband give an estate to his wife, nor the wife to her husband, unless through the intervention of trustees. (*Coke Lit.* 187 b ; 1 *Greenl.* 394.) And for the same reason, if a woman owns any estate of freehold and marries, her husband shall be seized, and have a freehold in the lands, in his wife's right ; and he becomes absolutely entitled to the rents and profits of it during her life, and the rents and profits may be aliened by him or taken in execution for the payment of his just debts. The fee remains in her, but he is entitled to the administration of the property, and to all the

income it may afford. Chattels real, that is, estates for a term of years and the like, are also vested in him by the marriage, and he may dispose of them or forfeit them for crimes, and they may be extended upon for his debts; but he cannot devise them away by will, and if he omit to make any disposition of them in his lifetime, they survive to his wife. As to the wife's personal property, the law makes this distinction; the marriage operates as an absolute gift to the husband of all her personal property in possession, such as money, goods, cattle, furniture, and the like, so that he may make any disposition of them at his pleasure, without his wife's consent, and if she survive him they go not to her, but to his legal representatives. And the marriage operates in like manner as a gift to the husband of all the wife's personal property not in possession, such as annuities, claims in law, obligations, provided the husband reduces them into possession by receiving them, or by recovering them at law; but if he fail to do this, they survive to his wife. The rule is the same with respect to every species of property, whether owned by the wife at the time of the marriage, or whether it accrues to her during the coverture. And, finally, if the husband have by his wife issue, male or female, born alive, which by any possibility may inherit, and the wife dies, her husband is entitled to hold all her real estate by a peculiar tenancy called the curtesy of England. (*Bingham*, ch. ii, *Comyn*, *Bacon*, *Blackstone*, &c.) Such are the husband's rights in his wife's property.

Now let us look at the other side of the picture, and consider what it is, in a pecuniary point of view, that the wife gains by the marriage, in consideration of her parting with all her personal property for ever, and all her real estate during her husband's life. He is, in the first place, liable for all her debts contracted before marriage, and this whether he received any portion with her or not; because he took her for better or worse, and it is to be presumed that he informed himself of her condition before he assumed the burden of matrimony.

Secondly, he is obliged to maintain her, and may be compelled by law to provide her with all necessary food, apparel, and attendance, according to his rank or circumstances; and if he refuses or neglects to do this, she may by the common law sue out a writ of *supplicavit* to compel him to supply her exigencies (*Per Sir M. Hale*, 1 *Sid.* 109; and see 2 *Ves. Jr.* 195), or she may sue him for alimony, or she may contract

debts to obtain necessaries for herself, children, or family, which the creditor may sue him for in law and force him to pay. But in the leading case upon the subject (*Manly vs. Scott*, *Sid.* 109 and 1 *Mod.* 128), Sir Matthew Hale pronounced a very elaborate opinion, in a part of which he carefully decides that a wife has, upon the marriage, no 'original, inherent, primogenial, and uncountermandable power to charge the husband for her necessities.' In order, therefore, to prevent the theory of the law from openly violating the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, the sages of our jurisprudence say that, although the husband is not bound by an original and inherent right of the wife to support, yet an implied precedent assent of his to her contracts for necessities may be raised upon the fact of their cohabitation in the state of lawful marriage. Such is the labyrinth of absurdities and overstrained niceties of distinction, into which the theory of our law relative to female rights betrays the wisest judges. However, they contrive to admit that in one shape or another he is liable, and this even if her character be dissolute, provided he permits her to reside with him as his wife. Nor can he throw off the obligation by abandoning her, or by expelling her from his house, or forcing her by ill usage to leave him of her own accord; only if he allows her a separate maintenance, he is not liable for her debts so long as that is duly paid; and he is not liable to particular persons whom he has prohibited, not by a general warning in the newspapers, but specially, from giving her credit. So that, so long as a husband is in good credit and in the possession of property, his wife is assured all the necessities and conveniences of life, according to her condition and degree. (*Bacon's Ab. B. and Feme*, H.)

Thirdly, upon the death of her husband, his widow is entitled to demand her dower in all the lands and tenements of which he was seized at any time during the coverture, a regulation which Tacitus found in full rigor among the ancient Germans (c. 18). The unlearned reader should carefully distinguish between the word *dower* as used in the civil law, where it signifies a wife's marriage portion, and the same word as it occurs in our law, where it merely imports an estate for life in one third of all the husband's real estate. By the ancient forms, a husband usually proceeded, openly at the church door, after affiance made and troth plighted, to endow his newly married bride in the whole of his lands or such part as he

should specially designate ; a custom of which evident traces still remain in the beautiful and appropriate marriage service of the episcopal church. But the endowment of the wife in one full third of her husband's real estate has been long the established law of England, and of all those countries which borrow their jurisprudence from the English code. By the common law, the widow cannot be deprived of dower by any deed, devise, or other legal act of her husband alone ; but she may be barred of it by elopement, divorce, being an alien, treason of her husband, and in other ways ; but the most usual method is by means of a jointure, or competent estate, settled upon the wife, to take effect immediately upon the death of her husband, in lieu and in full satisfaction of her dower. (2 *Bl. Com.* 129.) Besides the ordinary modes of barring the widow's dower, the customary law of Massachusetts and of several of the United States provides the further course, of a wife's voluntary relinquishment of dower in all or any specific part of her husband's lands, by executing a deed thereof jointly with her husband, expressly releasing her claim of dower. (7 *Mass. Rep.* 14, *Fowler vs. Shearer, &c.*) We may subjoin, that a wife cannot be barred of her dower in the United States, as she may in England, by the treason of her husband, nor by any means whatever except her own free act and deed, her dower not being liable for the payment of his debts, and being thus absolutely secured to her, after her husband's death, in every contingency.

Lastly, by the English statute of distributions, the substance of which, under various modifications, has been transferred into the jurisprudence of the several United States, if a person die intestate, leaving a widow and children, one third part of his personal property goes to the widow, and the residue in equal proportions to all the children ; but if he leaves no children, then one half to his widow, and the other half to his collateral heirs. (2 *Bl. Com.* 515.) But the husband still retains full power to dispose of all his personal estate by incurring debts which it shall go to satisfy, or by deed of gift or sale during his life, or by devise to take effect afterwards ; so that it is in the power of a cruel or improvident husband if he was never seized of any real estate during the coverture, to leave his wife in absolute indigence at his death, and this although he may have died in a state of affluence, and of affluence derived from the marriage of the wife herself. So that, on a fair statement of

the balance of pecuniary advantages and disadvantages to each party, it will appear that, during coverture, the husband is entitled to all the profits to be derived from the joint estate of both husband and wife, to live in splendor upon the income of the lands, or speculate in commerce upon the capital of her money and chattels, subject only to the charge of providing her with necessaries; that on the death of the wife, if she have had children, he enjoys all her lands for life, and her personal property is wholly and absolutely his at all events; but that on the death of the husband, his widow can claim only one third of his estate of inheritance, and one third, or more, or none at all, of his chattel estate, according as his caprice and the operation of the law may determine.

The unjust partiality of the common law to the male sex is manifested, in a remarkable manner, by two or three differences between tenancy by dower, and the corresponding estate of tenancy by the curtesy. Attainder for high treason operated the forfeiture of all the traitor's lands and tenements of inheritance, if he were of the male sex, including his wife's dower by express provision of a statute (5 and 6 *Edw. VI. ch. 11*), in order, it is said by the lawyers, to deter men from the commission of this crime by the prospect of the total poverty, added to loss of rank and mental suffering, which it must entail upon his wife and children. But the gallant barons and loyal knights and burgesses, who so liberally and generously provided for the impoverishment of their unhappy widows, if they themselves should be attainted of treason, were too wary and cunning to subject themselves to the like penalty. And therefore if the wife be attainted of treason, yet her husband shall be tenant by the curtesy of all her lands. (4 *Bl. Com.* 380.) Again, it is well settled that a husband shall be tenant by the curtesy in an equity of redemption belonging to his wife (*Cashborne vs. Inglis*, 2 *Eq. Abr.* 728; 1 *Atk.* 603); and although the two estates exist in the same species of right, it seems to be decided in England, although contrary to the opinion of many sound jurists in this country, that a widow cannot be endowed of her husband's equity of redemption. (See *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* 33; 4 *Day*, 306; 13 *Mass. R.* 227; 15 *Johns.* 319; 2 *Southard*, 885.) Again, it has always been holden, and we think *wrongly* decided, that a wife cannot be endowed of her husband's estate in trust (3 *P. Wms.* 234); and yet Lord Cowper has made it to be the law, that a husband

shall be tenant by the curtesy in his wife's trust estates. (2 *Vernon*, 681; 1 *P. Wms.* 108, and 2, 713.) We cannot but consider these contrasted differences to be very striking, especially when we reflect, as every lawyer ought, upon the very unsatisfactory and inconsequent reasoning by which the stronger sex have settled the two last cases against the weaker one, and doubly in their own favor.

It is far from our intention to disparage the law under which we live, whose many and great excellencies we feel proud to acknowledge. But regarding the present topic as one of its most defective portions, we venture to touch upon one other class of cases in which woman is placed in a state of subjugation to the male sex, namely, in respect of all contracts. For it is generally true that a *feme covert* has no power to make a contract in her own right without her husband; and therefore such a contract is absolutely void. And if a wife sell or dispose of the money or goods of her husband without his assent, the sale is void, and the husband may bring an action to recover possession of the property. Nay, it is the same if she loses money at cards. (1 *Sid.* 120.) And if she buy goods, or contract to buy them, the price cannot be recovered in law, unless they consisted of necessaries, as we have before stated. So far is this incapacity extended, that by statute in England (32 *Hen. VIII. c. i.*), and by decisions in most of the United States, a *feme covert*, although she may dispose of money by will with her husband's assent, yet even with that she cannot make a devise of her lands so as to bar and exclude her heir at law. (12 *Mass. Rep.* 525. But see *Reeve's Dom. Rel.* ch. 11 and 12.) And all actions for her benefit, whether relating to her own separate property, or for injuries done to her person, must be sued either in her husband's name or in their joint names, according to various technical distinctions applicable to particular circumstances. (*Comyn's Dig. B. and F.*)

Some few cases occur in the books, wherein a married woman is entitled to make contracts for her benefit, and to sue and be sued, from the necessity of the thing. It is where the husband is dead in law, and therefore disabled to sue or be sued in the right of his wife; for in such case, if she were not treated as a *feme sole*, she would be without remedy for any injury sustained by, or claim accruing to her, and persons of whom she purchased necessaries would be equally remediless. Thus if a husband has abjured his country, or is banished

either for life or for a limited time, or if he is an alien residing abroad, leaving his wife resident here, she is considered competent to contract. And by the custom of London, a married woman who trades by herself in a traffic with which her husband does not intermeddle, is regarded so far as having separate rights, and capable of bringing or defending a separate action. (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.*) But the extreme rigor of the common law maxims in this respect press so heavily upon the female sex, in various contingencies, that the courts of chancery in England have assumed jurisdiction in order to afford parties that relief which equity requires. In those of the states, such as New York, for example, where a court of chancery exists with competent powers, a wife can obtain suitable protection for her separate rights; but it is otherwise in those states, where, as in Massachusetts, for example, the want of correct information upon the subject has kept alive an illiberal and unfortunate spirit of jealousy towards equity jurisdiction. With a brief statement of the salutary operation of chancery herein, we shall close our protracted remarks on this head.

In chancery, if a wife claims any rights adverse to those pretended by her husband, she may procure an order to sue or be sued separately. The general circumstances in which equity lets in the wife to exercise this privilege, are where anything is given or accrues to her separate use, or the husband refuses to perform marriage articles, or articles for a separate maintenance, or where the wife, being deserted by the husband, acquires property by her individual skill or labor. An example will elucidate the salutary tendency and effects of this authority more clearly than the most elaborate reasonings. Thus, a husband was attainted of felony, and his sentence commuted for transportation; and in the mean time his wife became entitled to some personal property, which the husband undertook, as he lawfully might, to gain possession of at common law. Lord Chancellor King compelled him to relinquish his claim, and ordered the money to be vested in government securities for the wife's benefit. (3 *P. Wms.* 37.) A husband deserted his wife and children for fourteen years, and then returned, and, exercising his common law rights, took possession of property earned by her labor during his absence; but a decree was obtained from Sir Joseph Jekyll, obliging him instantly to restore it all to his injured wife. (1 *Atk.* 278.)

Again, a husband abandoned his wife for the space of twenty years, after which she became entitled to personal estate by inheritance, and her husband came forward and claimed it; but Chancellor Kent, upon a bill being filed, ordered the money to be invested and secured to the wife's use. (4 *Johns. C. R.* 318. And see 3 *Cowen*, 590.) In all these, and a multitude of analogous cases, the injured party could have no adequate remedy at law (*Bacon's Abr. B. & F.*; *Comyn's Dig. B. & F.*; and *Chan. 2 M.*); but is protected by a court of equity, which acts, in this particular, upon the principles of the civil law.

We abstain from remarking upon the rules governing marriage and divorce, pertinent as they are to our subject, because we feel admonished that we are overstepping the limits assigned us. But an explanation may be permitted, in conclusion, concerning a peculiarity in the laws of succession, which essentially affects the condition of woman, namely, the much talked of salic law; a text usually considered as affording authority for the exclusion of females from the throne of France. The salic law is a code of one of the ancient Frankish tribes, and the precise text, upon which inferences so important are built, is in the following words, 'No portion of inheritance in the salic land shall pass to females; but this belongs to the male sex, that is to say, the sons shall succeed to the inheritance itself.' (*Montesq. Es. des Loix*, l. xviii. ch. 22.) It is satisfactorily shown by Montesquieu, and indeed appears from inspection of the law itself, that it was only a municipal regulation, designed for the succession of the private property of individuals, having no reference to the crown, and least of all to that of the kingdom of France. By the phrase 'salic land,' neither the French territory, nor, as others suppose, a country in Germany, is intended. It signified, in its original acceptation, as used among the ancient German tribes, the *curtilage* of a dwellinghouse, the space reserved by each individual around his abode, according to the usage noticed by Tacitus. (*De Mor. Germ.*) The origin of the law is thus explained. The lands cultivated by the ancient Germans were given them only for a year, at the expiration of which they reverted to the community. Each individual owned in severalty no land except the curtilage of his house, which was called the *salic land*, and descended with the house itself to the male who was to occupy it as the master of the family.

If a female had been permitted to inherit the salic land, the consequence would have been, that she might carry it by marriage to her husband, who, contrary to the true design of the thing, would thus possess two houses with the respective curtilages of each, that is, two shares of salic land.

But simple as the law was in the beginning, it acquired a wider comprehension when the Franks, having subjugated so large a portion of the Western Empire, and becoming the masters of extensive fiefs, naturally enough had recourse to the analogous case of their salic land for a rule by which to govern the succession of their new territorial possessions. The necessities of a barbarous monarchy, supported only by deeds of violence, tended to strengthen the analogy as applied to the succession of princes during the first race; because the rude warriors of that age demanded a ruler of the male sex, and one as rude as themselves, to lead them in battle. Precedents, therefore, frequently occurred of the exclusion of females from the throne during the history of the first race, and occasionally in that of the second; and the crown happened to descend from father to son during eleven generations of the third race; so that when Louis Hutin died, leaving only a daughter, the states of the kingdom solemnly and deliberately declared the exclusion of females from the crown to be the law of the realm, and raised Philip the Long to the throne, as they did successively Charles the Fair, and Philip of Valois, in each case to the prejudice of females more nearly related to the crown. And notwithstanding the imperfect foundation in law for this exclusion, still, having been acted upon for nine hundred years, it must be admitted the states of the kingdom were perfectly justified in pronouncing it to be part of the fundamental constitution of the monarchy. Yet the alleged illegality of this exclusion was the pretext for repeated invasions of France by English princes, who pretended a right to the throne derived through females, and who seemed to think, with the archbishop of Canterbury, in Shakspeare's 'Henry the Fifth,' that the dispute could be settled in their favor by astute criticisms upon the salic law. It is clear that a principle of succession uninterruptedly observed for nearly a thousand years required no confirmation, and could gather little strength from an obscure old text of the Frankish conquerors.

Of the wisdom of such a provision, however, there is much ground to doubt, and still more of its justice. We speak not

of the question in reference to a savage state of manners ; but if we did, many safe precedents could be adduced in favor of admitting women to an equality in this respect with the male sex. Grant that the tales of the ancient Amazons are in some sort apocryphal, and that Spanish or Portuguese friars, who would have us believe similar governments exist in America, err a little on the side of the marvellous. Still we know that among many warlike tribes, of the old world and of the new, women have been permitted to assume the honors of royalty. Cases abound in America ; nor are they wanting in Europe and Asia. In ancient as in modern Britain, women could aspire to empire (*Tac. Jul. Agric.* c. 16), as the illustrious name of Boadicea may well attest. The influence of the female sex, and the authority of their counsels are apparent in every page of the history of the ancient Germans, notwithstanding they originated the principle embodied in the salic law. The names of Semiramis and of Catharine of Russia, if they raise the recollection of some personal weaknesses, are also associated with reigns of prosperity, splendor, and glory ; nor would any masculine hand have been likely to sway the sceptre of empire with more of princely dignity and power. Zenobia might boast that but for the fatal supremacy of the Roman arms, she would have continued to show herself as worthy to reign as Aurelian himself. And if talent and fitness are good titles to power, certainly the proudest male of the line of Tudors, or Plantagenets before them, did not possess a right to rule more divine, a more clear and legitimate charter by nature, than Elizabeth of England. Indeed, it is one of the singular anomalies, which sometimes find a place among human institutions, that, in countries where woman is debarred access to all inferior political dignities, the right of succeeding to the crown should be made an exception in her favor. And it is, therefore, a subject of gratulation, that, in a great majority of instances, when exalted to the highest of all political stations, woman has proved competent for the arduous duties she had to discharge.

ART. III.—1. *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; comprising Observations on its Mineral Geography, Internal Resources, and Aboriginal Population.* By HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT. New York. 1825. 8vo. pp. 459.

2. *A Vindication of the Rev. Mr Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations.* By WILLIAM RAWLE. [Read at a Meeting of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 15, 1826, and published in the Second Part of the First Volume of their Memoirs.]

MR SCHOOLCRAFT is advantageously known to the literary community as an accurate and judicious observer and an enterprising traveller. His researches have been directed to the works of nature, and to man, where man has little besides the physical faculties which nature has given him. Mr Schoolcraft has traversed the immense trans-Allegany regions, whose geographical features present an aspect of magnitude and solitary grandeur, impressive, and almost overpowering. There the lakes and rivers, the forests and prairies, are formed on a gigantic scale, still stretching before the eye of the traveller, like the distant horizon, which may be followed, but never approached. Within the memory of the present generation, this vast plain, extending from the barriers of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, was the home of the red man, and of the animals which ministered to his subsistence and comfort; and even now, notwithstanding its population of two millions, the portion reclaimed by the hand of civilization is scarcely visible on the vast panorama, which it presents.

In following the relations of travellers through these regions, we are carried back to the days of La Salle and Hennepin. In all but the uncertainty before them, and the perils around them, the great features of the landscape are unchanged. There is yet a freshness in the birch canoe, and in the songs of the *voyageurs*, which time has not impaired, and they are associated with all our notions of a northwest journey.

Mr Schoolcraft was appointed secretary to the commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of Chicago in 1821, and he accompanied one of them from Detroit to that place. Most of the journey was performed in a birch canoe, and the travellers crossed the western arm of Lake Erie, and ascended the

Maumee to Fort Wayne, near its source. Here they passed the height of land, and embarking upon the Wabash, descended that river to its mouth. They then traversed the state of Illinois, and reëmbarking in their frail vessel at St Louis, ascended the Illinois river to the Rapids, where they abandoned the water and travelled over the vast *steppes*, which intervene between that spot and Chicago. The incidents and reflections which occurred on the journey, together with the circumstances attending the progress of the treaty, form the subject of Mr Schoolcraft's work.

Mr Schoolcraft, in a former work, directed the attention of geologists to the western regions of this country, and he is the first author in the United States, who has published a detailed account of a mining district. His 'View of the Lead Mines of Missouri' has been for some years before the public, and it excited expectations, which subsequent events have fully justified. Some of the peculiar opinions advanced in the work require confirmation, and the arrangement of the facts is injudicious. But it evinces a precision and accuracy in its details, and a power of observation, which will render it valuable as a permanent book of reference. Mr Schoolcraft's 'Narrative Journal of Travels' has been already examined in a former number of this Review, and we shall therefore pass without further introduction to the work, whose title is placed first at the head of our article.

This author is among the numerous examples, which our country has afforded, of individuals, who have made their way to distinction, without any adventitious aid. We have understood, that his education was limited, and that he has been the architect of his own fortune. There is a visible improvement in his successive works, creditable to his judgment and application. In his 'View of the Lead Mines' there was little of the tact of authorship; while in his more recent book the style is clear, the diction pure, and the arrangement happy. There is however, at times, an evident search after words, not always sanctioned by the best usage. Mr Schoolcraft should recollect, that he will express himself most forcibly, when he expresses himself most easily.

The route, which our traveller followed, presented scenes and incidents, and gave rise to recollections and anticipations, of which he has availed himself. The interest of the narrative is unbroken.

The daring character of General Wayne, the 'Mad Anthony' of the revolutionary war, is happily illustrated by an anecdote related by Mr Schoolcraft, in his description of the ruins of Fort Maumee.

'When General Wayne arrived before this work, after his victory over the Indians at Presque Isle, he caused a general destruction and devastation of the buildings and improvements for a considerable distance, both above and below the fort. Some of the buildings were within pistol shot of the garrison, who remained silent spectators of this scene. Small parties of the American troops frequently went so near the works as to enter into conversation with the sentinels on the walls. Nor did General Wayne himself shrink from a similar exposure. There is a copious spring of pellucid water situated near one of the angles of this work. Conversations held at this spring could be clearly understood within the fort. Here General Wayne, after riding round the works, halted with his attendants, and maintained, for some minutes, a familiar conversation on the events of the campaign. Those who know his enthusiastic character, need not be told that he made use of several very pointed expressions. The General dismounted, took off his hat, and drank from the spring.'

Mr Schoolcraft's historical notices of the military expeditions, which have at various times penetrated the country intersected by his route, are interesting; and many new facts, illustrative of the causes of their success or disasters have been gleaned by him from tradition, or from cotemporary accounts. He does justice, and only justice, to General St Clair, whose misfortune it was, to be twice placed in situations, from which neither talents nor intrepidity could rescue him. He was the victim of public opinion, but a military tribunal, in both cases, honorably acquitted him, and history has confirmed the sentence.

'Notwithstanding these ingenuous statements,' (alluding to the official report of the unfortunate commander), 'General St Clair is said to have brought off his men in tolerable order, with most of the wounded. During the action he had himself many narrow escapes; eight balls having passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians. After giving one fire, they rushed on, tomahawk in hand.'

In this campaign, as well as in that of Harmer, the result was not justly attributable to any imbecility on the part of the commanding general. The situation of the government ren-

dered it necessary, that both expeditions should move with all possible celerity. The troops were undisciplined, their physical and moral qualities were bad, and the theatre of operations was so distant from the places of supply, that the *matériel* of each army was wretchedly deficient. It is matter of surprise, not that they were discomfited, but that they penetrated so far, and that any portion of them returned.

We have seldom met with a more spirited sketch, than the following description of a scene upon the Maumee, and it is equally faithful and animated.

‘The river has its course through a heavy forest of trees, clothed with a profuse foliage, some of which overhang the water, and others, riven from their very tops by strokes of lightning, project their bleached and denuded limbs amid the greenest foliage. When we throw over a scene like this, the strong and deep lights and shadows of the living landscape, with its most minute objects reflected in the clear mirror of the stream; with here and there a small log cabin on shore, surrounded with a few cattle; and the whole enlivened by the occasional flight of land birds, or the sudden flapping of a flock of ducks on the water, a pretty correct idea will be formed of a morning’s voyage upon this broad and clear stream.’

Our author omits no opportunity of investigating, and of investigating well, all subjects connected with his favorite studies. In the thirteenth chapter he adverts to his previous publications on the mines, and describes in a clear and methodical manner, the principal formations of limestone, sandstone, and granite, of which latter mineral, an insulated field is found in the mining district. He also devotes some attention, and it could not have been better devoted, to the consideration of the metalliferous marl or clay, which has thus far been found the principal repository of the galena of that region; and points out the distinction between this substance and the diluvial clay or gravel; the latter of which forms the upper series of the various deposits. This singular feature in the position of the Missouri lead demands further investigation. The only analogous fact we recollect, is that recorded by Professor Buckland, as occurring in the vale of Clwydd in North Wales; but this is not in exact coincidence, as the lead ore mentioned by Buckland exists in the form of pebbles in a bed of ‘diluvial gravel,’ very much in the manner of the stream tin ore in Cornwall.

The oldest species of limestone (to speak in accordance

with the doctrines of the Wernerian school) which Mr Schoolcraft found in the mining district, he denominates 'inferior,' arranging it with the transition, and not with the primitive class of limestone, to which latter he had previously referred it in his 'View of the Lead Mines.' Other corrections in the details of his former descriptions are made, for which we have not room.

Some just observations are introduced respecting the importance of the proposed canal from Chicago to the Illinois, and on the nature of the country, and the difficulties to be surmounted. There is not perhaps on the globe a spot, where such a mighty physical revolution could be produced with so little human labor, as by opening a communication between Lake Michigan and some of the upper tributaries of the Illinois. The Des Plaines, which is a considerable stream, rises in the country between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, and pursuing a southeasterly course, approaches within twelve miles of the lake. The intermediate land is a level prairie, stretching in every direction, as far as the eye can reach. Its extreme elevation above the surface of the lake is seventeen feet, and that feeble barrier is all that is interposed between this mighty mass of water and the rich valley of the Mississippi, which it overhangs, like an avalanche on the summit of the Alps. It would be a matter of curious speculation to calculate the consequences of turning to the Gulf of Mexico one of those immense reservoirs, which are the fountains of the St Lawrence. The Delta of the Mississippi would be inundated and destroyed, and its low bottoms overflowed by a deluge, whose extent and duration no man can estimate. A gradual diminution would take place in the waters of Lake Michigan, which would be felt in Huron and Erie, and Chicago would present some of the imposing features of the entrance into the Niagara river.

It has long been known that boats can pass by water from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, but we have never seen a satisfactory explication of this singular fact; and as it has fallen to our lot to make this voyage, and to pass a night in a birch canoe upon the great Saganashkee marsh, through which the route passes, and that too with the *pleasant* accompaniments of intense heat, a violent thunder storm, and swarms of mosquitoes, such as are known only to those who have traversed the western forests, we shall briefly recall our impres-

sions of the scene. Between the Des Pleines and Lake Michigan, but east of the Portage path, there is an extensive marsh, to which we have just alluded. In a wet season it assumes the appearance of a lake, almost covered with the large water lily, whose yellow flowers and broad leaves overspread the surface, so that it would be difficult for a boat, without a skilful pilot, to find her way through it. This lake generally discharges itself into the Des Pleines, but when that river is high, its waters fill the channel of communication and flow into the lake. The *voyageur* enters this channel, and follows the track made by some other boat, or works his own way, slowly and laboriously. As he approaches the natural termination of the marsh, the water becomes more and more shallow, and his progress more and more difficult. He at length arrives at the boundary, and finds himself at the summit level of the country. An inclined plane of seven miles in extent, and with a depression of seventeen feet, stretches between him and Lake Michigan. And we very much doubt, whether the water of the Des Pleines ever surmounted this summit level and mingled with the Chicago, until this route had been frequently passed. The communication at present existing, has apparently been effected in a long course of years, by drawing the boats through the mud at the extremity of the marsh, and thus forming a small channel, which is soon increased by the velocity of the current, occasioned by the rapid descent of the country toward the lake. This channel is called the Rigolet, and bears every appearance of the origin we have assigned to it. A boat descends it with great rapidity, and about two miles from the marsh enters the Chicago creek, a deep and sluggish stream, at this point on a level with the lake.

In some cursory remarks upon the large mounds in the vicinity of St Louis, Mr Schoolcraft justly observes, that 'enough has certainly been written on the subject of our mounds, to prove how little we know, either of their origin, or of their interior structure.' These remains of ancient art have attracted the attention of travellers since the first settlement of the country; and standing as they do, the sole monuments of human industry, amid interminable forests, it is not surprising, that curiosity should be busy in investigating the age and objects of their founders. But little, however, has been effected to satisfy the rational inquirer, and before much progress can be made, all the facts connected with the topographical situa-

tion and construction of these works, and with the remains of earthen and metallic instruments found in and about them, should be collected and preserved. The Reverend Isaac Mc Coy, the Principal of the Missionary Establishment upon the St Joseph of Lake Michigan, a man of sound judgment and rigid integrity, has observed a class of works in that country, differing essentially from any which have been elsewhere found. As his account of them is interesting, we shall transcribe the letter he has addressed to us.

‘Aware of the interest you feel in everything relating to the character and condition of the Aborigines of our country, I do myself the pleasure to enclose to you a plot of a tract of land, which has been cultivated in an unusual manner for this country, and which was abandoned by its cultivators ages ago.

‘These marks of antiquity are peculiarly interesting, because they exhibit the work of civilized, and not of savage, man. All, or nearly all, the other works of antiquity, which have been found in these western regions, convince the observer, that they were formed by men, who had made little or no advance in the arts. If we examine a number of mounds in the same neighborhood, we find them situated without any regard to order in the arrangement, precisely as modern savages place the huts in their villages, and plant the corn in their fields. If we observe a fortification made of earth, we shall find it exhibits no greater order in its formation, than necessity in a similar case would suggest to an uncultivated Indian of modern days. If it be a wall of stone, the stones are unbroken, as they were taken from the quarry, or rather from the neighboring brook or river.

‘In the works, to which I now allude, we find what we suppose to have been garden spots, thrown into ridges and walks with so much judgment, good order, and taste in the arrangement, as to forbid a thought, that they were formed by uncivilized man. The plans sent you, by no means represent the most striking works. I procured these, because the places were near my residence. I can find several acres together, laid out into walks and beds, in a style which would not suffer by a comparison with any gardens in the United States.

‘These places were not cultivated by the early French emigrants to the country, because,

‘1. They evince a population at least twenty times greater than the French ever had in any of the regions of the lakes in

those early times. In the tract of country, in which I have observed them, of one hundred and fifty miles in extent, north and south, from Grand River to the Elksheart, I think the number and extent of these ancient improvements indicate a population nearly or quite equal in density to that of Indiana.

‘2. The early French establishments were generally made on navigable streams. But these improvements are spread over the whole country. Scarcely a fertile prairie is found, on the margin of which we do not observe these evidences of civilization.

‘3. These works were abandoned by their proprietors long before the country became known to the Europeans. The timber, standing, fallen, and decaying, on these cultivated spots, has precisely the same appearance in respect to age, as that immediately adjoining. On a cluster of these beds, a plan of which I send you, I cut down a white-oak tree, which measured three feet two inches in diameter two and a half feet above the ground, and which was three hundred and twenty-five years old, if the real age of a tree is indicated by the number of its concentric circles.

‘From the indications yet remaining, it is certain that most of these works have disappeared. We find none in the beech, ash, or walnut land, because here the earth is loose and mellow to the surface, and not bound with grass. We find them rarely in the prairies far from the timber, because the places of which I speak have been, as I suppose, not fields, but gardens, convenient to dwellinghouses, which were probably placed in the vicinity of the timber for the same reasons which induce our present settlers to select similar sites for their residence. In what we call barrens, adjoining prairies, the surface of the earth is bound by the grass, in the same manner as that of the prairie itself, and by these means the ridges are preserved. And notwithstanding the causes which are in daily operation to destroy these works, I am confident I have seen acres of them which will exist for centuries, if assailed by no other hand than that of nature. The Indians of Grand River informed me, that these appearances are found on all the waters of that river, and that they extend south upon the waters of the Kekalimazoo. A few are found near Michillimackinac. To use their expression, “the country is full of them.”

‘The Indian tradition on this subject is, that these places were cultivated by a race of men, whom they denominate

Prairie Indians, and that they were driven from the country by the united tribes of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatomes. The few who survived the calamities of war, went westward, and some may even yet exist beyond the Mississippi. But not the smallest reliance can be placed on any Indian tradition relating to a remote period.'

The remarkable impressions in the limestone rock in the vicinity of Saint Louis, have attracted the attention of this author. Their formation seems to be doubtful. While Mr Schoolcraft attributes it to the actual contact of the living member with the material of the rock before its induration; Colonel Benton, in a note annexed to the account, supposes that these impressions were produced by human labor. They are certainly curious relics, whether of nature or art. We understand, they have been found in various places in Missouri, and exhibiting different parts and postures of the human body. The resemblance in all is said to be perfect, and it undoubtedly is so in those we have seen. Even the muscular parts of the feet are distinctly shown; and if they are the work of the chisel, they evince a state of the arts, in ages long gone by, of which no other monument has survived. Colonel Benton has stated the difficulties attending either hypothesis, and although we are inclined to differ from him in his conclusions respecting the origin of these remains, yet our confidence in his judgment induces us to doubt, and await the result of farther investigation, for which we know of no one better qualified than that gentleman.

Our general impressions concerning Mr Schoolcraft's work may be collected from the preceding observations. It abounds in accurate and animated descriptions, and in just and philosophical reflections. There is a reach of thought pervading it, and evidence of powers of research, alike creditable to the author and satisfactory to the reader. The region he traversed and describes, is one of the most important and interesting in all the elements of future power and productiveness, which our wide spread country offers to those, who look forward with solicitude to her destiny. Mr Schoolcraft has placed this region before us, with its forests and prairies, its rivers and lakes, its animate and inanimate kingdoms, and he has described and lamented the decline and fall of its former possessors, and the exterminating march of those who are succeeding to them.

The various notices of the Indians interspersed through this volume must constitute its principal charm with the general reader. Mr Schoolcraft enjoyed favorable opportunities for investigating the character and condition of these people, and he has surveyed them with the eyes of a cautious and judicious observer. He has avoided the extremes of reproach and panegyric, and has seen and described them as they are. It is certainly important, that a correct estimate should be formed of the situation and prospects of our aboriginal neighbors. It is important in relation to our general knowledge of the human family. And it is still more important in its application to the great moral problem, whose solution attracts the attention of the American government and people, and upon which must depend the renovation or extinction of this devoted race.

Among the best known works on this subject is that of Mr Heckewelder, and the observations of Mr Rawle afford us an opportunity, at this time, of investigating his character as a judicious and faithful historian. Those who have followed the progress of opinion on subjects connected with the Indians, are well aware, that almost all the previous writers, English or French, who have recorded their own observations, or collected those of others, have described these people, as possessing the ordinary proportion of virtues and vices, which accompany human nature in its uncultivated state. The sketch was sometimes brighter, and sometimes darker, deriving its color from accidental circumstances, and perhaps from the constitutional temperament of the artist. But the general outline was faithful, and the world was content to believe, that moral and physical evil was found in the American forests, as well as in every other region, occupied by any branch of the dispersed family of man.

But it was reserved for Mr Heckewelder to introduce a new era into our knowledge of these subjects. He has surveyed the character and manners and former situation of our aboriginal inhabitants under a bright and glowing light. His account is a pure, unmixed panegyric. The most idle traditions of the Indians, with him become sober history; their superstition is religion; their indolence philosophical indifference or pious resignation; their astonishing improvidence, hospitality; and many other defects in their character, are converted into the corresponding virtues. And Mr Rawle is not the only respectable writer, who has been deceived by these partial representations. No one can look upon the passing literature of the day, without

being sensible of the effect on the public mind, which has been produced by this worthy old missionary. His favorite tribe, the Lenni Lenape, constitute the very *beau idéal* of a perfect savage. The great Indian family, however widely dispersed, is brought to this Delaware standard, and the *plastic* materials in the possession of Mr Heckewelder have enabled him to produce a uniform appearance, for which we shall vainly seek a prototype in nature. Many, and no doubt sincere regrets, have been expressed at that masterstroke of policy, by which the Iroquois persuaded the Delawares, that they were too fierce and powerful for men, and ought to assume the dress and duties of women; and then, by some magic spell, prevented them from resuming their pristine employment. And notwithstanding the commentary of Mr Rawle upon these and other traditions recorded by Mr Heckewelder, we shall find, that the character of this author for sound, discriminating judgment, is not redeemed from previous impressions. Mr Rawle conceives that Mr Heckewelder is not responsible for these stories, because he relates them as traditions. And he then observes, that the 'author who professes to give an account of the history of a nation among whom he has resided, would perform his part imperfectly if he disregarded their own traditions.' All this is well, but it leaves untouched the only real topic of inquiry. This is, not whether Mr Heckewelder has recorded Indian traditions, but whether he has recorded them as grave facts to which he assented himself, and to which he was desirous of procuring the assent of his readers. If these traditions are inconsistent with other and more authentic sources of information, or if they are incompatible with acknowledged principles of human nature, we may safely refer their origin to similar circumstances with those, which have elsewhere led to so much fabulous history. The slightest examination will show, that there is a spirit of credulity in the narrative of these legends, utterly irreconcilable with the cautious deliberation of an historian. No Delaware could relate them with a graver manner, nor with a firmer conviction of their truth. Nor is it probable that any one could be found, more anxious to impress this conviction upon others. The subject occupies more than twenty pages of Mr Heckewelder's work, and that it is discussed *con amore* is evident from the most cursory examination. If any one will read from the twenty-eighth to the fifty-fourth page of that book, he will find the most idle tales gravely

related, and a sympathy displayed for the fallen fortunes of the Delawares, which leaves no doubt of the author's sincerity.

Mr Heckewelder's work comprises a series of chapters, and the letters which passed between himself and Mr Duponceau. The first part of the former is devoted to the history and traditions of the Delawares, and the latter to philological investigations. The manners and customs and condition of these Indians occupy the residue of the work. As the object we have now in view, is merely to ascertain the claims of this author to the confidence of his readers, we shall here confine our examination to his picture of Indian society. This branch of the subject occupies thirty-nine chapters. To place in a more striking point of view the total absence of all just discrimination, and the strain of panegyric in which the author indulges, we shall give his own synopsis of these chapters, and the commencement of a part of them. Our readers can then judge for themselves how far they are prepared to adopt the 'new views' of a writer, whose prejudices present themselves in such bold relief.

The five first chapters are historical. The sixth treats of *The General Character of the Indians*. It thus commences;

'The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all powerful, wise, and benevolent Mannito; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him, or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit, who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favors, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuance of his good will.'

'VII. *Government.*

'Although the Indians have no code of laws for their government, the chiefs find little or no difficulty in governing them. They are supported by able, experienced counsellors, men who study the welfare of the nation,' &c.

'VIII. *Education.*

'It may justly be a subject of wonder, how a nation without a written code of laws or a system of jurisprudence, without any form or constitution of government, and without even a single elective or hereditary magistracy can subsist together in peace and harmony, and in the exercise of the moral virtues.'

'XI. *Oratory.*

'The eloquence of the Indians is natural and simple; they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule;

their speeches are forcible and impressive, their arguments few and pointed, and when they mean to persuade, as well as convince, they take the shortest way to reach the heart.'

'XIV. *Intercourse with each other.*

'It is a striking fact, that the Indians in their uncivilized state should so behave towards each other, as though they were a civilized people.'

'XV. *Political Manœuvres.*

'In the management of their national affairs, the Indians display as much skill and dexterity, perhaps, as any people upon earth.'

'XVI. *Marriage and Treatment of their Wives.*

'There are many people who believe, from the labor that they see the Indian women perform, that they are in a manner treated as slaves. These labors are hard indeed, compared with the tasks imposed upon females in civilized society; but they are no more than their fair share, under every consideration and due allowance of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily but cheerfully submitted to,' &c.*

'XVII. *Respect for the Age.*

'There is no nation in the world, who pay greater respect to old age than the American Indians.'

'XVIII. *Pride and Greatness of Soul.*

'The Indians are proud, but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading, and unworthy the character of a man.'

'XIX. *Wars, and the Causes which lead to them.*

'It is a fixed principle with the Indians, that evil cannot come out of good, that no friend will injure a friend,' &c.

'XX. *Manner of surprising their Enemies.*

'Courage, art, and circumspection are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior.'

'XXI. *Peace Messengers.*

'While the American Indians remained in the free and undisturbed possession of the land which God gave to them, and even for a long time after the Europeans had settled themselves in their

* Of all the astonishing mistakes made by Mr Heckewelder, there is none which displays greater ignorance of the subject than this. The life of an Indian woman is a life of labor, and servitude, and fear. She is considered as an inferior being, made to work for her family and to obey her husband. And every person, who has resided a single day in an Indian camp, must be aware of the brutality, with which the women are treated.

country, there was no people upon earth, who paid a more religious respect than they did, to the sacred character of ambassadors.'

'XXII. Treaties.

'In early times, when Indian nations, after long and bloody wars, met together for the purpose of adjusting their difference, or concluding a peace with each other, it was their laudable custom, as a token of their sincerity, to remove out of the place where the peacemakers were sitting all warlike weapons and instruments of destruction, &c. "For," said they, "when we are engaged in a good work, nothing that is bad must be visible. We are met together to forgive and forget,"' &c.

'XXIII. General Observations of the Indians on the White People.

'The Indians believe that the whites were made by the same Great Spirit who created them,' &c. 'They will not admit that the whites are superior beings,' &c. 'But that they [the Indians] have no need of any such book, to let them know the will of their maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts,' &c.

'XXVI. Dances, Songs, Sacrifices.

'The dances of the Indians vary according to the purposes for which they are intended.' 'It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge, I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country towns,' &c.

'XXX. Physicians and Surgeons.

'By these names I mean to distinguish the good and honest practitioners,' &c. 'With this only exception, the Indian physicians are perhaps more free from fanciful theories, than those of any other nation upon earth.'

'XXXII. Superstition.

'Great and powerful as the Indian conceives himself to be, firm and undaunted as he really is, braving all seasons and weathers, patient of hunger, careless of danger, fond of displaying the native energy,' &c.

'XXXVIII. Friendship.

'Those who believe that no faith is to be placed in the friendship of an Indian, are egregiously mistaken, and know very little of the true character of these men of nature.'

'XLIV. The Indians and the Whites compared.'

'If lions had painters!' We need not quote from this chapter. It contains the quintessence of all that precede it.

The other chapters of this work embrace topics not readily admitting these encomiastic introductions. They relate principally, though not altogether, to the physical condition of the Indians, and to those arbitrary customs, which have no connexion with the moral qualities of a people. These are; 'Computation of Time;' 'Preachers and Prophets;' 'Funerals;' 'Drunkenness;' 'Insanity;' 'Suicide;' 'Initiation of Boys;' 'Doctors and Jugglers;' 'Bodily Constitution and Diseases;' 'Scalping, Whoops, &c.;' 'Dress, &c.;' 'Food and Cookery.'

Let it be recollected, that the quotations here made, are not selected for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiar views of the author, but that they are his own leading observations, introducing the various topics he proposes to examine and discuss. And with these facts in view, our readers may well coincide in sentiment with Mr Rawle, when he says, that 'He,' Mr Heckewelder, 'presented to us some new views of the Indian character,' however they may differ from him in his opinion, that 'the whole account of them was conveyed in a manner so plain and unaffected, with such evident *candor* and apparent *accuracy*, that conviction generally, if not universally, followed.' Mr Rawle's character is deservedly high, but in these observations he does not appear to us to have displayed his accustomed powers of discrimination, nor the acumen of his profession.

We protest with equal earnestness and sincerity against any construction of our language which would impute to us a design to throw the slightest doubt upon the moral qualities of Mr Heckewelder. He has gone, where our praise and censure are equally worthless to him; but we shall say of him what we knew of him, that in the integrity of his purposes, in the blamelessness of his life and conversation, and in his devotion to the great objects before him, he approached the models of the primitive ages. We say this, because the spirit of our observations on a former occasion has been misunderstood, and because we disclaim all intentions of disparaging the memory of this venerable man, by whomsoever such a design may be imputed to us.

But Mr Heckewelder's work is a part of the general stock of literature, open to examination, and from the nature of its topics, inviting it. That various opinions should prevail, concerning its merit and fidelity, ought to have been anticipated; particularly as the author 'has impressed us,' in the language

of Mr Rawle, 'with the belief, that these people were still more acute, more politic, and in some respect more refined than had been generally understood.' And if, on the first appearance of the work, its statements and conclusions were not called in question, Mr Rawle will find the true reason in the subject itself, of which few had any personal knowledge, and not in a general acquiescence in its doctrines and details among those qualified to estimate them. We well know the impression produced by it upon the minds of many, who are conversant with these matters; and in stating our own opinion, we state the opinions of persons competent to form one on the subject, that as a record of Indian history, as a description of Indian condition, and as a picture of Indian society and manners, it is little better than a work of the imagination. Let its general views be contrasted with a *summary* of Indian character lately published in a contemporary Journal;* and it will be obvious, that its author wrote under the influence of warm attachments and strong prejudices. To the fidelity of this general summary, it affords us pleasure to bear witness. It describes the Indians, as we have found them, with some virtues and many vices; prone to action more than reflection; yielding to the fiercest passions; with few efforts to acquire knowledge, and still fewer to improve the heart; and fading, wasting, disappearing before our vices and their own.

By examining Mr Heckewelder's 'History of the Moravian Missions,' his memoir, submitted, with other documents, to the Senate of the United States in 1823, and his history of the Indians; the nature of his intercourse with the various tribes, and his opportunities of surveying and describing them may easily be ascertained. It will be found, and such we know to have been the fact, that he had no general acquaintance with the Western Indians. His intercourse was confined to a small band of the Delaware tribe, who during many years received the humane attentions of the Moravians, and who had lost many of their own distinctive traits without acquiring ours. This band, after various migrations, settled upon the Muskingum river, about seventy miles west of Pittsburgh, and here Mr Heckewelder's knowledge of the Indian character was principally acquired. His band was removed from this place by the British authorities during the revolution-

* The Western Museum.

ary war, to the river Huron of Lake St Clair, and Mr Heckewelder accompanied and remained with them a short time. One journey to Vincennes, and two or three shorter excursions upon the business of the mission, and we have the whole history of his intercourse with the Indians. Of the Wyandots, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Potawatamies, the Miamies, the Shawnese, the Kickapoos, all tribes of that region, he knew nothing. And if a comparison be instituted between his 'Narrative' and 'Memoir' and his 'History,' it will be obvious that the latter has passed through other hands, and has assumed an appearance its author could never have given it. These three works, as they appear before the public, were never written by the same person.

If it be now asked, What peculiar claims had Mr Heckewelder to our confidence, and upon what is founded his right to unsettle our knowledge of these subjects, and to introduce 'new views of the Indian character?' the answer must be, Neither the powers of research or observation he has displayed, nor the advantages of situation and intercourse enjoyed by him; neither the constitution of his own mind, nor the circumstances in which he was placed. At the extremity of a long life, and after his attention had been many years withdrawn from kindred topics, he was called upon for his collections and recollections, for a minute account of all he had seen, and heard, and done during half a century. With enfeebled faculties (and we trust we may say this with reference to human nature generally, and not subject ourselves to any charge of unkindness towards this venerable man), he undertook his task, and it should excite no surprise, that his work is almost a collection of anecdotes, to which he had listened in his earlier life with the faith and fondness of a Delaware.

We have said that the effect of this work is visible upon the literature of the day; and a stronger illustration of this fact cannot be found, than in the various sketches of Indian condition and character interspersed through the novels of Cooper. With the powers of invention and description displayed by this writer, it is a source of regret that he did not cross the Allegany, instead of the Atlantic, and survey the red man in the forests and prairies, which yet remain to him. If he would collect his materials from nature, instead of the shadowy representations he has studied, he might give to the world a series of works, as popular and interesting as any that adorn

the literature of the day. Nor is there in the whole range of literature, a subject more happily adapted to that union of powerful invention and faithful delineation, which forms the charm of modern novels. Should our popular novelist adopt this course, he would discover how far he has wandered from nature in following the path marked out by Mr Heckewelder. He would find that an Indian does not always speak in figures and parables. In the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and in the 'Prairie,' scarcely a conversation can be found, in which questions are directly asked and directly answered. We quote a few specimens of this manner.

'A gull fans a thousand miles of air to find the sea; the women and children of a pale face cannot live without the meat of a bison; a head is white, but there is a forked tongue; the leaves cover the trees in the season of fruits; a tongue with two ends, like a serpent; they listen like deer to the step of a cougar; no one can tell the number of the stars. Is the Tetou a fish, that he can see it in the river? The eagle at the falls of the endless river was in its egg, many snows after my hand had struck a Pawnee. If any of his words fall to the ground, they will pick them up and hold them to their ears. He gave them tongues, like the false call of the wild cat-bird; hearts like rabbits; the cunning of the hog (but none of the fox), and arms longer than the legs of the moose. Let the eyes of a dying eagle gaze on the rising sun. He has only manifested, that he is a singing bird. Look at the sun; he is now in the upper branch of the hemlock. Before the sun could go his length, the little water would be in the big.'

This is not the manner in which Indians talk, nor is it the manner in which any people talk. When strongly excited and in their public councils, they express themselves figuratively, but even then, not so generally as has been often represented.

There seem to be set phrases, applicable to solemn occasions, which are introduced into their public addresses. In ordinary conversation, their language is plain and unornamented, and as free from the labored conceits, we have quoted, as they themselves are from affectation. They are not of the Hudibrastic school;

'he could not ope

His mouth, but out there flew a trope.'

'They number,' says one of the speakers in the Prairie, 'as many as the fingers of my hand.' No Indian from Patagonia to Hudson's Bay ever used this periphrastic expression for the

simple word *ten*. It is rather difficult to believe the author can be serious. An Indian will hold up his fingers if apprehensive he cannot be understood, and appeal by significant gestures to the eye ; but to those who understand him he will use the proper numeral.

The most extravagant conceit, however, is, that 'to an Indian eye a humming-bird leaves his track in the air.' It was doubtless such an eye, that enabled the party in pursuit of the lost daughters of Monro to distinguish the moccasin tracks of Le Renard Subtil and Magua, and actually to turn a rivulet from its course, and discover in its bed, the traces of their enemies.

The author has been led into these extravagances by the authority of Mr Heckewelder. It is visible in the whole narrative of this flight and pursuit. With sagacity and perceptions beyond the lot of man, the slightest impressions disclose to them the path of their enemies, and the incidents of their journey are developed with unrivalled acuteness. But in real life, such a result would be impossible. The objects interesting to an Indian are almost confined within the circle of his animal wants and desires. They are comparatively few, and his attention is therefore directed to them with undivided force. His powers of observation are invigorated by daily habit ; as the sight of the sailor, and the hearing of the blind man, are sharpened by the exercise of these faculties. But an Indian can be lost in the woods, as we know from our own observation, and whole families too often perish from hunger.

Mr Heckewelder's account of the costume of the Indian jugglers is also transferred to the 'Last of the Mohicans,' and a man actually walks and growls through an Indian camp in a bear-skin, and is mistaken by the Indians for a bear. We have seen these dresses, and can assure our readers, that a man thus encased looks like anything rather than a living quadruped ; and it is a poor compliment to an Indian's sagacity, to suppose he would be thus deceived.

But it is not alone in the objects and incidents of external life, that the author of these novels has consulted the book of Mr Heckewelder, instead of the book of nature. He describes beings with feelings and opinions, such as never existed in our forests. They possess elevated sentiments, pure morality, delicacy of feeling, and disinterested attachments ; such as are oftener found in the pages of romance, than even in the highest

walks of civilized life. And they equally excel in the minor virtues. 'The Pawnee,' so we are told in 'the Prairie,' 'gracefully threw his shield over one shoulder, and placing a hand on his chest, he bent his head in deference to the grey locks,' &c. An Indian bowing to old age with his hand on his breast! Such a scene would indeed be new. In the thousands we have seen, a spectacle like this never met our eyes.

We have no disposition to pursue this subject. We have derived too much pleasure from these works, and feel too deep an interest in the reputation of the author, to find the task of pointing out his errors an agreeable one. Where he has drawn from his own abundant resources, he has been eminently successful, but in his delineations of character, and in those touches of nature which form the distinctive traits of different people, he has failed. His Uncas, and his Pawnee Hardheart, for they are both of the same family, have no living prototype in our forests. They may wear leggins and moccasins, and be wrapped in a blanket or a buffalo skin, but they are civilized men, and not Indians. They have the never failing impress of civilization in the dignity of their sentiments, and in the whole spirit of their conduct and conversation. They are the Indians of Mr Heckewelder, and not the fierce and crafty warriors and hunters, that roam through our forests.

On a former occasion, we expressed our doubts of the accuracy of Mr Heckewelder's philological investigations, and of his knowledge of the Delaware language. Our opinions have been called in question; and as the school he has formed has able and zealous disciples, it is important, in the future progress of similar inquiries, that his qualifications should be rigidly examined, and his labors properly appreciated. With these views, we annex a critical examination of a part of the vocabulary appended to his work; and if we are not greatly deceived, it will be manifest, that his acquaintance with the language was superficial, and that little confidence can be placed in the process he adopts, or in the conclusions he attains. In fact, there is a visible confusion in his ideas and a looseness in his translations, utterly incompatible with that severity of research and exactness of knowledge, which give to investigations into the philosophy of language, their principal value.

That we are warranted in these remarks, will, we think, appear from the following examination of some of the words and phrases appended to Mr Heckewelder's observations on the Delaware language.

N'gaiwi, 'I drink.' This should be *n'gówe*, and means, 'I sleep.'

N'wachpácheli, 'I awake.' This is a Munsee word. In Delaware it is *n'doghchéla*, 'I awake.'

N'papommissi, 'I walk.' This is a Munsee word, and means 'I am walking about.' The Delaware word for 'I walk,' is *n'baupomúskaw*.

N'mamentschi, 'I rejoice.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it is *n'oldun'doom*.

N'dachwil, 'I swim.' This should be spelt *n'das'chewil*.

N'nanepauwi, 'I stand.' This is Munsee, and means 'I stand in different places.' In Delaware, *n'epi* means 'I stand.'

N'schiweléndam, 'I am sorry.' This word is Munsee, and is pronounced *n'gewalun'dum*. In Delaware it is *n'jealun'dum*.

N'nipitine, 'I have the tooth-ache.' This should be *n'wepeteéne*.

N'schawússi, 'I am weak.' This should be *n'jow'see*.

N'túppocu, 'I am wise.' There is no such word in the Delaware. It should be *n'lup'po*.

N'nanólhand, 'I am lazy.' This word means, 'I am always lazy.' *N'ólehund*, is 'I am lazy.'

Gótschemunk, 'Go out of the house.' The word is *gotsché-mink*, and means 'out' only. To express 'go out,' they must say *gots'hémink awl*, 'out go' or rather 'move.'

Ickalli aal, 'Away with you.' *Aal* or *awl* signifies 'to move,' whether going or coming and *ickalli* is 'there.'

N'nipauwi, 'Stop there.' This is Munsee, and means 'stand there.' In Delaware it is *nenepaúe*, 'there stand.'

Undacháal, 'Come here.' This should be *won'dach awl*, 'this way' or 'that way' (indicated by pointing) 'move.'

Tauwúnni, 'Open the door, lid,' &c. This is Munsee, and means 'open it.' In Delaware, *tunkshánee k'pauhoon*, signifies 'open the door.'

Pisellissu, 'Soft.' This means 'shrivelled.' *Tóka* is 'soft.'

Kulupatschi, 'Otherwise, on the other hand, else, however.'

K'quilap'djee, is the word intended, and it is used when anything happens contrary to expectation, as if a man arrives by one road, when he is expected by another.

Nahaliwi, } 'Both,' (of them.) { The first word is intended
Eiyeliwi, } { for a Delaware word,

but it should be written *nauhalé*, and means 'notwithstanding'; as, 'I will do it notwithstanding it is wrong.' There is no such word in Delaware or Munsee as *eiyeliwi*; the word meant is *aléwe*, 'both.' *A'lee* is the Delaware word for 'both.'

Attáne léwi, 'It is not true.' This is Munsee. It should be *mut'ta ne láee*.

Alla gaski lewi, 'It cannot be true.' This is neither Munsee nor Delaware. It should be *mut'ta gus'ki láee*, 'Not can be true.'

Bischi, 'It is so.' *Pish'e* is the proper orthography.

N'wingallauwi, 'I like to hunt.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'wingaulaúe*.

N'sching'i mikemósi, 'I don't like to work.' It means, 'I hate to work.'

N'winginammen, 'I like it.' This means, 'It is pleasing to the sight.' From *n'win'ge*, 'I like,' and *n'áman*, 'I see.'

N'mechquihn, 'I have a cold, cough.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'oquéna*, 'I have a cough.'

Undach lennemáuwil, 'Reach it to me.' This is Munsee.

N'schauwihilla, 'I am weak, faint.' This is Munsee. It should be *n'jauéhela*, which means, 'I am wearied with exertion.' 'I am weak' is *n'jow'see*.

N'daptessi, 'I sweat.' This is Munsee. It is in Delaware *n'daupteck'see*.

N'dágotshi, 'I am cold, freezing,' &c. It is 'I am cold.'

N'dellennówi, 'I am a man.' This should be *n'dunnow'e*.

N'dochquéwi, 'I am a woman.' *N'dochquáe*.

N'dam'andommen, 'I feel.' This means, 'I feel it.'

Lécheen, 'To exist, breathe,' &c. This word is never used by itself.

Ili kleheléche? 'Do you draw breath yet?' A Delaware would not thus express himself. He would say, *Quiaúque hutch'k'lehelléha*? 'Yet you live?'

Leheléche ili nitis N. N.? 'Does my favorite friend N. N. yet draw breath?' This expression would not be used by a Delaware.

Gooch ili lehelécheu? 'Does your father yet draw breath?' A Delaware would say, *Kook'hutch quiaúque lehellaáo*? 'Your father yet live?'

Gáharwees ili lehelecheu? 'Does your mother draw breath yet?' *Gáharwees* is neither Delaware nor Munsee. *Káu-haas* is 'your mother.'

Wáchelemi, 'Afar off.' Munsee. It should be *o'helemé*.

Péchuat, 'Near, nigh.'

Pechuwiwi, 'Near (not far off).'

Pechútschi, 'Near.'

Péchuat, in English orthography, *páhowut*, is 'near.' *Pahoótshe* is 'nearer,' and *pahotit'e* is 'very near.' *Pechuwiwi* is Munsee.

Alíge, 'if so, nevertheless.' The word meant is *oléka*.

Yu undachqui! 'This way,' &c. *Yu* is 'well,' or an affirmative. *Undachqui*, properly *wondoc'que*, is 'this way,' or 'that way.' A Delaware would use it, when he said, 'You go this way,' 'you go that way,' and would indicate which by his gestures.

Ickalli undachqui! 'Still further on that way.' *Ickálle* has already been stated to be 'there,' and *wondoc'que* to be 'this way,' or 'that way.' It is used when a person is seeking anything, and another wishes to tell him he is wrong, and must look elsewhere. If he were required to look farther, in the same direction, he would be told, *Ickawleétshe*. If to one side or the other, *Wondaquétshe*, the speaker pointing in the proper direction.

Wullih, 'Yonder!' The proper word is *wollé*, 'yonder.'

Wullih teh! 'Beyond that.' *Wollé tá*, 'yonder there.'

Tauwihilla, 'Sunk, it has sunk.' Incorrect. *Qu'táihila* is 'sunk.'

Gachpallátam, 'Let us go out and go on shore.' *Gaupátam* is 'Let us go ashore.' *Gaupallátam*, 'Let us take him out.' *Gaupautoótum*, 'Let us take it out.'

Pusik! 'Embark (ye).' *Póóseckw'* is the word.

N'petalogálgun! 'I am sent as a messenger.' This is not Delaware. It should be *n'betaloogaúlook*, 'I am sent,' from *n'baat'*, 'I come,' and *aloogaúlkuna*, 'a hireling.'

N'sagimaum petalogálgun yu petschi, 'My chief has sent me as a messenger to you.' *Yu* is 'well,' and *pet'schi* is an affirmative merely. The translation, after correcting it as above, is 'My chief has sent me, well, yes.' No Delaware would use the expression.

Sedpook! 'At day-break.' The word is *set'pook*, and means, 'early in the morning.' *Petaúpun*, is 'day-break,' from *paó*, 'come,' and *opun'*, 'day.'

N'dellgun lachpi gatta páame, 'I was told to hasten, and return quickly.' Munsee. Literally, 'He told me quick, try, return.'

N'mauwi pihm, 'I am going to take a sweat.' Munsee. The expression in Delaware is *n'maúee peemoóá*, 'I go to sweat.'

N'dapi pihm. The same.

N'dapellauwi, 'I am come from hunting.' In Delaware this is *n'dapallaúe*.

Notameschican, 'A fishing spear, gig,' &c. This is not so. It should be *notamenzeékun*.

Achquaneman, 'A bush net.' This is incorrect. It is a Munsee word, and is applied to any kind of net. *Okoneékun* is the Delaware word for 'net.'

Gophammen, } 'To shut up anything close, a door,' &c.

K'páhammen, } Neither of these words is ever used by a Delaware in this form. When connected with a proper person or object, they are both used in a different form.

K'pahi, 'Shut the door.' This is wrong. The proper translation is, 'shut it.' It may be applied to a door, trunk, or to anything, to which 'shut' may be applied. *K'pah'i k'páúhoon* means 'shut the door.'

K'paskhamen, 'To plug up tight.' This word is never used by itself, as observed of *gopham'men*. The proper meaning of the word, intended to be used here, is to 'shut with something soft.' From *k'pah'i*, 'I shut it,' and *sees'ko*, 'mud.' *N'gupskom'men*, 'I shut it,' (with something soft, as mud, moss, &c.)

Tauwun, 'Open the door.' } There is no such word

Tauwunni, 'Open the door for me.' } as *tauwun*. *Tauwun'nee*, is 'open,' and is applied whenever our word 'open' is applied. It is Munsee. *Tunkshaáne* is the Delaware word for 'open.' *Tunkshaáne k'páúhoon*, 'Open the door.' *Tunkshaánemói k'páúhoon*, 'Open the door for me.'

N'tschu! 'My friend.' } *Netshoó* is a 'female

N'tschútti, 'Dear, beloved friend.' } friend,' and is applied

Nítis, 'Confidential friend.' } by one female to another, when speaking to her friend. When speaking of her female friend to a third person, she says, *netshoos*. A man, when speaking of his male friend, says *nétees*, 'my friend.' When speaking to his male friend, he says, *n'jeú*. *N'jeute áte*, spelt by Mr Heckewelder *n'tschutti*, is used by a man, when speaking to his male friend, and means, 'my dear friend.'

Pélelaan, 'It begins to rain.' The word is *pátelaen*.

Achwi sokelaan, 'It rains very hard.' *Achwi* is Munsee, and means 'much' or 'very.'

Peelhácquon, 'It thunders.' This is incorrect. The word is *Paathoc'quon*, 'It begins to thunder,' from *Paö*, 'to come,' and *hoc'quon*, 'thunder.'

M'chaquiéchen, 'The streams are up.' This is not Delaware. An Indian would say, *M'hauque'hun*. This is understood by them to mean, 'The river is high,' although river, which is *sépoo*, is not expressed. But when used in the plural, this omission is always supplied, and they say, *M'hauqué-hunno séeppoo*, 'The rivers are high.'

Choppécat, 'The water is deep.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *heet'que* means 'deep,' but is used only with reference to water, and is thus understood, without adding *sépoo*, 'river,' or *nébé*, 'water.'

Meetschi hígihelleu, 'The waters are falling.' 'Already falling.' Applied only to a stream.

Sichelleu meétschi. 'The waters have run off.' Not so.

Jatehúppecat, 'Shallow water.' This is Munsee. In Delaware *ga'hun* is 'shallow water.' Mr Heckewelder makes two words, and calls the former shallow, and the latter very low water.

Bulpécat, 'Deep dead water,' &c. There is no such word in the language. 'Dead water' is *K'lumpáhun*, and this is probably meant by the next word,

Clampéching, which Mr Heckewelder calls 'a dead running stream,' &c.

Kscháchan, 'The wind.' *Kaash'hiuk* is 'wind,' and *k'shaúhun* means, 'It blows hard.' Which of these two words was intended to be written, does not appear.

Ta úndchen? 'From whence blows the wind?' This is Munsee, and literally means, 'Where wind?' In Delaware it would be *Ta hutshwon'hun*, 'Where wind?' from *ta*, 'where,' *hutsh*, a word used in all interrogations, *won'gee*, 'from,' *k'shaúhun*, 'wind;' the first and last syllables of which words are joined, and from *won'hun*, which implies the course of the wind.

Kschiechpécat, 'Clear water, &c. This is Munsee, and means 'water that has been muddy or dirty and becomes clear.'

Never applied to a stream. *Wootup'pocut* is 'clear water.'

Achgumhocquat, 'Cloudy.' Munsee. *Kumhoc'quot*, is 'cloudy.'

Packenum, 'Dark.' It should be, *pees'ka*.

Pekenink, 'In the dark.' This is not correct. It should be *en'daupeeskáke*.

Pisgeu, 'It is dark.' Properly *Peeskáo*.

Pisg'eke, 'When it becomes dark.' This should be *Peeskaka*, and means, 'at dark.'

Nanni, nan, 'That.' There are two words for 'that.' One, *nanné*, applied to animate, and another, *nenné*, applied to inanimate objects. *Nan* is Munsee.

M'biak, 'A whale.' We know of no such word. *M'hing'wamaak* is 'a large fish.'

Yuh'allawitan, 'Come, let us go a hunting.' The proper word is *Alleneétum*, and it means, 'Well, let us hunt.'

Nelema n'metenaxiwi, 'I am not yet ready.' This word should be written *n'matenaxé*.

K'metenaxi yucki? 'Are you now ready?' The word *yucki* should be written *yook'we*, and the expression is affirmative, and not interrogative, 'You are now ready.'

Nelema n'gischambelaniwash, 'I have not yet done tying up my pack.' *Neléma*, is, 'not yet,' *n'gisch'ambila*, is, 'I have tied him,' and is applicable to animate objects only. It cannot be applied to a pack. *N'wash*, is a Munsee word, signifying 'my load.' In Delaware, *N'weeshóne*, is 'my load.' The literal translation of this compound of Munsee and Delaware is, 'Not yet I have tied him my load.'

Shuck soketaaw gachtauwi, 'But it will rain.' *Shuck* is 'but,' and *sókelawn* is 'to rain,' and a Delaware, after adding a proper termination to the verb, would say no more. *Gachtaiwe* signifies 'a desire to do anything.' *N'gachtaumeétsee*, 'I desire to eat.' If a Delaware wished to say, 'But it will rain,' he would thus express himself, *Shook' sókelauntsh*.

To hatsch gemawikeneen? 'At what place shall we encamp?' This should be, *Tatsh'hutsh kemaieekáneen*, 'Where shall we encamp?'

W'dungoakhannink, 'At the white-oak run.' This is not Delaware.

Meechek achsinink, 'At the big rock.' *Maátshe* is 'already,' *aughsun* is a 'stone,' and *ink* the mark of locality. The literal translation of this phrase, after correcting the orthography, is 'already at the stone.'

Gauwahenink, 'At the place of the fallen timbers.' *Kauogh-húnink* is the word intended to be written. It is formed from *taihun*, 'wood,' and *kauéheela*, 'to fall by wind,' and it here means, 'at the wind fall.'

Yapéwi, 'On the river bank.' There is no such word. *Yau-paáe* means the 'shore' or 'margin of a pond, creek, river,' &c. 'On' is not expressed here.

Gamink, 'On the other side of the river.' The word is *kaú-mink*, and means, 'on the other side of any collection of water.'

Eli shingeeek, 'On the flat.' *Elé* is 'along;' *shin'ga*, means 'level land,' and is principally applied to river bottom; *k*, or *ik*, is the mark of locality. The words mean, 'along the bottom.'

Fekinink, 'In the woods.' A Delaware would not suffix the *ink* here, because it is not applied so generally. It denotes a particular place.

Pockhapockink, 'At the creek between the two hills.' This is not Delaware. Those ideas could not be expressed by one word, in that language.

Menatheink, 'On the island.' This is wrong. *Menawtáyoonk* is 'island,' with the mark of locality.

Sakunk, 'At the outlet of the river.' This should be *endasá-koóweek*, 'at the mouth of a river.'

Atta n'palleho, 'No, I missed him.' We know of no such word as *atta*. *Matta* is a Munsee negative. *N'bal'haú* is 'I missed him.'

Biesch knewa, 'Then you did see one.' This is Munsee. In Delaware it would be *Piohée k'náyau*, 'Then you saw him.'

Nachen n'newa achluch, 'Three times I saw deer.' This should be *Náhun naóne autoókaak*, 'Thrice I saw deer;' the sentence literally translated, 'Thrice I saw him deer.'

Quonna eet k'pun gummachtíl, 'Perhaps your powder is bad.' *Quonnaeet* cannot be separated. As the sentence now stands it is, 'Perhaps your powder bad.' It should be *Quon'neet k'pun'gum machtut'so*.

Na leu, 'That is true.' This is incorrect. It is Munsee, and means, 'Yes true.' A Delaware would say, *Nat'ta n'láho*.

Achtschingi packteu, 'It scarcely took fire.' *Achtsching'e* is 'scarcely,' and *packtáo* means 'sudden noise,' like the discharge of a gun.

Achtuchuík wennan, 'Are there plenty of deer, where you were?' This is not Delaware. It should be *Achtookeéka hutsh, way'nun*, 'Are deer plenty, where you came from.'

Atta ta husca, 'Not a great many.' Not Delaware. It should be *takoó*, 'not,' *whooská*, 'many very.'

Naugutti schuck n'peenhalle, 'I saw but few tracks.' This is wrong. *Naungoóte* means, 'sparsely, here and there;' *shook* is 'but;' and *n'peenhaúle* is, 'I tracked him.'

Biesch n'peenhalle mauchau, 'I tracked but one.' This is not Delaware.

Shuck n'dallemons mehane, 'But my dog.' *Mehane* should be *mor'kona*, and the phrase literally translated is, 'But my animal dog' *N'dal'lemoons* is generally prefixed to the names of domestic animals.

Palliuchaschiha, 'Drove him off.' This is not Delaware.

N'pachkhameu gachtawi, 'I want to get bled.' A Delaware would say, *N'gachtáwwee pack hamaúké*.

Woak n'nipitine, 'And have the tooth-ache.' It means, 'And my tooth aches.'

Witschhemil, 'Help me.' This word is confined to assistance rendered to a person's pecuniary concerns, labor, &c. It is never applied to relief from pain, sickness, &c.

Mileen, 'To give, the giving.' This word is not in the language.

N'milgun, 'It was given to me.' This should be translated, 'He gave me.'

Milo, 'Give him.' This should be *Méla*.

Milatamo, 'Let us give him.' This should be *Mélaútum*, 'Let us give him.' *Mélaútum móke*, 'Let us give them.'

Seke, 'Hush.' *Sáh* is the proper word.

Eekhackewitschik mamachtagewak, 'The nations are warring against each other.' This means literally, 'the tribes are fighting.' The word translated 'nation,' is the one applied to the various Indian tribes.

Napenaltowaktsché, 'They will be scalping each other.' This word means, 'They will pursue one another.' There is nothing here which indicates scalping.

Lennape n'hackay, 'I am an Indian.' This means merely 'Delaware, my body.'

Taktani schuck n'tschupinawe, 'I don't know; but I mistrust him.' 'I do not know, but he appears strange to me,' or 'is a stranger.' There is nothing implying mistrust.

Gichgemotket quónna, 'Probably he is a thief.' *Kemookháos* is, 'He steals,' and *Gichemotket*, or properly *Kehkehmóótkaat*, is, 'He is in the habit of stealing.'

N'gemote muke n'dallemons nechnaunges, 'My horse has been stolen from me.' *N'dallemons n'gemootemook'háan negh-enaon'gaas*. This is the Delaware for, 'My horse has been

stolen from me.' After correcting the orthography and the relative position of the words, the sentence given by Mr Heckewelder, would be, 'He stole my horse.'

Wichwinggi gemotgewak Mengwe, 'The Mingoes are very fond of stealing.' After correcting the orthography, the proper translation is, 'They are fond of stealing, the Mingoes.'

Yuh amachgidieu, 'They are vagabonds.' This is Munsee, and means 'Well, he does bad.' If a Delaware wished to say 'They are bad people,' he would thus express himself, *Amut'shee lus'sowuk*.

Schiki a na Lenno, 'That is a fine pretty man.' This is not Delaware, but bad Munsee.

Siquonne lappitsch knewi lehellecheyan! 'In the spring you will see me again, if I am alive.' This should be *sekon'-getsh*, 'next spring,' *lap'pee*, 'again,' *k'naáe*, 'you will see me,' *leh'eleaíne*, 'if I am alive. *Siquonne*, properly *sé-konne* is the 'past spring,' from *sékon*, 'spring,' and *nee*, 'past.' The mark of the future, *tsh*, which should be applied to *sékon*, to indicate the 'next spring,' is erroneously applied to the adverb.

Yuh shuck mámschali! 'Well! but do remember me.' *Mam-schaúle* means 'Think of me now.' It should be *Mam-schaulemee*, 'Think of me hereafter.'

Natsch leu, 'It shall be so.' *Nutsh*, which is the word intended to be given here, is the mark of the future merely, and not a verb.

N'wuntschimke, 'I have been called.' The word is, *N'wen-jeem'ka*, 'I am called.' *N'wenjeemkáhumb!* 'I was called.'

N'dochquéum, 'My wife.' This word means 'my female relation. *Ne hóushum* is 'my wife,' from *nee*, 'mine,' *hauooshésis*, 'an old woman.'

Quanna eet auween gatta napenalgun! 'Perhaps somebody is coming to attack and scalp us.' This should be rendered, after correcting it, 'Perhaps some person wishes to come and attack us.' The idea of scalping is not conveyed here.

Wulli ta pepannik! 'Yonder they are coming.' There is no such word as *papannik*. It should be *Wulli paoótsheek*, 'Yonder they come.'

Papomiscuak? 'Are they on foot?' This word is in the plural number of the imperative mood, and means 'Walk about.' *Pamuskaóoke hutsh'* is 'Do they walk?'

Gachtonalukguntsch matta uchschimuíenge, 'We shall be at-

tacked if we do not make off with ourselves.' *Gachtonalukguntsh* is a word made without authority, like many others in the collection. The author probably intended to form *Kuttoonalookoónaak*, which, from its elements, would mean, 'They desire to attack us.' The mark of the future should not be added. The residue of the sentence should be *Aléke w'sheemweétum*, 'Well let us run away.'

Mattapewiwak nik schwannakwak, 'The white people are a rascally set of beings.' This is Munsee, and properly translated means *Mattapawéwauk*, 'bad people,' *nik*, 'they,' *schuanaukwak*, 'whites.'

Pennan won, 'Look at that one.' *Pennan* is 'see' or 'look at,' and *won* is any animate being.

Mamanúxu, 'He is angry.' *Manoónxee* is 'He is angry.' *Mamanoónxu* means 'He has been angry some time, and is yet angry.'

Pihmtónheu, 'He has a crooked mouth.' This means, 'He makes a wry mouth,' from *pelema*, 'crooked,' *p'tone*, 'mouth,' and *háó*, 'to do' or 'make a thing.' *Pehm'tonea* means 'He has a crooked mouth.'

Ilau, 'He is a great war captain.' *E'lau* means 'a person who cannot be hit by a bullet.' It is one of the superstitious notions of the Indians, and the exemption is supposed to be derived from dreams. The word is a substantive, and there is no affirmation implied. Nor has it any relation to the qualities of a war chief. A person may be an *e'lau*, who never saw a gun and never went to war. *E'loiyo* means he is an *e'lau*.

Sakimau, 'He is a chief.' The word means 'chief' only.

Kschamehellátan, 'Let us run together.' The word merely implies 'Let us run.'

In the preceding corrections, the duplication of the vowel indicates its long sound, unless marked by a *diæresis*, when each vowel is to be pronounced.

It will be seen by our remarks hereafter, that when the meaning is rendered by *is*, *does*, &c. the auxiliaries are used with much freedom. Our object has been to point out some of the prominent errors of Mr Heckewelder, not to give an exact notion of the idiom of the language. We have attempted this in the concluding part of the present article.

The structure of the Indian languages is a subject of interesting speculation. There is an intimate connexion between

the powers and process of the mind, and the means by which its operations are disclosed. Without adopting, to its full extent, the fanciful theory of the author of 'Hermes,' by which he accounts for those peculiarities, which characterize different languages, we may yet concede, that powerful causes, physical and moral, operating upon the condition and disposition of a people, may give a particular direction to their thoughts, and a particular modification to the vehicle, by which they are conveyed. After all the laudatory remarks, which have been made on the subject of the Indian languages, it will be found, that they partake essentially of the character of the people, who use them. They are generally harsh in the utterance, inartificial in their construction, indeterminate in their application, and incapable of expressing a vast variety of ideas, particularly those which relate to invisible objects. Curious coincidences no doubt exist between these tongues and those of the eastern world, but discrepancies are also found, marking their different origin, and indicative of the circumstances and mental habits of their possessors. We have before observed, that the Indians are more prone to action than reflection, and this trait in their character has produced a corresponding effect upon their modes of speech. They employ few abstract terms, because their attention is directed to the visible objects around them, and to the relations, which these bear to themselves. A similar tendency existed in the Latin language, and led to the complaint of Cicero, that it was unfit for metaphysical investigations.

The conflicting statements of Roger Williams and Dr Edwards respecting the word *father*, in the Mohegan language, may be easily reconciled by adverting to this peculiar feature of the Indian character. The former asserts, that *osh** signifies 'father;' while the latter earnestly maintains, that this word is unknown in the tongue, and that the Mohegans can only say *n'osh*, 'my father,' *k'osh*, 'thy father.'

Now there is no doubt, but this word *n'och* is a compound term formed from the pronominal sign *n'* 'I,' and *och*, 'father,' and that if it became necessary for one of these Indians to express the idea conveyed by our word *father*, he would use the word *Och*. But this would require a process of abstraction,

* This word is thus spelt by Roger Williams. The true pronunciation is the guttural sound, familiar in the Irish, Gaelic, and several of the continental languages, but unknown in the English language.

rarely employed by them. The different degrees of consanguinity are almost always expressed by terms denoting actual subsisting relations.

In Delaware *n'och*, 'my father,' *n'och*, 'thy father,' *ohul*, 'his father,' *n'gahās*, 'my mother,' *n'gwese*, 'my son.' And in the Chippewa *n'osa*, 'my father,' *neengah*, 'my mother.'

That Dr Edwards greatly overrated his own knowledge of the Mohegan is evident, from his strange assertion, that there are 'no adjectives in all their language, unless we reckon numerals, and such words as *all*, *many*, &c. adjectives. Of adjectives, which express the quality of substances, I do not find, that they have any.' And Horne Tooke has appealed to this authority, in support of his speculations concerning the origin and use of this part of speech. But in this instance, as in some others, this acute philologist seems not to be aware, that we may trace etymologies so far, as to lose sight of the existing principles, which regulate the form and application of languages.

The Mohegan is a dialect, closely allied to the Delaware, and they are both branches of the great Algonquin stock, and cognate with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Shawnese, Potawatamie, Miami, Kickapoo, Menomonie, &c. The general structure of these various dialects is the same, and there is no important syntactical formation in one, which is not found in all. It is well known, that adjectives abound in all these languages, which have been investigated, and it would be strange indeed, if they were wanting in this affiliated dialect alone. But it is not difficult to discover the source of Dr Edwards's error, and it may be referred to a principle pervading these languages, of the extent of which he was apparently ignorant. The power of coalescence, if it may be so termed, possessed by the Indian languages is one of their most extraordinary features. Words, and parts of words, are detached and attached, so as to form others, conveying simple or complex ideas, and sometimes without any apparent connexion between the new word and its roots. Attributives, denoting qualities only, without reference to time or affirmation, are as abundant in these as in other languages. But they are not as often used; because their application is more abstract than comports with the mental habits of the Indians. It is seldom necessary for them to talk about a good horse, or a fat buck, or a brave warrior. But when these or similar topics are discussed, the good

horse, and the fat buck, and the brave warrior are identified, and assertions are made concerning them, which are understood, rather from the idiom of the language, than from the expressions employed. The auxiliary verbs are not used, and simple affirmation must be frequently deduced from the collocation of the words, the manner of the speaker, the context, or some other circumstance. An Indian cannot say, *he is strong, he is tall, &c.* but he says, *he strong, he tall, &c.* and the power of coalescence enables him to attach the mark of the past and future time to the adjective; as if we were to say in English, *he tall heretofore, he tall hereafter.*

These particles are,

	Past time.	Future time.
In Delaware,	<i>p</i>	<i>tsh.</i>
In Chippewa,	<i>bun</i>	<i>gah.</i>

And they may also be applied to substantives, pronouns, and we believe to every other part of speech.

In the Delaware, the duplication of the pronoun is said to be equivalent to the verbal assertion, as

N'DOLEMOUS, *my horse.*

Nee n'DOLEMOUS, literally, *my my horse*, and understood to mean, *it is my horse.*

Nee n'DOLEMOUSENAP, literally, *my my horse heretofore*, but understood to mean, *it was my horse.*

Nee n'DOLEMOUSEENTSH,
Neetsh n'DOLEMOUS,
 { literally, *my my horse hereafter*, but
 { understood to mean, *it will be my horse.*

We incline to think, however, that this repetition of the pronoun is only to render the declaration more emphatic, as when the right of the party is doubted or denied, and we say in English *it is my horse*, with a particular stress upon the affirmation; but that this does not affect the syntax of the language. We have yet to learn therefore from what peculiar circumstances an assertion is inferred, when it becomes necessary to describe a substance or its quality, and there is no verb to denote the idea. Further inquiries may develop this process, by which an Indian distinguishes between 'a strong man' and 'a man strong,' when the latter expression is intended to include an affirmation. We at first supposed, that it depended upon the relative situation of the two words, but this opinion has been shaken, rather than fortified, by further investigations. In English the conversion of one part of speech into another, is a familiar operation; but the composition of the

sentence, and sometimes the accent, prevent any confusion of ideas. Our invariable arrangement and our auxiliary verbs and prepositions define the meaning to be attached to those words, which may be variously employed; as *like*, which is sometimes a verb, active and neuter, and sometimes a substantive, adjective, or adverb. But auxiliary verbs are wholly wanting in the Indian languages, and prepositions are very sparingly used.

We shall insert two other examples, both in the Delaware, of the use of these verbal adjectives and verbal substantives.

	Literal Meaning.	Meaning, as probably understood.
Sookelaun,	<i>rain,</i>	<i>it rains,</i>
Sookelaun oop,	<i>rain heretofore,</i>	<i>it rained,</i>
Sookelaun tsh,	<i>rain hereafter,</i>	<i>it will rain,</i>
Sookelaun au,	<i>rain perhaps,</i>	<i>it may rain,</i>
Sookelaun oop AU,	<i>rain heretofore perhaps,</i>	<i>it may have rained,</i>
Sookelaun gad,	<i>if rain,</i>	<i>if it should rain,</i>
Opa,	<i>white,</i>	<i>it is white,</i>
Opa p,	<i>white heretofore,</i>	<i>it was white.</i>
Opa tsh,	<i>white hereafter,</i>	<i>it will be white.</i>
Opa u,	<i>white perhaps,</i>	<i>it may be white.</i>
Opa p AU,	<i>perhaps white heretofore,</i>	<i>it may have been white.</i>
Opa ka,	<i>if white,</i>	<i>if it be white.</i>
Opa KE pona,	<i>if white heretofore,</i>	<i>if it have been white.</i>
Opa K atsh,	<i>if white hereafter,</i>	<i>if it shall be white.</i>

K is sometimes a definitive, and, suffixed to an adjective, restricts its application.

Opa <i>k</i> ,	<i>the white,</i>	<i>that which is white.</i>
Opa kUP,	<i>the white heretofore,</i>	<i>that which was white.</i>

Hutsh always denotes interrogation.

Opa hutsh? *Is it white?*

Wug, the animate, and *wun*, the inanimate mark of plurality may be suffixed to adjectives.

	Animate.
Miskwizzo, <i>red.</i>	Miskwizzewug, <i>they red.</i>
	Inanimate.
Miskwau, <i>red.</i>	Miskwauwun, <i>they red.</i>

The principles, which regulate this use and conversion of the adjective, undoubtedly led to the erroneous opinion advanced by Dr Edwards, that this part of speech was wanting in the Mohegan. We have made some inquiry into this matter, and have the authority of three educated men of the tribe for saying, that adjectives exist in that dialect; and we have been furnished with the following among other specimens.

	Animate.	Inanimate.
<i>Good,</i>	wuwehi,	woonut.
<i>Bad,</i>	m'tuthow,	m'tut.
<i>White,</i>	waupaunyook,	waupaunyuk.
<i>Black,</i>	sakkaunyook,	nauthkaunyuk.
<i>Red,</i>	mukwayook,	mukwayuk.
<i>Green,</i>	shuskwayook,	uskuthtwayuk.

The opinion, which has been so generally prevalent, that the substantive verb is not found in the Indian languages rests in some measure upon the authority of Dr Edwards, but has been adopted by succeeding writers. We took occasion in a former number to controvert this opinion, but as our conclusions have been called in question, we shall briefly review the subject.

We have shown the manner in which assertions are made in the Indian languages; and such expressions as *horse mine, rifle good, I hungry*, are continually recurring. This anomaly could not but excite the attention of those, who were investigating these modes of speech, and no doubt led to the conclusion, too hastily adopted, that the substantive verb was unknown in them. So far as this verb may be employed to denote simple existence, we believe it is found in all the aboriginal dialects. And it would be as just to deny, that they have any verbs indicating action and possession, because the words *do* and *have* are not used as auxiliaries to other verbs, as it is to deny the existence of the substantive verb, so far as being is implied by it, because it does not perform in combination the office of asserting or affirming.

By the ladies of the family of Mr Johnston, of the Sault Ste Marie, we have been furnished with the conjugation of this verb in the Chippewa, and we shall submit it to our readers, merely observing, that to the accomplishments of civilized life, they add a perfect knowledge of this, their maternal dialect.

IAU, verb animate, *To Be*.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

1. *Present Tense*.

Singular.

1. Neen diau,	<i>I am.</i>
2. Kee diau,	<i>Thou art.</i>
3. iau,	<i>He or she is.</i>

Plural.

1. { Kee diau min,	<i>We are (inclu.)</i>
{ Nin diau min,	<i>We are (exclu.)</i>
2. Kee diau-m,	<i>Ye are.</i>
3. iau wug,	<i>They are.</i>

2. Imperfect Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Nin | gee | IAU, | <i>I was.</i> |
| 2. | Kee | gee | IAU, | <i>Thou wast.</i> |
| 3.* | | | | <i>He or she was.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|------|--------|------|-------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kee | gee | IAU | min, | <i>We were (inclu.)</i> |
| | | Nin | gee | IAU | min, | <i>We were (exclu.)</i> |
| 2. | | Kee | gee | IAU-m, | | <i>Ye were.</i> |
| 3. | | IAU | wug, | | | <i>They were.</i> |

3. Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|------|---------|----------------------------|
| 1. | Nin | gee | IAU | naubun, | <i>I have been.</i> |
| 2. | Kee | gee | IAU | naubun, | <i>Thou hast been.</i> |
| 3. | | IAU | bun, | | <i>He or she has been.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|---------|-----------|---------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kee | gee | IAU | minaubun, | <i>We have been (in.)</i> |
| | | Nin | gee | IAU | minaubun, | <i>We have been (ex.)</i> |
| 2. | | Kee | gee | IAU-m | waubun, | <i>Ye have been.</i> |
| 3. | | Kee | IAU | buneeg, | | <i>They have been.</i> |

4. First Future Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|------|------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Nin | guh | IAU, | <i>I shall be.</i> |
| 2. | Kee | guh | IAU, | <i>Thou, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | IAU, | | <i>He or she, &c.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|--------|------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kee | guh | IAU | min, | <i>We shall, &c. (in.)</i> |
| | | Nin | guh | IAU | min, | <i>We shall, &c. (ex.)</i> |
| 2. | | Kee | guh | IAU-m, | | <i>Ye shall, &c.</i> |
| 3. | | Tah | IAU | wug, | | <i>They shall, &c.</i> |

5. Second Future Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|-----|------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Nin | guh | gee | IAU | naubun, | <i>I shall have been.</i> |
| 2. | Kee | guh | gee | IAU | naubun, | <i>Thou, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | gee | IAU | bun, | | <i>He or she, &c.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|-----|---------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kee | guh | gee | IAU | minaubun, | <i>We shall, &c. (in.)</i> |
| | | Nee | guh | gee | IAU | minaubun, | <i>We, &c. (ex.)</i> |
| 2. | | Kee | guh | gee | IAU-m | wunbun, | <i>Ye, &c.</i> |
| 3. | | Tah | gee | IAU | buneeg, | | <i>They, &c.</i> |

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Singular.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----|--------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Nin | gua | IAU | binuh, | <i>Let me be.</i> |
| 2. | | IAU | binuh, | | <i>Be thou.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | IAU | binuh, | | <i>Let him or her be.</i> |

* Having some doubts respecting the form of the pronoun here, we have omitted it.

Plural.

- | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1. | { | IAU dau binuh, | <i>Let us be (in.)</i> |
| Nin guh | | IAU-min binuh, | <i>Let us be (ex.)</i> |
| 2. | | IAU yuek binuh, | <i>Be ye.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | IAU wug binuh, | <i>Let them be.</i> |

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | |
|----|---------|------|----------------------|
| 1. | Nin dau | IAU, | <i>I may be.</i> |
| 2. | Kee dau | IAU, | <i>Thou, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | IAU, | <i>He, &c.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | |
|---------|-----|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kee dau | IAU min, | <i>We, &c. (in.)</i> |
| Nin dau | | IAU min, | <i>We, &c. (ex.)</i> | |
| 2. | | Kee dau | IAUM, | <i>Ye, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Tah | IAU wug, | <i>They, &c.</i> | |

Imperfect Tense.

Nin dau IAU koossamau, *I might be.*

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Nin dau gee IAU bun-koossamau, *I may have been.*

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| 1. | Kishpin | IAU yaun, | <i>If I be.</i> |
| 2. | Kishpin | IAU yun, | <i>If thou be.</i> |
| 3. | Kishpin | IAUd, | <i>If he be.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | { | Kishpin | IAU yung, | <i>If we be (in.)</i> |
| Kishpin | | IAU yong, | <i>If we be (ex.)</i> | |
| 2. | | Kishpin | IAU yag, | <i>If ye be.</i> |
| 3. | Kishpin | IAU waud, | <i>If they be.</i> | |

The imperfect tense of this mood is the same as the preceding, except that the particle *we* is interposed between the conjunction and verb.

Perfect and Pluperfect Tense.

Singular.

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Kishpin | IAU yaumbaun, | <i>If I have been.</i> |
| 2. | Kishpin | IAU yumbun, | <i>If thou, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Kishpin | IAU pun, | <i>If he, &c.</i> |

Plural.

- | | | | | |
|---------|---------|------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | { | Kishpin | IAU yun ge bun, | <i>If we, &c. (in.)</i> |
| Kishpin | | IAU yaun ge bun, | <i>If we, &c. (ex.)</i> | |
| 2. | | Kishpin | IAU ya ge bun, | <i>If ye, &c.</i> |
| 3. | Kishpin | IAU wau pun, | <i>If they, &c.</i> | |

The first future coincides with the preceding, except the introduction of the particle *we* between the conjunction and verb. The second future also coincides with the preceding, save the insertion of the particle *kee* between the conjunction and verb.

INFINITIVE MOOD.

<i>Present Tense,</i>	IAU,	<i>To be.</i>
<i>Perfect Tense,</i>	IAU-bun,	<i>To have been.</i>

PARTICIPLES.

<i>Present,</i>	IAUNG,	<i>Being.</i>
<i>Perfect,</i>	IAUN ge bun,	<i>Having been.*</i>

We are satisfied, that this verb is the root of the Delaware word *iasis*, animal, and that it is its derivative *au*, which added to the names of persons, and to words denoting consanguinity, indicates in that language past existence or death. In the translation of the Lord's Prayer into Mohegan, the first sentence has been rendered,

<i>Father our</i>	<i>above</i>	<i>thou art.</i>
Naghnuh	ne spummuck	oieon.

A friend, in whose judgment and knowledge of this subject we have full confidence, has observed to us, that 'the whole tendency of the Chippewa, and in fact of the Indian languages generally, is to a system of negation. And it is only when compelled by circumstances, that the speaker is driven to the use of this verb, and when so used, full enumeration and strong emphasis are employed.'

Mr Du Ponceau has proposed as the shibboleth of this word the translation of the phrase, *I am that I am*. The selection is not a fortunate one, for the meaning of this expression is not very obvious to the mere English scholar, and there are not wanting respectable authorities, who condemn it as unmeaning. As an assertion however of independent existence, the substantive verb is here employed to convey very different ideas. It is a mere affirmative at the commencement of the sentence, while at its termination it becomes in fact a substantive. A

* We have inserted the above conjugation, as we received it, satisfied of the general form and use of the verb, but not altogether convinced, that the various modifications here given are familiar to the Indians. They are probably approximations toward the English translations, and not parallels to them; and like many similar attempts, are founded upon the artificial arrangement of other languages differing essentially in their principles and construction.

literal translation of such phrases is frequently a difficult task ; but we have been assured, that an exact version of this sentence may be given in the Chippewa. It sometimes occurs in the war and medicine songs, where the most general and often ambiguous terms are employed. On these occasions great mystery is affected, and there is reason to believe, that the initiated endeavor to form their chorusses in such a manner as to be clearly understood by those only, who have been admitted into their medicine and *wabeno* societies.

Among the Miamis it is common for a contentious or quarrelsome person to accost another contemptuously, *Jarnesheshe nakosearn*, 'What are you?' To which the other replies with proper self-respect, *Eshinkosearn*, *eshinkosearn*, literally, 'I am, I am,' but understood to mean, 'I am what I am.'

We have reason to believe, that the distinction between animate and inanimate objects is a pervading principle in all our Indian languages, and it is probably the feature, by which they are most distinctly marked. In the Chippewa its influence is constantly exerted, and we may venture to say, that *no word* is employed without reference to it. The natural distinction of genders is merged in this principle, for there are very few words, and those in almost constant use, in which the gender is indicated by any change or inflection. And it is owing to this peculiar tendency, that there is no word to express *she*, as contradistinguished from *he* ; a fact which has excited much surprise among all who have made these languages their study. The pronoun *ween* in the Chippewa, and its synonymes in the other dialects of the Algonquin stock, signify, *he*, *she*, *him*, *her*. The present state of our information on this point leads us to the conclusion, that *all words*, whether verbs, nouns, pronouns, participles, or particles, must be employed with reference to the existence or non-existence of life in the object. In some dialects, trees and plants are considered as possessing life, while in others it is predicated only of animals. But wherever the line of separation may be drawn, it is visible in all.

The power of coalescence, and this principle of application to animate and inanimate objects, have occasioned the various combinations called personal forms, the conjugations of which are said to occupy *fourteen folio* pages in Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar. The term itself has been derived from the Hebrew, where the objective pronoun may be incorporated with the verb, and thus form a perfect word.

The grammarians who have treated of our Indian languages, have fallen into the error, too common in all philological investigations, of forming their principles upon preëxisting models, and of transferring to these tongues rules of syntax, derived from, and applicable to, different 'plans of ideas.' A rigid analysis, however, will generally show, that, excepting those elements of universal grammar which are common to all tongues, because they are essential either to the objects of speech, or to their due attainment, the Indians are possessed of languages, having no affinity, either in their etymology or construction, to any others which are known to us.

There is no verb applicable to the great departments of animate and inanimate nature, which has not a form or termination indicating its proper class. Whatever may be said respecting the root of these verbs, it is in fact never used by the Indians. *Saug* is doubtless the root of the verbs *saugeau* and *saugetōn*, 'to love,' but it is never heard in this abstract form. *Au* is derived from *iau*, 'to be,' and when added to *saug*, it makes the application of the word to the class of animate objects. *Attōn* is a 'thing,' or inanimate matter, and when suffixed to the above root, the word becomes *suagetōn*, 'to love an inanimate thing.' And here it may be well to remark, that this privilege of coalescence is used with great freedom, and syllables are omitted or inserted, as they affect the euphony of the language. Harmony is thus preserved, and it is a more important consideration than we should be prepared to expect; but changes are introduced, by which the primary words are lost sight of, and these dialects are exposed to perpetual fluctuations.

Nee saugeau, signifies 'I love an animated being,' and *nee saugētōn*, 'I love an inanimate thing,' and whatever other word may be brought to coalesce with these, whether it be an adverb denoting negation or quantity, or a pronoun, or even a substantive, these changes do not constitute distinct forms of the verb, nor are they entitled to the character of separate conjugations. The verb itself is subject to no inflections. Its modal and temporal relations are expressed in these cases, as in all others, and the only change is in the addition or subtraction of an independent word, sometimes in juxtaposition, and sometimes in combination. No grammarian would think of arranging in various conjugations, phrases like these in English, 'I love you,' 'I love him,' 'I love it,' 'you love me,' 'you love us,'

'you love them,' 'I do not love you,' &c. 'I love you much, here, there, always,' &c. And there is no difference between these, and what have been called the personal forms in our Indian languages, except the great facility, already explained, with which the latter accommodate themselves to contractions. We have some formations in strict analogy with these negative conjugations; as, *can't*, *don't*, *shan't*, &c. And if these personal forms, depending upon the change of the actor or patient, and made by the transposition of the pronoun primitive or contracted, are entitled to the consideration given to them, the conjugations of verbs may be indefinitely increased, for this principle of intimate union exerts its influence through the whole language. Such distinctions would be as useless, as they would be endless.

The process, by which the time of action and the modal affections are indicated in the Chippewa is sufficiently uniform and simple. *Neen* signifies the first person, 'I,' *keen*, the second person, 'thou,' and *ween*, the third person, 'he' or 'she'; *neenowind*, 'we,' excluding the person addressed, *keeowind*, 'we,' including the person addressed, *keeowau*, 'ye' or 'you,' *weenowau*, 'they.' And it would be perfectly intelligible to use the pronouns thus distinctly, whenever they are placed in concord with a verb. But custom has changed the arrangement and almost the form of some of these pronouns, as it has required in English the substitution of *you* for *thou*. The pronouns of the first and second person singular are invariable in their position, and admit no other change in their form, than the elision of some of their letters. They become *n* or *nee*, *k* or *kee*, as the initial sound of the next word is open or close. The third person singular of the simple affirmative form seems to be the root of the Indian verb, for when thus used, it is understood to assert something respecting a third person. The letter *o* is, however, frequently the sign of this pronoun, but whence its derivation, or what are the rules of its application, we have not yet been able to ascertain. We are inclined to think, that its use indicates the presence, as its omission does the absence, of the person spoken of.

The peculiar idiom of these languages becomes more apparent in the application of these pronouns in the plural number.

Kee <i>saugeau</i> min,	<i>We love</i> (inclusive.)
Nee <i>saugeau</i> min,	<i>We love</i> (exclusive.)
Kee <i>saugeau</i> -m,	<i>Ye love.</i>
<i>saugeau</i> wug,	<i>They love.</i>

Nee and *kee* are respectively 'I' and 'thou,' *min* implies the 'others,' and *wug* is the mark of plurality, and the resolution of the examples will give us 'thou lovest others,' 'I love others,' 'thou lovest others,' 'he loves more than one.' Or in other words 'I and the others love,' 'you and the others love,' 'he and more than one love.' It will be perceived, that the second person plural and the inclusive form of the first person are distinguished from each other by the use of the word *min*, or its initial letter. Sometimes the whole pronoun is employed, and the monosyllable *won* is suffixed to the verb; but as ignorance is preferable to error, and as we do not know the reason or extent of this rule, we content ourselves with stating the fact.

As an example of the various modifications by which the time and accidents connected with affirmation are expressed in the Chippewa, we shall take the verb *saugeau*, 'to love an animate object,' and exhibit the process, by which the combinations of thought and expression are effected. It will be seen, that the verb itself is destitute of all inflection, and although we cannot trace the etymology nor define the meaning of all the auxiliary words, yet there is no reason to doubt, but they are the remains of primitive words originally having some analogous signification, and assuming their present form from that tendency to contraction, common to all languages, and above all to these. This peculiar feature strongly confirms one of the most plausible conjectures of the ingenious Tooke, where he contends, that mood, tense, number, and person are no parts of the verb, and it shows the inutility of multiplying the conjugations, as we have already remarked.

	Ne,	I.		
	saug,	love.		
	e,	a connective.		
	au,	an animated being.		
		First Person.		
Nee,	I,	saugeau,	love	{ animated
Nee,	I		loved, &c.	being.
Ningee,	I have		loved,	bun.*
				bun.

* A mark of past time. A derivative of *IAU*, and equivalent to our aorist of the past.

<i>Nin-gah,</i>	<i>I shall</i>	<i>love,</i>	
<i>Nin GAH GEE,</i>	<i>I shall have</i>	<i>loved,</i>	<i>bun.</i>
<i>Nin GAH,</i>	<i>Let me</i>	<i>love,</i>	<i>beenuh.*</i>
<i>Nin DAU,</i>	<i>I may</i>	<i>love,</i>	
<i>Nin DAU GEE,</i>	<i>I might</i>	<i>love,</i>	
<i>Nin DAU GEE,</i>	<i>I may have</i>	<i>loved,</i>	<i>bun.</i>

Second Person.

<i>Kee,</i>	<i>Thou</i>	<i>lovest,</i>	
<i>Kee GEE,</i>	<i>Thou</i>	<i>lovedst,</i>	
<i>Kee GEE,</i>	<i>Thou hast</i>	<i>loved,</i>	<i>bun.</i>

Third Person.

<i>O,</i>	<i>He,</i>	<i>saugeau, or saugeaw,</i>	<i>loves, &c.</i>
<i>O GEE,</i>			
<i>O GAH, &c.</i>			

The aorist of the past is formed by annexing *bun* to the verb, and that of the future by adding *gah* to the pronoun. The perfect past and the perfect future add *gee* to the pronoun and *bun* to the verb. *Kishpin*, 'if,' is the mark of the conditional affirmation, and *go*, added to the verb, forms the passive voice. By comparing this slight analysis with the conjugation of the verb *iau*, this part of the syntax of the language will be easily understood.

We are not prepared to say, that all the Chippewa verbs can be thus regularly varied, but the exceptions which take place may be considered anomalies, such as are found in all languages, or may be referred to some unknown principle of concord, which future investigation may probably develope.

In the regular formation of these verbs, the pronoun precedes, designating the person, and coalescing with the mark of past or future time; the root of the verb follows, with the sign of the class attached, which is in fact the only inseparable addition made to it. The mark of the aorist or of the definite time, completes the new combination. The inanimate class resembles the other in all respects, except that *toan* is the terminating active mark and *egoan* the passive.

There is a singular coincidence between the formation of the present participle in the Chippewa and in the English, both suffix *ing* to the verb.

	Present.	Past.	Present Participle.
<i>Love,</i>	<i>saugeau,</i>	<i>saugeaubun,</i>	<i>saugeauing.</i>
<i>Walk,</i>	<i>pimmosa,</i>	<i>pimmisabun,</i>	<i>pimmosaing.</i>
<i>Dance,</i>	<i>nemee,</i>	<i>nemeebun,</i>	<i>neming.</i>

Some verbs are converted into substantives by the addition of *win*.

* This word signifies, *let me, permit me.*

Minnequa,	<i>to drink,</i>	minnequaawin,	<i>drink.</i>
Aunoke,	<i>to work,</i>	aunokewin,	<i>work.</i>
Odewa,	<i>to traffic,</i>	odewawin,	<i>traffic.</i>

These languages admit no inflections of the substantives, and cases are therefore unknown. The mark of number and of time may be annexed to them, and there are a few compound words, which serve the purpose of prepositions, and which may be combined with nouns. But their meaning is not definite, nor their application extensive; like *ink* in the Delaware, which is a mark of locality, but which has been rendered 'at,' 'in,' 'on,' as the subject seemed to require. The annexation of particular circumstances to general terms, which is necessary from the impossibility of providing a separate term for every complex idea, and which is effected by cases or connectives, is either not done in the Indian languages, or it is done indeterminately. 'I went him town, and saw man head cut off,' is an expression, which marks great want of precision in the speech or thoughts of those who employ it; but it is such an expression as an Indian would use, and in fact from the structure of the language frequently must use. And although from the composition of this sentence, we may collect the meaning of the speaker, yet it is clear, that those words which do not coalesce and are not connected together, must be frequently employed, where their relative operation is indeterminate. And to this cause must be attributed much of the uncertainty attending our Indian translations, too obvious to those, who have heard them, and also the use of gestures in all their conversations, to make up for the poverty of the language.

A few prepositions, indicating local relations are employed, but they are very general in their application. These combine readily with substantives. From the formidable length of most of them, it is evident, that they are compound terms; and perhaps, if we were able to resolve them into their elements, we should find, that they are parts of nouns or verbs, labor-saving machines, expressing by contraction or corruption, in one word, what in the origin of language may have required sentences. But what Tooke has so ably performed for the English particles, we can never expect to see performed for the Indian.

We shall insert a few of these cumbrous appendages.

In the Miami.

Aupelaukontshee,	<i>behind.</i>
Shaupondee,	<i>through.</i>

In the Chippewa.

Iausewaun,	<i>without.</i>
Nasawûe,	<i>between.</i>
Peenjaie,	<i>within.</i>

The introduction of new animals or instruments among the Indians would naturally lead to the composition of new terms, descriptive of the qualities or appearance of the animals, and of the object or mode of operation of the instrument. And we accordingly find, that the domestic animals, and the productions of civilized life, which the Europeans have introduced among them, have received their appellations by this process.

A horse is called by the Chippewas *pabazhikogauzhee*, from *pabazhik*, 'single,' or undivided, and *ashkunzhee*, 'hoof.'

A plough is called *pegokummebedegun*, from *pegabedoan*, to 'break,' *akkee*, 'earth,' *e*, a connective, and *jegun*, 'instrument.' This word, *jegun*, is the terminating part of the compound words, descriptive of instruments.

Iskodakwayjegin, 'tongs,' from *ishkoda*, 'fire,' *takwaudun*, 'bite,' and *jegin*; 'the fire-biter.'

But there are in all these languages many names of animals indigenous to the country, which are compound terms, collecting together some of their most remarkable appearances or qualities. We will not fatigue our readers with the perusal of these long and harsh words, but shall merely exhibit the process, by which these dialects have accommodated themselves to the changes which circumstances have rendered necessary.

A spider is called by the Chippewas a *net-maker*, and a jay, a *bull-frog* bird.

By the Delawares the following appellations have been conferred.

A Panther,	<i>Long tail.</i>
An Otter,	<i>Long dive.</i>
An Opossum,	<i>White face.</i>
A Turkey,	<i>Scratcher.</i>
A Bald Eagle,	<i>White tail.*</i>
Pike,	<i>Long bill.</i>
Catfish,	<i>Fat fish.</i>
Hornet,	<i>White stinger behind.</i>
Yellow Jacket,	<i>Yellow stinger behind.</i>
Honey bee,	<i>Sugar stinger behind.</i>

Very few, perhaps none of the names applied to animals, are arbitrary words, and they presuppose an established nomen-

* There are different words for the tails of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects.

clature of the objects or qualities, associated in combination, before the formation and application of the specific term. The comfort, and in fact the existence, of the Indians depend so essentially upon a few of the fur-bearing and food-supplying animals, that it seems difficult to conceive any period in their history, when they had not some distinguishing appellation for these co-tenants of the forest. They could not look around them, without seeing a buffalo, a deer, a bear, or some other animal, destined for their subsistence by that Providence, which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. And we believe, that this peculiar trait is a strong proof, that they do not now occupy the country in which their language was formed and matured. In ages long since passed, and probably in other regions, the animals known to them were different from those inhabiting this part of the world. These doubtless received names from them, as well as the other works of creation. But in the erratic migrations to which barbarous tribes are exposed, they perhaps reached a country, whose animal kingdom presented new features, and in applying distinctive appellatives to the objects thus made known to them, they would naturally consult the prominent habits of the animals or revert to their own former associations, and thus compound terms, conveying the new idea.

We shall briefly state a few leading principles, which regulate the construction of our Indian languages, and which give them a primitive character, among the various modes of human speech.

Their original words are probably monosyllabic, and the compounds have been formed, as circumstances required new terms.

Their distinction of animate and inanimate nature; their verbal adjectives and substantives; their want of genders; their tendency to combination and coalescence; the absence of all inflection in their verbs, to designate moods, time, number, or person; the want of all declensions in their substantives or adjectives; the paucity of connectives, and the consequent deficiency in precision; the absence of auxiliary verbs; the division of the pronouns, and the annexation of the temporal marks, partly to them and partly to the verbs, and the combination of the same marks with all the other parts of speech;—these prominent characteristics we have already stated and explained.

The order of arrangement in these languages is invariable, and necessarily so from their construction.

Definitives are little used, and we are not satisfied that the definitive article is at all known.* The numeral, *pazhik*, 'one,' in Chippewa, has been considered by some inquirers as an indefinite article; but we think it is used only when it has relation to number; as *one* man, when contradistinguished from none, or more than one, and not as *a* man, generally.

But a full consideration of this subject would carry us far beyond the limits we have prescribed for ourselves. Enough has been said to give a general view of some of the characteristic features of our Indian languages, and such a view is all we are able to offer, and perhaps more than our readers are willing to examine.

ART. IV.—*Hope Leslie; or Early Times in Massachusetts.*

By the Author of 'Redwood.' 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1827.

WE hold it to be a fortunate thing for any country, that a portion of its literature should fall into the hands of the female sex; because their influence, in any walk of letters, is almost sure to be powerful and good. This influence appears to us to be so peculiar in its nature, and so important in its action, that we venture to demand the attention of our readers to some remarks upon it, however unworthy of the subject our exposition may be.

To speak first of the influence of female literature on females themselves, we presume that the mere fact of the existence of such a literature produces a very sensible effect on the mental character of those, whom, if it were only for gallantry's sake, we must call the best part of our race. A woman feels a laudable pride in the knowledge that a sister has distinguished herself in an intellectual career; has won a prize in the competition of mind; has vindicated for her sex that equality with the other, which has been both doubted and denied. Her success is an argument which can be wielded at pleasure, and doubtless with

* We make this remark, notwithstanding the effect, which the letter *k* is said, on page 390, to have upon the adjectives. We incline to think, that the translation there is too free to give a just notion of the idiomatic form of the language.

pleasure, against all who would underrate feminine capacity. And it is something more and better than an argument. It is a stimulus ; acting on the generous ambition of the whole sex ; prompting all to an exertion of their highest faculties ; inducing a general disposition to read, to study, to think ; making something desirable beside personal attraction, and something enviable, which shall last longer, and be more attainable, than beauty. The objects of pursuit will be exalted and refined. The consciousness of power will produce self-respect, and self-respect will lead to improvement.

Nor will this be the end. Woman, at the same time that she is thus raised in her own estimation, will be necessarily lifted up in the good opinion of man. He will acknowledge her claims on his respect, for the sake of the proofs she has offered of her spiritual endowments ; and his behavior will tell her that he regards her neither as the queen nor the plaything of an hour, but as the real companion of his life. Then look at the happy light of this sentiment, as it is reflected back on the man. How much his own worth is increased, by the better opinions and more respectful feelings which he is obliged to entertain towards woman, and by the deportment and conduct which will be the natural result of those opinions and feelings. How much more estimable, useful, enlightened, he is like to be with an accomplished fellow creature, than with a brainless idol in his house and in his bosom. How different a being must man be, according as he is united to a companion, or tied to a plaything.

And who perceives not that the influence of woman, thus stimulated and directed, extends yet further, and acts on another generation ; on the future men and the future women who are now infants under her care ? Who can estimate the power of a mother over the mind of her offspring ; and who will say, that this power will not be exerted with far happier prospects and probable consequences, if she is capable of becoming the instructor, than if she is only the nurse of her child ?

If we have reasoned justly, it follows that the successful literary efforts of a few females, have a direct tendency to raise the whole mass of human intellect, in a manner, and to a degree, which could not otherwise be accomplished, and which are not to be estimated by common rules of calculation. That some bad consequences may follow a sudden taste or fashion for literature, is neither to be denied nor wondered at. That two

or three females may make themselves exceedingly troublesome to their acquaintance by the annoying perseverance of their high discourse at all times and tides; that a few more may prove too often and too glaringly how little good their reading has done them, by the questions they ask and the answers they give; and that a very few indeed may culpably and ruinously neglect their domestic duties for the circulating library or the goose-quill, are matters of undoubted fact and sad experience; but in a general view of the subject, their importance is inconsiderable. They are hardly worth an estimation, when we are weighing the quantity of good with which they come mixed up, the unavoidable refuse and dust. Who will be so uncourteous and illnatured as to refuse to make for them a due allowance? Who so perverse as to prefer a stupid and stationary ignorance without these evils, to a state of diffused cultivation and intelligence with them? Will any one forego all the advantages which must necessarily accrue to himself and society, from the intellectual improvement of those who sustain the high and responsible relations of wives and mothers, merely through the fear of a little pedantry or pretension? And is pretension confined to one sex alone? Are there no male pretenders? Are all the smatterers and idlers in literature, women? Not if our ears have given us a true report of the matter. Listen to a beau and a belle discussing one of Sir Walter's novels, or mayhap some graver book or subject, during a morning call, or the pauses of a cotillion; and you will find, where both parties are not on a melancholy equality, that, half the time at least, the advantage in judgment, discrimination, taste, and pertinent remark, will be on the side of the fair one. Throw us into promiscuous society anywhere, and for an hour's literary talk we are quite willing to take our chance with the ladies. The truth is, that wherever literature is at all in vogue, there will be literary pretenders and literary nothings; but the gentlemen will furnish a full quota of both.

We have not yet spoken of the character of female literature, but only of its existence; for its existence alone, whatever may be its character and objects, is capable of exerting, and does exert, all the influences which have already been noticed. A Carter and a Dacier may exalt the whole mental standard of the sex to which they belong, although few or none of those who feel the honor of their celebrity may be able to enter into their studies, and examine the grounds of their re-

putation as classical scholars. It is enough that their merit is allowed and respected ; enough that their fame is shared with their sex, that emulation is kindled, and that attention is directed to intellectual acquisitions, employments, and pleasures.

But when the impetus has been given, and the noble pride of mind is brought into action ; when an authoress is no longer a rarity, and many a titlepage has borne a female name, it will then appear, that female literature has its proper walks ; that it is peculiar in its nature and distinct in its influence ; and it will appear, too, that these walks are exactly those in which the greatest moral power may manifest and most directly exert itself. Into the paths of abstruse learning, few of the sex will bend their steps. Their situation, habits, and feelings lead them not there. They will be found in greener and more pleasant places, whither their own inclinations and capabilities will most naturally conduct them, and where their enchantments will exercise the most potent sway. A single glance at the library of female writers, which, by the way, is now as large as well as a respectable one, will satisfy us, that it comprises two main divisions ; the instruction of youth, and what is called, though in some respects improperly and unjustly, the lighter kinds of literature. Books for the nursery and the school will occupy a conspicuous station on one side, while on the other we shall see novels, tales, essays, and poetry. And if we were asked to point out those descriptions of literature which are the most directly and extensively active on the manners, principles, and tastes, mental and moral, of a community, we think that these are precisely the kinds which we should name.

The power which well adapted books may exert on the minds of children, can hardly be stated in extravagant terms, and will be allowed by every one to be great. And when we consider further, that early impressions, though often weakened, are seldom entirely erased ; that good seed on good ground affords an abundant return at the harvest time ; that 'the child is father of the man ;' that a strong direction once given is long, and, in a majority of cases, always retained ; and, to put the subject in one other point of view, when we consider that the mother's influence, which, next to the influence of Heaven itself, is the best and dearest and most heavenly, and has been the most frequently and gratefully acknowledged by its objects, may be so effectually aided in its

operations by the hints which the parent receives, and the stores of auxiliary instruction and entertainment which are placed at her disposal, in judicious books for children, we shall regard such books not with pleasure alone, but with respect; we shall esteem it no act of condescension in ourselves, in any one, to turn over their pages; we shall perceive more solid instruction, more beauty, truth, power, in many a little work stitched up in colored paper, bearing a simple wood cut on each side, and thrown about the nursery with as much freedom of dissemination as the most ardent republican could desire, than in many a proud octavo, redolent of Russia, and tenacious of its standing on shelves of mahogany.

Such being the importance of juvenile books, who are the best qualified to make them? and who do make them? To the first question we answer, Women. They are the best qualified to make books for children, who are most in the company of children; who have almost the sole care of children; whose natural sympathies unite them most closely with children, even such of them as have never been mothers themselves; who best know the minds, the wants, the hearts of children; and whose tenderness and gentleness gracefully bend to the ignorance of children, and assimilate most easily and happily with their soft and confiding natures. The child, in its earlier years especially, has no guardian like woman, no friend like woman, and can therefore have no instructor like woman.

And, when we come to answer the next question, Who have really devoted their best talents and most anxious care to the education of children; who have written the best books for and about children? we are thankful that we again can answer, Women. Thirty years ago (if we had been in existence then), we could not have answered thus. We should have been compelled to say, There are no books for children; these important members of the human family are destitute; this immensely valuable, and infinitely fertile field lies neglected and runs to waste; no seed has been sown there for the propitious skies to mature; the grain has yet to be deposited; the weeds are yet to be eradicated; both man and woman pass it by, and take their labor to other places, and think not of redeeming it, nor know that by care and culture it may be made to blossom like the rose, and fill the earth with its fruits. This we should at that time have been obliged to say. But now

we can say, that those whose part and province it was to do this work, have done it, and done it well. We can point to the names of Barbauld and Edgeworth, Taylor and Hoffland, and confidently ask, where there are worthier. Men talk of eras in literature. The era of the two first named of those ladies, the era of the 'Hymns for Children' and the 'Parent's Assistant,' was a golden era, pure and bright, and full of riches, and deserving of a rank among the most glorious dates of improvement: Since that time laborers have been fast coming into the same field, and have worked well; though we must still say, that those who came first worked best. Our own countrywomen have been neither tardy in advancing to this delightful task, nor inefficient in their services. We believe that the best children's books which we have, and we have many which are excellent, are the composition of females; and if we felt ourselves at liberty to do so, we could repeat an honorable, and by no means a scanty list of the names of those who have earned something better than mere reputation, by contributing to form the minds and hearts of our children. Those who are conscious that they belong to the catalogue, have little to ask of fame, and certainly nothing to receive from it half so valuable as that which they already possess, the gratulations of their own hearts.

The department of juvenile literature, then, is almost entirely in female hands. Long may it remain there! Long, for the interests of virtue, and the improvement of our kind, may it be in the heart of woman to nurture the growth, and watch over and direct the early puttings forth of youthful intellect and feeling. While she retains the office, so delightful in itself, and so grave and momentous in its ends, and even adds to its beautiful dignity by the graceful and effectual manner in which she has hitherto performed its duties, she inspires us with an admiration of a deeper, and more lasting, and, we must also believe, more flattering character, than was the most glowing and romantic love of the days of chivalry. Talk not to us of chivalry, unless it be in poetry, and with the usual latitude and license of poetry. In truth, and in prose, the most refined devotion of knighthood and chivalry is no more to be compared, in purity and elevation, to the sentiments which female excellence now commands, than are those fair ones who then presided at the great duels which we read of under the poetical name of tournaments, and who by their presence and

plaudits animated the legalized and courtly slaughter which was raging and struggling beneath them, to be compared to the females of our own time, who, as beautiful, no doubt, and accomplished as they, find it their more appropriate privilege and pleasure to stimulate the fresh powers of childhood to the competitions of knowledge and virtue, and to hold out the meed of approbation to the exertions of innocent and ingenuous minds.

To pass from this department of woman's literary labors to the other, we come to a field, which, though she does not occupy it so exclusively, she occupies with honor, and in which she has done much good, and still may do more. It is a field, too, which, in common with the former, has been undervalued. We shall not stop to argue with those who contend that novels, and romances, poems and plays, should not be read. It is enough that people will read them as fast as they are written; that beyond other kinds of literature, they are widely diffused, and caught up with an unsatisfied avidity. In one sense, if in no other, they are truly light; for, like those seeds to which nature has given wings, they fly abroad with the four winds, rejoicing in their buoyancy, and disseminating themselves through every land. This lightness is of itself a vast advantage, and the true inquiry is, not whether the advantage shall be used, for that we cannot help, but how it may be best used. As thistle down, and nettle seed are in full possession of it, we ought to turn our attention to those worthier plants, whose seeds are also winged, and favor their culture, and encourage their maturity. The interest, the natural, irrepressible interest, which the passions of men will always take in lively descriptions of passion; the absorbing heed which their affections will render, while the world stands, to writings which address and excite them, should be turned to virtuous ends by all those who love virtue, to useful ends by all those who honor truth; and every patriot and every philanthropist, every well-wisher to his country or his kind, should rejoice whenever he sees those, who, with the magic wands of poesy and fiction and the potent spells of genius, might lead the spirits of men almost whither they would, and who yet would rather snap their wands asunder, and abjure their spells for ever, than wield them for a moment in league with the powers of darkness; who would rather die, than lure men, by any charms of theirs, from the paths of uprightness and life.

The purity and the goodness of woman have here done their proper work. They are seen and felt in the elegant literature of the times. They have greatly contributed to chasten the morals of literature, and establish a code of laws, by which offences against decency are condemned as offences against taste. We would hazard the opinion, that to their absence the prevailing licentiousness of old English literature is in some degree to be ascribed. There were no female authors in those days when ribaldry was deemed essential to the drama, if to no other species of writing; and when a novel was thought none the worse, perhaps all the better, for describing scenes, which we trust would now be the proscription of any book whatever. They have now come in, following the conduct of their own taste and peculiar powers, to try their skill in providing the intellectual entertainment of society; and a chaster tone of public sentiment has been, in part, the consequence of the trial. We would not give an unreasonable share in the reformation to the influence of female literature; but we have no doubt whatever, that the coöperation of that with other meliorating influences has been of the utmost importance to the final effect. How should it be otherwise? Why should not the modesty and delicate feeling of woman refine and soften the character of society as much in her writings, as in her manners and conversation and life?

That some females seem to have forgotten their sex, and to have prided themselves on throwing off their peculiar qualities, and adopting the coarser habits of men, in their literary performances, is true. But such cases are happily, and as we think, necessarily rare. The masquerade is out of nature, and gives no pleasure to those whose approbation is valuable. It is like the occasional adoption of masculine attire by heroines of the stage. All may not be disgusted with the metamorphosed individual, but certainly none can respect, and few can approve.

If there is a poison more subtle, more deadly, and, alas, more palatable than all others, it is the poison of passion, which is communicated far and wide through the medium of books of amusement. If there is a medicine more healthful, pleasant, and precious than others, it is the antidote of virtuous principle conveyed through the same medium, acceptable to all tastes, and spreading wherever the poison had spread. The hand of woman has been doing its proper office in largely administering the healing potion. The gentle and faithful

nurse of our bodily sicknesses has extended her care to our mental and moral constitution, assiduously and with success. Both services belong to her, and in both capacities she is at home. She cannot be false to her nature. The cause of virtue must always find in her an advocate. While she uses the pen, she must always use it to inculcate the graces which she loves, and in which she herself excels. If our literature needs a preservative against the deleterious infusions of licentiousness and folly, we look confidently to her, for we shall find it in the enthusiasm of her heart, and the strength of her good principles. But if our confidence should prove to be misplaced; if our anticipations should be disappointed; if woman should ever turn recreant to her own interest, her own happiness, her own nature; if she too should begin to blot the fair page of letters with unseemliness, and make the mind and soul instruments of their own degradation; then, though we are not apt to despair of anything that is good, then we should either give up the cause, or look for direct interposition from above, for vain would be the help of man.

These are our sentiments with regard to what we have called female literature. We fear not for their truth, but only that we have not done justice to their truth and the importance of the subject. The authoress of '*Hope Leslie*' must not accuse us of neglecting her beautiful book, because we have not yet alluded to it; for our remarks were suggested by it, and, if they are worthy, may be applied to it, and to the rest of her writings. She has been a laborer in both of the departments of which we have spoken, and in both she has merited, and we believe received, the cordial approbation of the public.

'*Hope Leslie*' is the last of this lady's three larger works, and, in our judgment, the best. It bears the lineaments of the two others, so far as to entitle them to claim a family resemblance to it; but it is written with an easier, freer spirit than the others; its chain of beauty is less frequently interrupted; it contains a greater number of prominent characters; its style is more matured. In the whole three, however, there is the same purity and delicacy; the same generous, lofty sentiment; the same deep and solemn breathings of religion without parade, and of piety without cant or censoriousness; the same love of the grand and the lovely in nature, together with the same power so to express that love as to waken it up ardently, devotionally in others; the same occasional touches of merry wit and play-

ful satire; the same glowing fancy; and, spread through all, and regulating all, the same good sense, leading to a right apprehension of human life and human motives, restraining genius from extravagance, giving an air of reality to the narrative, and securing our constant respect for the narrator.

There is a natural advantage, if we may use such a phrase, belonging to the last of these tales, which, if the two former had been equal to it in other respects, would yet have clothed it with an interest greatly superior to theirs. This advantage is its date; the times and the scenes in which its plot is laid. At the same time that there is greater danger incurred, and greater care and skill demanded in writing an historical than any other kind of novel, yet when the care and the skill have been successful, and the danger obviously and confessedly escaped, the work makes a stronger appeal to our sympathies, and keeps a more tenacious hold on our memory, than a work of mere imagination from the same hand. The danger is in caricaturing, or feebly representing those men and manners of which there exist true portraits, so far as history is true, in the public mind. A caricature, or a weak, stiff, chalky delineation of a Cæsar or an Alfred, a Bonaparte or a Washington, is intolerable. We cannot pardon the stupid mimicry. But let them be brought out into bold, masterly relief, authentic, spirited, living, and breathing, and we confess the artist's power, by giving up our fainter images for his, which we immediately install in our own historical galleries, and make the gems of our memory.

It has been fully demonstrated by many an orator and writer of our country, that the characters of our first settlers, the peculiar features of their age, their troubles, their struggles, their wars, government, manners, opinions, and institutions, all fresh and singular, with the wild scenes amidst which they moved, and the wild men by whom they were surrounded, furnished the most admirable materials for literary fabrics of purely national manufacture, and original patterns, both in poetry and prose. What they said was as true as truth itself. Neither could any fault be found with the recipes which they kindly wrote out; for these were as correct and clearly worded as could reasonably be desired. But the difficulty was to follow them. The article in request was not forthcoming. A few attempts were made, and one or two of them were not entire failures. The authoress of '*Hope Leslie*,' and hitherto she

alone, has been, at least to our satisfaction, completely successful. She has had the industry to study the early history of New England, the costume and carriage, the spirit and temper of the settlers and aboriginal inhabitants, and the talent to combine the results of her researches with the embellishments of her own resources, and present to us the whole, a beautiful work, to verify our theories, to enliven our ancestral attachments, to delight, instruct, and improve us.

The book has been so long before the public, and so generally read, that we do not intend to offer an abstract of its story. If there are any who have not read it, we advise them to do so at once; and in order to excite their curiosity, we will copy a few pages, which, on a second rapid perusal of the work, seemed to us to be fair specimens of it.

Very soon after the opening of the story, we are brought into what was then, 1630 or thereabouts, the western wilderness, if indeed one part of the country was more of a wilderness than another, and are introduced to the family of Mr Fletcher, a friend of Governor Winthrop, who has settled near the infant village of Springfield, on the Connecticut river. During the absence of the head of the family, they are all, with the exception of his son Everell, massacred by the Indians; a scene which the authoress describes with powerful effect. On the retreat of the hostile party, which consists of the chief Monnotto, two or three warriors, his son and daughter, Oneco and Magawisca, who had for some time been inmates of the Fletcher family, with the prisoners, Everell Fletcher and Faith Leslie, the sister of Hope, the following scene occurs.

‘As the fugitives emerged from the narrow defile, a new scene opened upon them; a scene of valley and hill, river and meadow, surrounded by mountains, whose encircling embrace expressed protection and love to the gentle spirits of the valley. A light summer shower had just fallen, and the clouds, “in thousand liveries dight,” had risen from the western horizon, and hung their rich draperies about the clear sun. The horizontal rays passed over the valley, and flushed the upper branches of the trees, the summits of the hills, and the mountains, with a flood of light, whilst the low grounds reposing in deep shadow, presented one of those striking and accidental contrasts in nature, that a painter would have selected to give effect to his art.

‘The gentle Housatonic wound through the depths of the valley, in some parts contracted to a narrow channel, and murmuring over the rocks that rippled its surface; and in others, spread-

ing wide its clear mirror, and lingering like a lover amidst the vines, trees, and flowers, that fringed its banks. Thus it flows now—but not as then in the sylvan freedom of nature, when no clattering mills and bustling factories threw their prosaic shadows over the silver waters—when not even a bridge spanned their bosom—when not a trace of man's art was seen, save the little bark canoe that glided over them, or lay idly moored along the shore. The savage was rather the vassal, than the master of nature; obeying her laws, but never usurping her dominion. He only used the land she prepared, and cast in his corn but where she seemed to invite him by mellowing and upheaving the rich mould. He did not presume to hew down her trees, the proud crest of her uplands, and convert them into "russet lawns and fallows grey." The axman's stroke, that music to the *settler's* ear, never then violated the peace of nature, or made discord in her music.

'Imagination may be indulged in lingering for a moment in those dusky regions of the past; but it is not permitted to reasonable, instructed man to admire or regret tribes of human beings, who lived and died, leaving scarcely a more enduring memorial, than the forsaken nest that vanishes before one winter's storms.

'But to return to our wanderers. They had entered the expanded vale, by following the windings of the Housatonic around a hill, conical and easy of ascent, excepting on that side which overlooked the river, where, half-way from the base to the summit, rose a perpendicular rock, bearing on its beetling front the age of centuries. On every other side, the hill was garlanded with laurels, now in full and profuse bloom; here and there surmounted by an intervening pine, spruce, or hemlock, whose seared winter foliage was fringed with the bright tender sprouts of spring. We believe there is a chord, even in the heart of savage man, that responds to the voice of nature. Certain it is, the party paused, as it appeared from a common instinct, at a little grassy nook, formed by the curve of the hill, to gaze on this singularly beautiful spot. Everell looked on the smoke that curled from the huts of the village, embosomed in pine trees, on the adjacent plain. The scene, to him, breathed peace and happiness, and gushing thoughts of home filled his eyes with tears. Oneco plucked clusters of laurels, and decked his little favorite, and the old chief fixed his melancholy eye on a solitary pine, scathed and blasted by tempests, that rooted in the ground where he stood, lifted its topmost branches to the bare rock, where they seemed, in their wild desolation, to brave the elemental fury that had stripped them of beauty and life.

‘The leafless tree was truly, as it appeared to the eye of Mononotto, a fit emblem of the chieftain of a ruined tribe. “See you, child,” he said, addressing Magawisca, “those unearthed roots? the tree must fall—hear you the death-song that wails through those blasted branches?”

“Nay, father, listen not to the sad strain; it is but the spirit of the tree mourning over its decay; rather turn thine ear to the glad song of this bright stream, image of the good. She nourishes the aged trees, and cherishes the tender flowrets, and her song is ever of happiness, till she reaches the great sea—image of our eternity.”

“Speak not to me of happiness, Magawisca; it has vanished with the smoke of our homes. I tell ye, the spirits of our race are gathered about this blasted tree. Samoset points to that rock—that sacrifice-rock.” His keen glance turned from the rock to Everell.

Magawisca understood its portentous meaning, and she clasped her hands in mute and agonizing supplication. He answered to the silent entreaty. “It is in vain—my purpose is fixed, and here it shall be accomplished. Why hast thou linked thy heart, foolish girl, to this English boy? I have sworn, kneeling on the ashes of our hut, that I would never spare a son of our enemy’s race. The lights of heaven witnessed my vow, and think you, that now this boy is given into my hands to avenge thy brother, I will spare him for thy prayer? No—though thou lookest on me with thy mother’s eye, and speakest with her voice, I will not break my vow.”

Mononotto had indeed taken a final and fatal resolution; and prompted, as he fancied, by supernatural intimations, and, perhaps, dreading the relentings of his own heart, he determined on its immediate execution. He announced his decision to the Mohawks. A brief and animated consultation followed, during which they brandished their tomahawks, and cast wild and threatening glances at Everell, who at once comprehended the meaning of these menacing looks and gestures. He turned an appealing glance to Magawisca. She did not speak. “Am I to die now?” he asked; she turned shuddering from him.

Everell had expected death from his savage captors, but while it was comparatively distant, he thought he was indifferent to it, or rather, he believed he should welcome it as a release from the horrible recollection of the massacre at Bethel, which haunted him day and night. But now that his fate seemed inevitable, nature was appalled, and shrunk from it; and the impassive spirit, for a moment, endured a pang that there cannot be in any “corp’ral sufferance.” The avenues of sense were closed,

and past and future were present to the mind, as if it were already invested with the attributes of its eternity. From this agonizing excitement, Everell was roused by a command from the savages to move onward. "It is then deferred," thought Magawisca, and heaving a deep sigh, as if for a moment relieved from a pressure on her overburdened heart, she looked to her father for an explanation; he said nothing, but proceeded in silence towards the village.' pp. 138-143.

In the bosom of poor Magawisca, during her residence, or captivity, at Bethel, as Mr Fletcher's house is called, there had grown up a strong affection for young Everell, and she is determined to save his life, which the Indians are as firmly determined to sacrifice. In order to prevent her interference, her father confines her, on their arrival at the Indian village, in one of the huts, from which she beholds the agonizing sight of the savage procession moving to the sacrifice-rock, where Everell is to meet his death. She finds means, however, to elude the watchfulness of her guard, and arrives to the rescue in the manner thus described.

'Seated around their sacrifice-rock—their holy of holies—they listened to the sad story of the Pequod chief, with dejected countenances and downcast eyes, save when an involuntary glance turned on Everell, who stood awaiting his fate, cruelly aggravated by every moment's delay, with a quiet dignity and calm resignation, that would have become a hero or a saint. Surrounded by this dark cloud of savages, his fair countenance kindled by holy inspiration, he looked scarcely like a creature of earth.

'There might have been among the spectators, some who felt the silent appeal of the helpless, courageous boy; some whose hearts moved them to interpose to save the selected victim; but they were restrained by their interpretation of natural justice, as controlling to them as our artificial codes of laws to us.

'Others of a more cruel, or more irritable disposition, when the Pequod described his wrongs, and depicted his sufferings, brandished their tomahawks, and would have hurled them at the boy, but the chief said—"Nay, brothers—the work is mine—he dies by my hand—for my first born—life for life—he dies by a single stroke, for thus my boy was cut off. The blood of sachems is in his veins. He has the skin, but not the soul of that mixed race, whose gratitude is like that vanishing mist," and he pointed to the vapor that was melting from the mountain tops into the transparent ether; "and their promises are like this," and he snapped a dead branch from the pine beside which he stood, and broke it in fragments. "Boy, as he is, he fought for his mother,

as the eagle fights for its young. I watched him in the mountain-path, when the blood gushed from his torn feet; not a word from his smooth lip betrayed his pain."

'Mononotto embellished his victim with praises, as the ancients wreathed theirs with flowers. He brandished his hatchet over Everell's head, and cried, exultingly, "See, he flinches not. Thus stood my boy, when they flashed their sabres before his eyes, and bade him betray his father. Brothers—My people have told me I bore a woman's heart towards the enemy. Ye shall see. I will pour out this English boy's blood to the last drop, and give his flesh and bones to the dogs and wolves."

'He then motioned to Everell to prostrate himself on the rock, his face downward. In this position the boy would not see the descending stroke. Even at this moment of dire vengeance, the instincts of a merciful nature asserted their rights.

Everell sunk calmly on his knees, not to supplicate life, but to commend his soul to God. He clasped his hands together. He did not—he could not speak; his soul was

"Rapt in still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer."

'At this moment a sunbeam penetrated the trees that enclosed the area, and fell athwart his brow and hair, kindling it with an almost supernatural brightness. To the savages, this was a token that the victim was accepted, and they sent forth a shout that rent the air. Everell bent forward, and pressed his forehead to the rock. The chief raised the deadly weapon, when Magawisca, springing from the precipitous side of the rock, screamed—"Forbear!" and interposed her arm. It was too late. The blow was levelled—force and direction given—the stroke aimed at Everell's neck, severed his defender's arm, and left him unharmed. The lopped, quivering member dropped over the precipice. Mononotto staggered and fell senseless, and all the savages, uttering horrible yells, rushed toward the fatal spot.

"Stand back!" cried Magawisca. "I have bought his life with my own. Fly, Everell—nay, speak not, but fly—thither—to the east!" she cried, more vehemently.

'Everell's faculties were paralyzed by a rapid succession of violent emotions. He was conscious only of a feeling of mingled gratitude and admiration for his preserver. He stood motionless, gazing on her. "I die in vain then," she cried in an accent of such despair, that he was roused. He threw his arms around her, and pressed her to his heart, as he would a sister that had redeemed his life with her own, and then tearing himself from her, he disappeared. No one offered to follow him. The voice of nature rose from every heart, and responding to the justice of

Magawisca's claim, bade him "God speed!" To all it seemed that his deliverance had been achieved by miraculous aid. All—the dullest and coldest, paid involuntary homage to the heroic girl, as if she were a superior being, guided and upheld by supernatural power." pp. 154–157.

This escape is almost too wonderful, but it is countenanced by the best authority in numberless instances, and also by a few such marvellous occurrences in the history of real life. Magawisca, we must say a word of her, is one of those creations of genius of which it is hard to speak one's impressions in adequate terms, and therefore we shall say of her only a word. Some have questioned her verisimilitude as an Indian. They assert that she is too noble, too delicate, too spiritual for an Indian. This we are disposed to deny. That there were ever many Magawiscas, we indeed doubt ourselves, and therefore we would not propose her as a fair sample of the Indian character; but that the best features of her character have had a real existence in savage life, that she is a possible Indian, we have no doubt whatever; and this is all which is claimed for her in the truly modest preface of our authoress. Possible or impossible, she is a glorious creature, and even if she had no right to her creation, we welcome her to our heart of hearts.

Sir Philip Gardiner we detest. We are sorry that the writer meddled with a rascal of exactly his grain. Nevertheless, if he is necessary to the apprehension, imprisonment, and trial of Magawisca, we cannot spare even him; though we should still think that Rosa might be left out with advantage. A part of this trial scene we will here insert, as our last extract.

"The governor replied, with a severe gravity, ominous to the knight, "that the circumstances he had alluded to certainly required explanation; if that should not prove satisfactory, they would demand a public investigation. In the mean time, he should suspend the trial of the prisoner, who, though the decision of her case might not wholly depend on the establishment of Sir Philip's testimony, was yet, at present, materially affected by it."

"He expressed a deep regret at the interruption that had occurred, as it must lead," he said, "to the suspension of the justice to be manifested either in the acquittal or condemnation of the prisoner. Some of the magistrates being called away from town on the next morning, he found himself compelled to adjourn the sitting of the court till one month from the present date,"

"Then," said Magawisca, for the first time speaking with a tone of impatience, "then, I pray you, send me to death now.

Anything is better than wearing through another moon in my prisonhouse, thinking," she added, and cast down her eyelids, heavy with tears, "thinking of that old man—my father. I pray thee," she continued, bending low her head, "I pray thee now to set my spirit free. Wait not for his testimony"—she pointed to Sir Philip—"as well may ye expect the green herb to spring up in your trodden streets, as the breath of truth to come from his false lips. Do you wait for him to prove that I am your enemy? Take my own word, I am your enemy; the sunbeam and the shadow cannot mingle. The white man cometh—the Indian vanisheth. Can we grasp in friendship the hand raised to strike us? Nay—and it matters not whether we fall by the tempest that lays the forest low, or are cut down alone by the stroke of the axe. I would have thanked you for life and liberty; for Mononotto's sake I would have thanked you; but if ye send me back to that dungeon—the grave of the living, feeling, thinking soul, where the sun never shineth, where the stars never rise nor set, where the free breath of heaven never enters, where all is darkness without and within"—she pressed her hand on her breast—"ye will even now condemn me to death, but death more slow and terrible than your most suffering captive ever endured from Indian fires and knives." She paused—passed unresisted without the little railing that encompassed her, mounted the steps of the platform, and advancing to the feet of the governor, threw back her mantle, and knelt before him. Her mutilated person, unveiled by this action, appealed to the senses of the spectators. Everell involuntarily closed his eyes, and uttered a cry of agony, lost indeed in the murmurs of the crowd. She spoke, and all again were as hushed as death. "Thou didst promise," she said, addressing herself to Governor Winthrop, "to my dying mother, thou didst promise, kindness to her children. In her name, I demand of thee death or liberty."

'Everell sprang forward, and clasping his hands exclaimed, "In the name of God, liberty!"

'The feeling was contagious, and every voice, save her judges, shouted, "Liberty!—liberty! grant the prisoner liberty!"

'The governor rose, waved his hand to command silence, and would have spoken, but his voice failed him; his heart was touched with the general emotion, and he was fain to turn away to hide tears more becoming to the man, than the magistrate.

'The same gentleman who, throughout the trial, had been most forward to speak, now rose; a man of metal to resist any fire. "Are ye all fools and mad!" he cried; "ye that are gathered here together, that like the men of old, ye shout, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' For whom would you stop the course of justice? for one who is charged before you, with having visited

every tribe on the shores and in the forests, to quicken the savages to diabolical revenge!—for one who flouts the faith once delivered to the saints, to your very faces!—for one who hath entered into an open league and confederacy with Satan against you!—for one who, as ye have have testimony within yourselves, in that her looks and words do so prevail over your judgments, is presently aided and abetted by the arch enemy of mankind!—I call upon you, my brethren,” he added, turning to his associates, “and most especially on you, Governor Winthrop, to put a sudden end to this confusion by the formal adjournment of our court.”

“The governor bowed his assent. “Rise, Magawisca,” he said, in a voice of gentle authority, “I may not grant thy prayer; but what I can do in remembrance of my solemn promise to thy dying mother, without leaving undone higher duty, I will do.”

““And what mortal can do, I will do,” said Everell, whispering the words into Magawisca’s ear as she rose. The cloud of despondency that had settled over her fine face, for an instant vanished, and she said aloud; “Everell Fletcher, my dungeon will not be, as I said, quite dark, for thither I bear the memory of thy kindness.”” pp. 198—201.

Hope Leslie, the white heroine of the work, is a finely drawn character, full of enthusiasm, affection, truth, and yet sparkling with gaiety and wit. Her friend and rival—yes, both friend and rival—Esther Downing, is lovely too, in her way, which, as was to be expected in those times, was rather a precise one, and her loveliness is as distinct from Hope’s as possible. Magawisca too is another friend and rival, as we before hinted. Here are three ladies, who seem to love and admire each other as much as they do Everell Fletcher; who, by the way, excellent as he is, hardly deserves such an accumulation of honor. Is this, or is it not, a greater improbability than the character of the Indian heroine? We are afraid to leave the decision of the question to our authoress, who, if the truth must be told, appears to entertain a decided partiality for her own sex. Nor can we blame her for it. We are in no humor, indeed, to find fault with her at all, or for anything. We only hope, that as we have been tardy in noticing the last production of her pen, another will very soon be ready for our inspection. We pray her to go on, in the path in which she must excel, and has excelled, and which she ought consequently to make her peculiar one. We pray her to go on, in the name of her friends, for the public’s sake, and for the honor of our youthful literature.

ART. V.—1. *Considerations of the Claims and Conduct of the United States, respecting their Northeastern Boundary, and of the Value of the British Colonies in North America.* London. 1826. [Republished in the British Provinces. 1827.]

2. *Letters on the Boundary Line.* By VERAX. [Published in 'The St John's City Gazette.' 1827.]

It has been the fate of the country formerly called by the French *Acadia*, and by the English *Nova Scotia*, to be the subject of national controversy during the greater part of the last two hundred years. The controversy has sometimes involved the claim to the whole country, and at other times only a question of boundary. The English claimed the country by virtue of the discovery made by John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing in the employ of the king of England; France, by the right of prior possession. The first settlement was made in the country by the French, namely, a temporary settlement in a small island at the mouth of Schoodick river, then called *St Croix*, in 1604, and a permanent one in the following year at Port Royal, now *Annapolis*. The French claimed not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and the territory now called *New Brunswick*, but all that part of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot, and during some part of the time, even to the Kennebeck. They made settlements in various parts of this extensive country. The English colonists steadily denied their right, and repeatedly invaded and took forcible possession of their settlements. These were twice restored to the French by treaty, namely, by the treaty of St Germain in 1632, and by that of Breda in 1667.

King James the First, in the year 1621, made a grant of the country, by the name of *Nova Scotia*, to Sir William Alexander. The charter to Alexander is deserving of notice, as first establishing the western boundary of the colony upon the river St Croix, and a line running due north from its source to the water of the St Lawrence. The words of the charter are, 'Ad fluvium vulgo Sanctæ Crucis appellatum, et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem, qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet; unde per imaginariam directam lineam, quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur, ad proximam navium sta-

tionem, in fluvium, vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Canada sese exonerantem,' &c. This description is substantially the same with that in the treaty of peace with this country, except that it is limited to the most remote source of the St Croix coming from the west, and extends to the water of the St Lawrence.

Sir William Alexander afterwards ceded all his right in Nova Scotia to a French gentleman, whose son and heir ceded it to the crown of France, on the promise of a sum of money, which never was paid.

By the charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, granted by William and Mary, in the year 1691, both Maine and Nova Scotia were made a part of that province. The French settlements had been a short time before conquered by the troops of Massachusetts, but a magistrate being sent from Boston, after the reception of the charter, to take upon himself the government of Nova Scotia, he found the French flag hoisted, and all attempts to get possession of the country for several years proved unsuccessful. The treaty of Ryswick left the French in possession, and it was not until the year 1710 that it was conquered by a strong English and colonial force. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the whole of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, within its ancient limits, was ceded to Great Britain. After this cession, Nova Scotia became an independent colony, no longer under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Maine, however, extending east to the St Croix, continued to be a part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the charter of William and Mary, until the Revolution. A question arose between England and France, which was elaborately discussed by commissioners of the two crowns, on a pretension of the latter, that Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, embraced only a part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. The English commissioners maintained, that the ceded territory extended to the Penobscot. The war of 1756 put an end to this discussion, and the peace which followed, in 1763, placed Great Britain in undisputed possession, not only of Acadia, to the full extent of the English claim, but of Canada. Here therefore ended all controversy between the two crowns on the subject.

On the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, a partition of territory between those states, and the provinces remaining to the crown of Great Britain, be-

came necessary. This partition was made by the treaty of peace, to conform to the limits which previously existed between the several provinces, namely, by a line running along the middle of the river St Croix to its source, and from this source in a direction due north to the southeasterly boundary of Canada, and thence along the highlands forming the boundary of Canada to the source of the Connecticut river. Under this part of the treaty, three questions have arisen between this country and Great Britain. The first of these questions was, which of the three branches of the St Croix river was intended by the treaty. This was determined, in 1798, by the unanimous voice of the commissioners under the treaty of 1794, by adopting the extreme northern source of the northern branch of the Schoodic river, as the source of the St Croix; and a monument was there established as the point from which the due north line should run. This decision was in conformity with the grants which had been made by the governments on each side, and appears otherwise to have been founded on very just principles. Both parties readily acquiesced in the decision. The second question involved the right of the respective parties to certain islands in the bay, at the mouth of the river. This also has been satisfactorily settled, by commissioners under the treaty of Ghent.

The third question is, where are the highlands situated, at which the line, running due north from the source of the St Croix, shall terminate. This question is now in discussion between the two governments, and it forms the subject of the tracts, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article. We think it will appear, in the sequel of these remarks, that this question is attended with less real difficulty and doubt, than either of the others. The language of the treaty is so clear, and it conforms so precisely with the known limits of the several colonies, long before the treaty was made, that it is surprising the question has ever been raised, and much more that it has been persisted in, with such confidence, by those who represent the British government. We see not how it is possible, without abandoning both the manifest import of the language of the treaty, and the clearly defined limits of the three contiguous provinces, for twenty years before the date of the treaty, to adopt any other construction, than that the line, to be drawn from the source of the St Croix, shall run due north, until it crosses the river St John, and reaches the high-

lands which divide the waters running into the river or Gulf of St Lawrence, from those which run into the St John, and through it into the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean.

Before stating the grounds on which we rely in support of this position, we will quote, from the first of the tracts named above, the reasons given in support of a different construction of the treaty.

‘The spirit and intention of the treaty of 1783 seem clearly to have been, to establish, between the two countries, in this quarter, what is termed an *arcifinius* BOUNDARY, such a line of separation as should give to neither party the advantages for attack, but serve mutually for the defence of both, or especially of that whose dominions were the most likely to be invaded. Accordingly, having first recorded their regard “for the reciprocal advantages and mutual conveniences to both nations,” and their design “to settle the boundary upon such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace,” they proceed to delineate the only landmarks, and to lay down the only principle, which, in this quarter, could answer such ends, namely, *that chain of highlands which should divide the heads of rivers, whose mouths and courses were within the actual provinces of the respective claimants*. Thus the party possessing the mouth of any stream, would possess also its whole course to the fountain head. This was obviously the most equitable adjustment, and the most natural boundary. The entire course of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, and other rivers, flowing into the Atlantic ocean, would be thus secured to the United States and a reciprocal advantage afforded to us in the possession of the Chaudiere, and other streams, that discharge their waters within our territories. Between two nations no separation is so distinct, no barrier so effectual, as a mountainous frontier; and as rivers, in new countries, are the great highways of nature, and almost the only means of communication and transport, any other division must give to one party a most unequal advantage for invasion in war, and to both, continual disputes in trade and navigation in the time of peace. The line of separation was therefore to be drawn “from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, that is, the angle formed by a due north line drawn from the source of the Saint Croix to THE HIGH LANDS, *along the said high lands*, dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic from those that fall into the river Saint Lawrence, to the northwestern head of the Connecticut river.” Now as no part of the British possessions, in this

quarter (their western boundary being the Saint Croix) touched the Atlantic, nor of the American, the Saint Lawrence, the principal end and object of the treaty evidently was, *to give them the heads of the rivers that flowed to the ocean into and throughout their territory, and us, of those that flowed into and through ours.* Indeed, the description in the treaty coupled with this fact just stated must be considered as quite synonymous with this interpretation.'

'In exploring this boundary, the American government seems to have assumed the principle, that if no such *high lands* existed, or existed where they would not be intersected by the north line, or intersected, would not divide rivers agreeably to the strict letter of the treaty, they were then to go up to the St Lawrence, and fix the northwest angle of Nova Scotia on the very shore of that river. Accordingly they pass over a high and extensive range of elevated land, which, compared with the other heights and features of the whole tract, would readily be called and recognised as the *HIGH LANDS*, but which they deny to be the *HIGH LANDS in the treaty*, because though these would indeed divide the heads of rivers, and give them the course and source of all that flow into and through the United States, and us of all that flow into and through our territories, yet if the streams on this side empty into the Atlantic, those on the other do not join the St Lawrence. They pass on, therefore, and meet the St John. And here it should be recalled to mind, that neither their ministers in negotiating the treaty, nor their agents under the first commission, had ever dreamed of extending the most extravagant of their pretensions beyond the *right bank* of this river, which they wished to be accepted as the *real St Croix*, but which, in each instance, was resisted by us, and finally relinquished by them. Indeed, both the language and the principle of the treaty, are conclusive evidence, that its negotiators could never have entertained the intention, nor conceived the possibility, of touching, or intersecting this river; or else in describing a boundary, which was evidently to pursue the great natural land-marks of the country, they had never, not only neglected so important a feature, but adopted a principle of separating heads of rivers, utterly inapplicable to the tract to be divided. Now, however, the Americans have the courage to pass the stream, and on the left bank push on their north line. Having intersected the St John's, leaving the lower half to us, and the upper to themselves, they proceed in their course to intersect its numerous branches, the lower parts of which are to be theirs, and the upper for us. They pass on, over a beautiful and well wooded country, of gentle hills and valleys, till, instead of streams running westerly to the St John, they meet with waters that flow easterly to the Bay

of Chaleurs, a branch of the Gulf of St Lawrence. These they intersect, taking the source and upper part to themselves, and leaving the rest of their course to us. They pass on, and when a few miles more would have carried them into the Gulf, or river of St Lawrence, by whatever name the arm of the sea at that point is to be called, and they meet a stream flowing into it, they have the conscience to stop. And here is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and if there chance to be a hill in the neighborhood, these are the *high lands*. Here they turn upon their heel, and follow *these high lands* down to the southwest and south, dividing, *first*, the streams that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that empty into a part of the Gulf, called the Bay of Chaleurs, both within our Territories; *next*, the waters that flow into the river St Lawrence, from those that flow into the St John both within, or falling into our acknowledged territories; keeping often in sight of, and never at any great distance from the very bank of the former stream; until, at last, to get round the sources of the Chaudiere, they must turn almost to the southeast, and, making a considerable bend, join *the HIGH LANDS* upon which both parties are agreed.'

Before proceeding farther, and without relying implicitly on this statement of what the treaty *was intended to be*, it may be expedient to see what it *is*. By the second article of the definitive treaty of peace, of 1783, it is stipulated, for the purpose of preventing all disputes that might arise on the subject of the boundaries of the United States, that 'the following are and shall be their boundaries, namely, from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle, which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the highlands; along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river,' &c. and 'east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St Croix, from its mouth, in the Bay of Fundy, to its source, and from its source, directly north, to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St Lawrence,' &c.

The first object of inquiry will be to ascertain where is the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, designated as the starting point, from which to trace the line of boundary. To determine this, it is only necessary to ascertain the northern boun-

dary line of Nova Scotia, or the line which at the date of the treaty, divided Nova Scotia from Canada. Was this line at the highlands north of the St John, or did it run from Mars Hill across the St John? This question is easily answered.

When Canada was a French province, it was generally considered as bounded on the southeast by the river St Lawrence, and so it is laid down in most of the French maps of that period. But some of the commissions to the governors there extended their jurisdiction, to a distance of ten leagues on the southeast side of the river. But after the cession of this province to Great Britain, by the peace of 1763, the king issued his proclamation of October seventh, declaring, that with the advice of the privy council, he had granted letters patent, under the great seal, to erect four distinct governments, within the ceded territories. The first of these was the government of Quebec, the boundary of which, on the south and east, is described in the proclamation in the following words, namely, 'from whence the said line, crossing the river St Lawrence, and the lake Champlain in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the bayes des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St Lawrence, to Cape Rosieres,' &c.

In conformity with the line of boundary thus established for the province of Quebec, the royal commission, granted about the same time, to Montague Wilmot, Esq., appointing him captain-general and governor-in-chief over the province of Nova Scotia, thus describes the limits of that province, namely; 'To the northward, our said province shall be bounded by the southern boundary of our province of Quebec, as far as the western extremity of the Bay des Chaleurs; to the eastward, by the said bay, and the Gulf of St Lawrence,' &c.; 'and to the westward, although our said province hath anciently extended, and doth of right extend, as far as the river Pentagouet, or Penobscot, it shall be bounded by a line drawn from Cape Sable across the entrance of the Bay of Fundy to the mouth of the river St Croix, by the said river to its source, and by a line drawn due north from thence to the southern boundary of our colony of Quebec.'

Eleven years afterwards, namely, in 1774, the celebrated act of Parliament was passed, 'for making more effectual provision

for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America.' The first section of this act establishes the boundaries of the province of Quebec, differing in some particulars from the description in the proclamation of 1763. The part relating to the present question, is described in the following words, namely, 'bounded on the south by a line from the bay of Chaleurs, along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of northern latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut,' &c. By the second section of the same act, it is provided, 'that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec, shall in any wise affect the boundaries of any other colony.'

Such was the boundary line, as established by an order of council, promulgated by the king's proclamation, and confirmed by an act of Parliament, between the provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia. Such was the line, which remained without alteration to the date of the peace of 1783, and we may add without alteration to the present day, and which, as forming the northern boundary of Nova Scotia, necessarily formed one of the sides of the angle described in the treaty, as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia,—the starting point of the boundary of the United States. Such was the southern boundary of the province of Quebec, as clearly defined twenty years before the date of the treaty, perfectly well known at the time, and adopted in the treaty in almost the language of the proclamation, and of the act of Parliament, as the line of boundary between that province and the United States. In one particular the treaty is more precise than either of the other documents. The act of Parliament describes the line as proceeding from the Bay of Chaleurs along the highlands to the forty-fifth degree of latitude on the Connecticut river. The treaty is more specific, and says, along the highlands 'to the norwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude.'

There may be still a question admitting of some doubt, as to the precise point at which the southern limit of the province of Quebec, from the Bay of Chaleurs, shall strike the highlands, whether it shall be at the nearest point, or whether it shall follow some stream from the head of the bay, to its source in the highlands. We are not informed whether this question,

as respects the boundary between Canada and Nova Scotia, has ever been settled. The best maps of these two provinces place the boundary upon the river Ristigouche, which falls into the head of the bay of Chaleurs. The same principles which should settle the question as between those two governments, should also settle it in reference to the angle at which the boundary of the United States begins. The variation between any two constructions of this question would be of very little moment, as the territory, between the different lines that might be adopted, would be small in extent, and of very little value. On one construction, the angle would be placed at the highlands north of the sources of the Ristigouche river; on another, it would be at one of these sources; and on a third, it would be at the highlands between the Ristigouche and the streams running into the St John. This is the only extent of any question of real doubt, arising out of this part of the treaty, and the right involved in it is so trivial, that neither government could think of making it a subject of serious controversy.

Whatever doubt there may be, as to the precise delineation, which should be given to the boundary line between Lower Canada and Nova Scotia, from the descriptions of it in the proclamation of 1763—in the commission to the governor of Nova Scotia—in the Quebec act—and in the treaty, there can be no doubt as to the fact, that this line was not intended to cross the river St John; and that the governors of Nova Scotia, and of New Brunswick since the division of the province, have uniformly possessed a jurisdiction extending farther north, than the point at which the St John crosses the due north line, from the source of the St Croix. It is therefore in the highlands north of the St John that the northeast angle, described in the treaty, is to be sought.

These highlands are thus described in the 'Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada,' published in 1815, by Colonel Bouchette, surveyor-general of the province, a work of great value, and of very high authority. 'From the high banks opposite the city [Quebec], the land rises in a gradual ascent for a distance of probably ten leagues towards the first range of mountains; pursuing then a northeasterly course, this chain ends upon the river in the neighborhood of River du Loup.' 'Beyond this range, at about fifty miles' distance, is the ridge generally denominated the Land's Height, dividing

the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those taking a direction towards the Atlantic ocean, and along whose summit is supposed to run the boundary line between the territories of Great Britain and the United States of America. This chain commences upon the eastern branch of the Connecticut river, takes a northeasterly course, and terminates near Cape Rosier, in the Gulf of St Lawrence.'

This we believe to be an accurate description of the highlands, which form the boundary between the territories of the two nations. No one competent to form an opinion on the subject, as far as the public has been informed, ever doubted, until the publication of the work from which this description is taken, that along these highlands the dividing line was to be drawn, whenever it should be definitively settled. But in a subsequent part of the same work, the author advances the opinion, that the treaty ought to be understood as describing such a boundary as will include the whole course of the St John, and its branches within the British territory. From this intimation probably has risen the claim, which has been asserted with much confidence and warmth by the inhabitants of the provinces, and which has been maintained by the British government, in the negotiations for the adjustment of the line. It is in the following words, that Colonel Bouchette brings forward this claim.

'From the Connecticut river the height of land, on which the boundary is supposed to pass, runs to the northeast, and divides the waters that fall into the St Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic; and which height, after running some distance upon that course, sends off a branch to the eastward, that separates the heads of the streams falling into Lake Timiscouata and river St John, and by that channel into the Bay of Fundy, from those that descend in a more direct course to the Atlantic. The main ridge continuing its northeasterly direction, is intersected by an imaginary line, prolonged in a course astronomically due north, from the head of the river St Croix, and which ridge is supposed to be the boundary between Lower Canada and the United States; at least such appears to be the way in which the treaty of 1783 is construed by the American government; but which ought, more fairly, to be understood as follows, namely, that the astronomical line running north from the St Croix should extend only to the first or easterly ridge, and thence run westerly, along the crest of the said ridge, to the Connecticut; thereby equitably dividing the

waters flowing into the St Lawrence from those that empty into the Atlantic within the limits of the United States; and those that have their estuaries within the British province of New Brunswick.' p. 281.

The author of the work here quoted does not undertake to say precisely where the highlands here described meet the line running north from the source of the St Croix. But it is quite apparent that no highlands branching eastward, on the south side of the upper waters of the St John, extend to the bay of Chaleurs, as described in the proclamation of 1763, and in the Quebec act of 1774; and that they consequently cannot form one side of the angle described in the treaty of 1783. The nature of this claim is more clearly stated in the following paragraph, from the essays of 'Verax.'

'Before proceeding farther, I will state what I understand to be the *British claim*, with regard to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. This claim places the angle at the point in the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, which meets the highlands at or near *Mars Hill*; and according to this claim, the angle is formed by a line running from the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, the second station in the boundary, along the highlands which divide the river Chaudiere and its several branches, this being a river falling into the river St Lawrence, from the rivers Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot; this line being continued along the highlands in that quarter in such a manner as to leave all the branches of the Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot, to the southward of the line, and within the United States, until it meets the line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, at or near Mars Hill. The point in the due north line thus claimed on our part as the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, is about forty miles from the source of the St Croix, and about the same distance within or to the southward of the place where this line is in its prolongation made to cross the river St John.'

It can hardly be necessary to remark, that the angle here described, so far from being the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, described in the treaty, is no angle whatever of Nova Scotia, but an angle on the American side of the line. To form an angle of Nova Scotia, it would be necessary to prolong the highland line, on the Nova Scotia side. To this there are two obstacles, the first, that there are no highlands extending westerly or northwesterly from Mars Hill, and the second, that if there were any such highlands, they would not constitute the

northern boundary of Nova Scotia (now New Brunswick), but would divide it into two parts. It will not be denied, that there have long been settlements under the jurisdiction of New Brunswick, along the whole course of the St John, to the Grand Falls, forty miles north of this pretended angle; and that the province has been uniformly considered as extending still farther north, to the highlands which we have before indicated, or to the river Ristigouche, rising in those highlands, and flowing easterly into the bay of Chaleurs. Even the settlements higher up on the St John, within the territory claimed by us, and on the Madawaska river, are claimed by the government of New Brunswick, as coming within that province, and so they are represented in Bonner's map of Nova Scotia, published in 1820. It is by virtue of that jurisdiction, acquired not by any extension of the limits of the province since the date of the treaty, but exercised under powers similar to those granted previous to that date, that Baker was lately arrested on the Madawaska river, and carried to Fredericton for trial, for an alleged violation of the laws of New Brunswick. Yet according to this writer, the northwest angle of New Brunswick is at Mars Hill, a hundred miles to the southeast of the place where this violation of the laws of New Brunswick was committed, and according to his own hypothesis the only angle described at Mars Hill is on the American side.

After so fatal an objection to the designation of the point where, according to the treaty, the boundary line is to begin, it may seem superfluous to examine this assumption farther. But we proceed to consider the reasons assigned by 'Verax,' in support of this singular paradox. He says, that 'the parties agree in considering the Androscoggin, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot, as rivers falling into the Atlantic ocean, within the meaning of the treaty, and consequently as rivers intended by the treaty to be divided by the line of boundary along the highlands, from the rivers falling into the river St Lawrence.' We admit with him that the parties agree in considering the rivers here named, as falling into the Atlantic ocean, but not as the principal rivers intended by the words of the treaty. Nor are these rivers divided, except on a small portion of its course, by the line of highlands described by 'Verax,' from the rivers falling into the St Lawrence; but two thirds of this line, runs between the rivers named by him and the St John, which, instead of running into the river or bay of St Lawrence, falls

into the Bay of Fundy, on the Atlantic side of the province of New Brunswick, and at a point but a few miles distant from the open ocean. Although he can overlook this objection to the line assumed by him, he considers it a conclusive objection to a line running between the waters of the St Lawrence and those of the St John, that the latter river does not fall into the Atlantic ocean. To any one who will look at the map, and observe not only how natural, but how near to literal accuracy it is, to class the St John with the Penobscot and Kennebec, as rivers running into the Atlantic, in contradistinction from the Chaudiere, and other streams running into the St Lawrence, this objection must appear extremely frivolous. The Bay of Fundy is a small arm of the Atlantic ocean, and the St John may with the same propriety be said to run into the ocean, in distinction from those rivers which run into the St Lawrence, as the Delaware, Potomac, or Connecticut rivers to run into the Atlantic, since each of these rivers actually terminates in a bay or sound, having a particular appellation, to distinguish it from the ocean. What makes the objection more frivolous is, that the alternative by which it is proposed to avoid it, is to adopt such a line as requires us to consider this same river St John, as running into the St Lawrence; for otherwise the line does not divide these two classes of rivers, as required by the treaty.

The next reason given in favor of a line, beginning at a point far different from that described by the treaty, and dividing the sources of different classes of rivers from those described, is, that 'it is the manifest intention of the treaty, in this part of the boundary along the highlands, to divide rivers at their sources, and thereby to leave each power, the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory.' So far from admitting it to be manifest that this was the intention of the framers of the treaty, it appears to us manifest that this was not their intention. Had it been their intention they would have so expressed it. On the contrary, we conceive it was their intention to divide the territory in the same manner as it had been divided between the colonies, and that this intention was carried into execution, by copying almost literally the language of previous acts of the crown, by which these provinces had been constituted. In establishing the province of Quebec, it was the intention of the crown of Great Britain, to divide it from the Atlantic provinces of Nova Scotia and Maine, by the highlands, and by the boun-

dary line to 'divide the rivers by their sources.' But it was also the pleasure of the crown, in establishing the province of Nova Scotia, to divide it from Maine, by an astronomical line running due north from the source of the St Croix, and the pleasure of the framers of the treaty to adopt the same boundary. It cannot be pretended, that at the date of the commission to Montague Wilmot, in 1763, to be governor of Nova Scotia, or at the date of the treaty in 1783, it was supposed by any one, that a line running north from the St Croix would divide the rivers by their sources.

It was proved before the commission, for determining which branch of the St Croix was intended by the treaty, that the commissioners who framed that treaty, had before them for their government, Mitchell's Map of the British and French Dominions of North America. This map was published in 1755. The course of the St Croix is not very accurately laid down upon it, and but one branch of that river is exhibited. The St John, however, is more correctly drawn. The line dividing Nova Scotia from Maine, drawn on this map due north from the St Croix to the highlands, intersects the St John, nearly in the same point as on the maps of the present day. The head waters of that river are so clearly represented by this map as within the limits of New England, that a part of the name extends across the river, towards the northeast. In the large map drawn by Jefferys, prefixed to the memorials of the English and French commissioners, on the question of the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia, published in 1755, the course of the upper parts of the St John and its branches, is laid down with nearly the same accuracy as on the maps of the present day. A line drawn due north from the source of the St Croix, would leave about half the course of the river, and all its upper branches, on the New England side of the line. On this map, as well as on Mitchell's, both Nova Scotia and New England are represented as extending to the St Lawrence, both maps having been published previous to the cession of Canada to Great Britain, and consequently before the highlands were established as the boundary.

In the particulars above described, all the maps published for thirty years before the treaty, which could be regarded as any authority, agree so far at least as to show that the line running due north from the St Croix, to a point where the waters run into the St Lawrence, must cross the St John, and

leave all its head waters on the western side. Indeed the geography of the interior of that country was nearly as well known, and as accurately delineated on the maps, as at the present time. No person, therefore, with any accurate knowledge of the geography of the country, or with such a knowledge of it as would be afforded by the maps in common use at the date of the treaty, especially with Mitchell's map before him, if it had been his intention to describe a boundary line, that should 'leave each power the whole extent of the rivers emptying within its own territory,' could have made use of the language to be found in the treaty; for this language manifestly expresses a different intention. This intention was, that the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec should continue to possess the same limits, which had been described for them twenty years before. If any further proof of this is necessary, we will refer to several maps, with which every reader at that day, conversant with the geography of the country, must have been familiar. In 1776, a large sheet map of 'the province of Quebec, according to the proclamation of 1763,' was published by Sayer and Bennett, London. On this map the southern boundary of the province of Quebec is accurately laid down, along the ridge of mountains before described, from the head of the Connecticut river, running north of the sources of the St John, to the head of the Ristigouche, and following that river, to the bay of Chaleurs. The representation of the course of the St John, on this map, is nearly correct. A map, in four sheets, of North America and the West Indies, divided according to the treaty of 1763, purporting to be corrected from the original materials of Governor Pownall, was also published by Sayer and Bennett in 1777. Upon this map the western boundary of Nova Scotia is accurately marked, running north from the St Croix, and crossing the St John in the proper point. In Jeffery's 'History of the French Dominions in North America,' published in London in 1761, is the same map, before described as attached to the memorials of the commissioners, and also a map of North America from a French map of D'Anville. On this last the western boundary line of Nova Scotia is marked, along the St Croix, and from the source of that river due north, crossing the St John, to the St Lawrence. We might describe several other maps, published before the treaty, which agree in these features, but as we find none that do not agree, it would be a superfluous labor to cite more.

If it had been the intention of the framers of the treaty, to divide the territory on the principle that all the rivers should be divided by their sources, it would have been easy to express this intention. But in that case, the line would not run to Mars Hill. It is impossible to consider this height as forming a part of the highlands intended in the treaty, on any construction. This height divides no waters except the branches of the St John. The line running north from the source of the St Croix passes two rivers, branches of the St John, the Meduxnekeag and the Presque Isle, besides smaller streams, before reaching Mars Hill. The line in fact meets waters running northeasterly into the St John, within three miles from the monument, at the source of the St Croix. If the line must divide the waters of the St John from those of the Penobscot, it must depart in a southwesterly direction from the monument itself, that is, from the southwest, instead of the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. One of the branches of the St John, which is crossed by the northern line near the monument, has its sources in a southwesterly direction from the monument, a few miles distant from the source of the St Croix.

Another reason given in favor of the assumption, that the highlands intended by the treaty are to be found at Mars Hill, is that the land at this point is literally higher than the ridge between the St John and the St Lawrence. This argument would be of little weight, if it were founded in well attested fact, since it is admitted that the ground is sufficiently elevated on the latter ridge, to divide the waters according to the supposition in the treaty. But this fact is by no means proved. Mars Hill is a solitary elevation of no great height, unconnected with any range of mountains. The country west of it, and south of the St John, where it is pretended the ridge of mountains is to be found which terminates in this hill, is not mountainous. Seven ranges of townships, extending more than forty miles in width from the New Brunswick line, have been surveyed, and it is found that the land is nearly all fit for cultivation, and that, although not a flat country, it is as level as almost any part of New England of equal extent. A route has also been surveyed for a road, from the mouth of Fish river, on the St John to the Penobscot, and the land was found to be extremely favorable for the construction of a road, and very little impeded by hills. The high and mountainous

country referred to by 'Verax,' bordering on Mount Katahdin, is situated far distant, between the branches of the Penobscot.

'With regard to the line claimed by the Americans,' Verax says, 'I believe the fact to be, as I formerly stated, and as is virtually admitted by their writers, that there are no prominent highlands, either at the angle, or along by far the greater part of the line. These writers, we have seen, endeavor to supply this deficiency by a deduction from the physical laws of nature, that the land is necessarily higher at the sources of rivers than at their mouths.'

A tolerably fair deduction, we should suppose, at least until there is some proof of the contrary. Verax has cited no authority in support of his belief that there are no highlands. We will, however, meet him with proof, that the whole country along which we contend the line ought to be drawn is high and mountainous. For this proof, we rely on no less authority than that of Colonel Bouchette, the surveyor-general of Lower Canada, and the author of more full and satisfactory descriptions and maps of this province, than have yet been published of almost any other portion of North America. We have already copied his general description of the range of highlands in question, extending from the sources of Connecticut river to Cape Rosieres on the Gulf of St Lawrence. His maps illustrate and confirm this description. In the whole length of the ridge, west of the unfinished road from the Kennebec to the Chaudiere, it is intersected by but a single road, and this is made probably at the least elevated part of the ridge, and where the mountains present the fewest obstacles to the construction of it. The sources of the streams running into the St John, are here very near those running into the St Lawrence. This road was first opened by General Haldimand, in 1783. It was an achievement of great difficulty, and of great importance, it being the only route, by land, from Quebec to Halifax. The part of it which crosses the highlands is thus described by Colonel Bouchette. 'From the main road of the St Lawrence, where the portage road branches off, to Long's Farm on the branch of lake Timiscouata, the distance is thirty-seven miles; the direction of the road is generally to the eastward, but it has numerous turns and windings, to avoid ascending several very lofty and rugged hills, or crossing deep swamps; as it is, about twenty-four miles of the distance is over a succession of mountains, many

of them rough and very steep. However none of the formidable impediments exist that were formerly considered as insurmountable.' 'The principal mountains over which the road runs are the St François, Côte de la Grande Fourche, Jean Paradis, La Montagne de la Rivière Verte, and du Buard; the rivers are du Loup, Rivière Verte, and Trois Pistoles, that flow into the St Lawrence, and the Rivière St François, that falls into the river St John. At Long's Farm the traveller cannot fail to be pleased with a beautiful and picturesque prospect of lake Timiscouata, twenty-two miles in length, by the average breadth of three quarters of a mile, encompassed in all directions by lofty mountains, covered with thick wood almost down to its margin. Several large rivers lend the aid of their powerful streams to swell the waters of this romantic and secluded expanse.' This, it should be observed, is a description of the part of the ridge which is selected for a road, not as the most direct, but the most practicable point for passing it. The seigniories of Isle Verte, Dartigny, Trois Pistoles, and Richard Rioux, extending along the St Lawrence, east of the above road, for about fifty miles, run back from the river from two to four leagues, and are bounded in the rear by the waste lands on the north side of the mountain ridge. These waste lands, not having been surveyed, are not described by Colonel Bouchette; but of the four seigniories, above named, he says, they 'are nearly throughout their whole extent mountainous and rugged; the great northeasterly ridge ranges so close to the river as to leave only a narrow slip between it and the shore. This space possesses a moderately good soil, upon which there are a few settlements, under a respectable state of husbandry; there are also several patches of good land more in the interior lying in the hollows between the ridges.' Isle Verte is 'watered by Rivière Verte, which has its source in the mountains south of Timiscouata portage, and flows in a northerly direction into the St Lawrence; it has a ferry over it at the main road.' 'Trois Pistoles is intersected by a large river of the same name, whose current is supplied from several small lakes among the mountains that surround the end of lake of Timiscouata.' From the magnitude and length of these rivers, it is manifest, that although this mountainous ridge approaches very near the shore of the St Lawrence, it continues to rise as it recedes from the river, to a considerable distance. The distance of the height of land from the St Lawrence, in its most northerly part, is from twenty to thirty miles. Of the

seigniories of Bic, Rimouski, St Barnabé, Lessard, Le Page, Pachot, and Metis, lying still farther east, and extending beyond the line running due north from the source of the St Croix, Bouchette says, 'the general surface of these seigniories is mountainous, and broken along the front, affording but little good soil for the purposes of agriculture. In the interior, and by the side of the rivers that water them, a few patches of tolerable land, with some meadows and pastures, present themselves.'

On the western side of the portage road, the first seigniority is the Rivière du Loup, which is described as 'uneven and mountainous,' and bounded in the rear by waste crown lands. The three next seigniories are described as having some fertile patches of land, 'but as the northeasterly chain of mountains draws closer upon the river [that is, closer than in the more westerly parts] a great part of them is very mountainous.' These also are bounded by waste lands in the rear. The next seigniority on the west, Camouraska, is described as low and fertile near the river, but 'towards the rear it loses some of its goodness and fertility, as it becomes mountainous.' 'From the bank of the river, which is not much elevated, a plain that generally speaking is very level, stretches almost to the foot of the northeast range of mountains.' The next seigniority, St Denis, is partly mountainous, and bounded in the rear by unsurveyed lands. The next, the Rivière Ouelle, is watered by the river of the same name, which has its source 'in the northeast range of mountains, from whence it winds a serpentine course down to the St Lawrence.' In the next seigniority, St Anne, 'the land approaching the mountains is of good quality.' The next seigniority, St Roch des Annais, is described as low, 'but about the rear boundaries the mountains form a close chain of considerable height.' Several other seigniories, farther towards the southeast, are described as extending back from the river to the mountains. A wide tract of country in the rear of these seigniories, extending back to the summit of the ridge, from which a great number of streams descend, remains ungranted, and unsurveyed, and is not described in the work of Colonel Bouchette, except in the general description of the range of mountains. The height of these mountains is probably entirely unknown, as we do not find any evidence that their summits have ever been approached by human footsteps, or that any one has ever penetrated, on either side,

the wilderness which surrounds them. It is known that the Connecticut river at the forty-fifth degree of latitude is near two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and there are repeated falls in its course from its source to that point. The Chaudiere river is full of falls, some of them of great height. It is therefore certain that the lands are high which divide their sources. The country through which a road is marked out from the Chaudiere to the Kennebec, Bouchette says, is mountainous, but 'the chain of mountains is not so closely connected, as to render it impracticable, or even difficult to open a road through the passes between them.' A road from the Penobscot has been marked out, over similar ground, a little farther north. From this point to lake Timiscouata, where the Nova Scotia road passes, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, there is reason to believe there is a continued chain of high mountains, and also from lake Timiscouata to the Gulf of St Lawrence. In the foregoing description, all the passages quoted are from Colonel Bouchette. We might add citations to a similar effect from other authors.

The objection, therefore, that there are no highlands where they have been heretofore supposed to exist, and where they are described in the treaty, we conceive, is satisfactorily removed. It is very certain, that the range of mountains along that whole line is higher than the highlands between the St John and Penobscot, terminating at Mars Hill, where it is certain there is no range of mountains whatever. We have seen the field-book of the surveys, both of the road above-mentioned, and of the seven ranges of townships surveyed between the St John and the Penobscot, and they afford abundant proof, that the country is remarkably free from mountains and highlands.

One other reason is given, in both the tracts named at the head of this article, why the treaty should not be so construed as to make the eastern boundary cross the St John. It is, that the American government instructed their agents for negotiating the treaty, to endeavor to obtain a boundary line running through the middle of the St John river, from its mouth to its source, but that they, after proposing this line, receded from it, on finding that the St Croix was the charter limit of the claim of Massachusetts, and agreed to the terms as finally adopted. The plain inference from these facts, Verax contends, is, 'that it was in the contemplation of the negotiators of

the treaty of 1783, by the line of boundary, as they ultimately described it, to leave within the territories of his majesty the whole of the river St John, from its mouth to its source.' We do not perceive any ground for such an inference. The first American demand included a large tract of the settled part of one of the colonies, which had not joined the Union, as its limits were definitively settled twenty years before. In receding from this demand, and agreeing to the previously established line between the colonies which were to be separated, they yielded a part of Nova Scotia, fifty miles in width, bordering on the sea, but obtained, instead of it, a tract of inland country, of about equal extent, without inhabitants, and then considered of but little value. It is to be presumed that even now, with all the importance attached by the colonies to the possession of a route of communication between New Brunswick and Quebec, they would be very unwilling to make the exchange proposed in the first offer of the American commissioners. If, therefore, our commissioners, in relinquishing their first proposal, acceded to one more favorable to Great Britain, upon our construction of it, we do not perceive how the fact of the first proposal affords any presumption that our construction is wrong. On the contrary, the history of this transaction shows that the parties deliberately, and after inquiry and discussion, adopted the previously existing boundary; for it appears, as stated by Verax, that 'the British commissioners first claimed to Piscataqua river, then to the Kennebec, then to the Penobscot, and at length to the St Croix, as marked on Mitchell's map.' We have already seen, that a line drawn directly north from the source of the St Croix to the highlands, on this map, crosses the St John in about the same part of its course, that such a line would, when drawn on the most accurate maps of the present day.

It has been argued, that in determining this boundary, a literal construction of the terms of the treaty ought not be insisted on, against its spirit, and the presumed intention of the parties. If there were any reason to suppose, that the intention of the parties is not fully expressed by the terms of the treaty, as we interpret them, there might be some force in the argument. We have given our reasons for believing that the contracting parties could have had no other intention, than that which they expressed—that this intention was to determine the national boundary, by the limits previously established for

the colonies ; and that these previously established limits corresponded with our construction of the terms of the treaty. It has been contended that even this is too severe a construction, and that we ought to interpret the treaty, not by reference to what were legally the boundaries of the several provinces, but by ascertaining what those boundaries were practically, and what was the actual jurisdiction exercised by the several colonial governments, and the extent of territory over which they were supposed to extend. On this ground it is contended, that as at the date of the treaty there were inhabitants on the Madawaska, and upper St John rivers, who had previously emigrated from Nova Scotia, and who have been considered inhabitants of that province, and subject to its jurisdiction, it must be presumed to have been the intention of the framers of the treaty to include that territory within the limits of Nova Scotia. In point of fact, we believe, it was not known at the time, either to the framers of the treaty, or even to the government of Nova Scotia, that there were any such inhabitants in existence. They have been claimed since, but not until long after the date of the treaty, as within the jurisdiction of the province of New Brunswick. The original settlers were exclusively French families, who fled from the peninsula of Nova Scotia, probably at some period between the date of the treaty of Utrecht, and the time when all the French population of that colony was expelled by the British settlers, about the year 1749. They were afterwards joined by some French families from Canada, and recently by some few emigrants from the United States. Their present numbers are supposed to be about three thousand. They settled there without any permission or grant from any government, and their motive for burying themselves in this wilderness was, not to extend the limits of the province of Nova Scotia, but to escape from its jurisdiction. It is believed that no authority whatever was exercised over them by the government of New Brunswick for more than twenty years after the date of the treaty. That their settlement there did not extend thither the jurisdiction of the province, will appear from the following passages, which we cite from an act of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia, passed in the year 1759, 'for quieting of possessions to the Protestant grantees of lands, previously occupied by the French inhabitants.' In the preamble of this act, there is a recital of the measures which had been adopted by

the government of the province, to secure it against what are called the treacherous practices of the French inhabitants, who had steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. In this recital it is stated, among other things, that if these French inhabitants had not 'been timely removed, by the prudence and vigilancy of his excellency the present governor, from the said lands and territories, into other his majesty's dominions, this invaluable province, during the course of this war, must inevitably have fallen into the hands of his majesty's enemies, the French.' The act goes on to sanction the removal of the French inhabitants, and the confiscation of all their estates, and provides that no action shall be sustained in any court of the province, 'for the recovery of any of the lands within the same, by virtue of any former right, title, claim, interest, or possession of any of the former French inhabitants,' or by virtue of any title derived from them in any manner. This act was in force, we believe, to the date of the treaty, if it is not to this day; and it affords presumptive evidence, that if the French inhabitants on the St John and Madawaska were known to be there, they were supposed to be beyond the limits of the province. The first settlers probably emigrated from the vicinity of Port Royal, after the cession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, and before the forcible expulsion of the French inhabitants in 1749, for those who were then removed, were mostly carried to Louisiana or the West Indies. It is understood that the emigrants to the Madawaska country first established themselves at a place within the present limits of New Brunswick, and after a few years' residence there, wishing to withdraw themselves farther from the invaders of their native possessions, retired to the spot which they and their children now inhabit, where they lived for many years without any, or at least with very little communication with the rest of the world. But whatever might have been the date of their emigration, and even if they had settled upon these lands with the knowledge and consent of the government of Nova Scotia, which however is not pretended, the existence of this poor, secluded, and neglected settlement, could not extend the limits of the province beyond those which were established for it by the royal authority; nor can it afford a presumption that the framers of the treaty intended to enlarge those limits, when it is apparent from the terms of the treaty, that no such intention is expressed.

We find nothing to invalidate, in any degree, the claim made by our government; for it appears very clearly, that they claim no territory, which before the treaty belonged either to the province of Quebec, or to Nova Scotia; that it was the intention of the treaty to preserve to those provinces the territory which previously belonged to them, and no more; that the territory, not included within the limits of those provinces, belonged before the Revolution to the Province of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, and that by the treaty of peace this territory was described by boundaries which cannot be mistaken, and by that description was declared to be within the limits of the United States. If we have dwelt more at length upon this question, than its merits might seem to require, it has been only on account of the importance it has assumed, in being made a subject of serious negotiation between the two governments, and a question of so much difficulty as to require the interposition of a third power, in the character of an umpire.

ART. VI.—*Essai Historique sur la Révolution de Paraguay et le Gouvernement Dictatorial du Docteur Francia.* Par MM. RENGGER et LONGCHAMP, Docteurs en Médecine, Membres de la Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles. 8vo. pp. 300. Paris. 1827.

THE internal situation of the province of Paraguay, one of the most important of those which constituted the ancient viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, has been for some years past entirely unknown, not merely to the distant nations of Europe and America, but to every person not actually within its limits. Ever since the present ruler established himself at the head of the government, no individual, whether native or foreigner, had been permitted until very recently to quit the territory; and so perfectly was this system of non-intercourse carried into effect, that, as we are informed by the authors of the work before us, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires, and even of the bordering city of Corrientes, were as completely ignorant of what was passing in Paraguay, as those of New York or London. The singularity of these proceedings naturally excited much

curiosity respecting the person and character of the ruler of the province in question, who is generally known abroad under the simple appellation of Doctor Francia, although it appears from the present account that his official style is nothing less than *The Most Excellent Lord Don Joseph Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia, Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of the Republic of Paraguay*. This curiosity was not unmingled, we imagine, with a certain degree of respect. Mystery excites the imagination, and, as Tacitus justly observes, we are apt to overrate the value of things unknown; *omnei gnotum pro magnifico*. It was also understood that Dr Francia had succeeded in restoring and maintaining tranquillity throughout the province under his government; and this result, by whatever means accomplished, was thought by some to argue the possession of much intellectual power and political skill. The name of Paraguay had been connected with associations of an interesting and somewhat poetical kind, from having been the seat of the celebrated missionary establishments of the Jesuits; and many persons, connecting the title of the present ruler, with the scene of his labors, had been led to suppose that he was himself one of the fathers of that order, and that he employed, in governing his province, the same machinery which had formerly been used by them with such remarkable success. This was the impression, which we had ourselves taken up respecting the Doctor; and we avow that in the simplicity of our hearts, we had given him credit for a large share of deep design and insinuating gentleness of manner, mingled with certain grains of the pious fraud and convenient mental reservation, which the Jesuits, as is well known, made no scruple to put in practice when occasion required. In the mean time, while the world was amusing itself with conjectures about his character, the Doctor on his part rigorously maintained his embargo, and closed his clutches without remorse upon every unlucky straggler, who happened in an evil hour to find his way into this vast man-trap. All the footsteps that were to be seen on the road to Paraguay pointed—like those that led to the lion's den in *Æsop*—in one direction. Among the persons detained in this way was the distinguished French naturalist Bonpland, whose fate has excited in a high degree the sympathy of the friends of science, and given additional notoriety to the strange policy to which it was owing.

In consequence of all this, the public had become at last very curious to know something more about the matter; and the appearance of the present volume, which we owe to two apparently very intelligent and enterprising Swiss physicians, Messrs Rengger and Longchamp, has been welcomed with great interest. While it removes completely the veil that so long overhung the mysterious region in question, and gives a full account of the life, character, and personal habits of its ruler, it unfortunately dissipates at the same time all the favorable presumptions that may have been formed respecting him. Instead of a mild, smooth-tongued, and politic priest, the worthy dictator turns out to be neither more nor less than a little South American Bonaparte, who has contrived to exhibit upon the theatre of a colonial province, containing hardly two hundred thousand inhabitants, substantially the same qualities which distinguished the 'man of destiny,' although, it must be owned, under forms somewhat less graceful and imposing. The political course of Dr Francia has in fact been evidently modelled upon that of Napoleon, as our readers will plainly see, in the sequel of this article; but as the dictator's taste and information have not been uniformly upon a level with the high reach of his ambition, his imitation often has an air of burlesque. His dictatorship commencing at about the period when the reign of the emperor came to a close, might therefore have been looked upon as a sort of coarse and farcical afterpiece to the splendid tragedy of the French Revolution, were it not unhappily too deeply stained with blood, to be viewed in the main with any other sentiment but disgust and horror.

The subject of the volume before us is, however, on all accounts, extremely interesting, and our readers will not, we think, be dissatisfied if we lay before them a pretty full account of its contents. The authors went out to South America, for the purpose of making researches in natural history; and, landing at Buenos Aires, they proceeded up the river as far as Corrientes, which was then in possession of Artigas, and in a state of complete anarchy. Nothing was known at this place of the internal condition of Paraguay, but it was generally supposed to be much more tranquil and prosperous than the neighboring regions. Our authors, therefore, with a view of escaping from the tumult around them, as well as of prosecuting their scientific inquiries, determined to pursue still farther their voyage up the river. They found, however, pretty soon, that they had gained

very little by the change of residence, and upon their arrival at Assumption, were immediately put under embargo, and detained not less than six years. During this period, they seem to have acquired (by means which they have not thought it necessary to state in detail) a certain degree of favor with the Dictator; and finally, by great good fortune, succeeded in obtaining his permission to quit the country. They propose to publish in a separate and more extensive work their scientific and other observations upon Paraguay. The present treatise is exclusively taken up with the character and administration of the ruler. We extract from the introduction a succinct account of the circumstances under which our travellers entered the country, and of the motives which induced them to publish the work.

‘On the first of May, 1818, Mr Longchamp and I embarked for Buenos Aires, intending to proceed from thence either to Chile or Paraguay. The object of this voyage was to collect further information respecting the natural history of those regions, the attainment of which we thought would be facilitated by our knowledge of medicine. On our arrival at Buenos Aires, we made some inquiries about the countries we were to visit, and decided in favor of Paraguay, as being the part of the continent which was least known, and which enjoyed the greatest degree of tranquillity. Although Dr Francia had been for many years at the head of affairs in that quarter, no one in Buenos Aires had the least idea of the form of government established there, and Paraguay was considered as the most peaceable of the provinces. On the third of August of the same year, we embarked on the Parana, and proceeded as far as Corrientes, a town situated on the left bank of that river, near its junction with the Paraguay. In the course of this voyage, which lasted some weeks, we had opportunities of observing the desolating effects of the government of Artigas. One of his lieutenants, at the head of a party of Indians belonging to the late missions of Entre Rios, being himself an Indian, was commanding at Corrientes at the time of our arrival. His depredations, which were particularly injurious to the commerce of Paraguay, had completely cut off all communication with that territory; nor was it reestablished till after an interval of eight months, when the Indians had retired. We therefore considered ourselves very fortunate in being able to quit a country which was involved in complete anarchy. There, as at Buenos Aires, no one knew anything of Dr Francia, except that he had established perfect order in the country; on which account many families had been induced to resort to it as a place

of safety against the persecutions of Artigas. Pursuing our course up the river Paraguay, we reached Assumption on the 30th of July, 1819. What was our surprise, when the persons to whom we were addressed, recommended to us the strictest circumspection as a necessary rule of conduct, without giving any further explanation! Happily for us, an Englishman of the name of Dr Parlet, made us acquainted with the character and government of Dr Francia, a circumstance of which we availed ourselves from our first audience. All that had been done by the Doctor up to that period, was however only the prelude to the grand scene, of which we were unwilling witnesses during the space of six years. I shall not enter into any details respecting our residence in Paraguay, or the occupations in which we were engaged, since this will constitute the principal subject of the narrative of our voyage and of a work on the natural history of that country. Suffice it here to say, that in May, 1825, the Dictator finally granted us permission to depart in a ship bound for Buenos Aires, and that we immediately embraced the opportunity.

‘Scarcely had we passed the borders of Paraguay, when we were assailed with questions about Dr Francia. At the very doors of this province a profound ignorance prevailed as to its government. At Buenos Aires, where we made another stay of several months; at the Brazils, where contrary winds obliged us to stop; and finally in Europe, where we arrived in the beginning of May, 1826, fresh motives occurred to confirm us in our opinion, that the Doctor was there also an object of general curiosity. According to the greater or less degree of faith given by each to the fabulous and extraordinary accounts of the travellers who had visited the coasts of America, different persons had formed different notions respecting Dr Francia and his government. With some he was a sage, who from a desire to civilize his fellow citizens and preserve them from the horrors of a revolution, had separated them from the rest of the world; with others he was a usurper, whose design it was to enrich himself with the spoils of his country. Some, who observed a religious order reviving in Europe, the name of which is inseparable from that of Paraguay, thought they recognised in the person of this man of the new world, an agent of the Jesuits. In fine, the enemies of the emancipation of America were fain to behold in Dr Francia, the supporter of a fallen power, and the future avenger of the mother country.

‘In order to enable the public to form a correct opinion of this mysterious personage, we have resolved to detach this first part of our voyage from the body of the narrative, and to publish it separately. Although it has been compiled by me exclusively, it is but just to observe, that the greater part of the facts have been witnessed by Mr Longchamp as well as by myself, and that they

are related by agreement between us. The best guarantee, however, that we can offer for the truth of this picture is, that nothing less than the loss of our heads would have been the consequence of any mistake that we might have made as to the character of Dr Francia. It is thus, that from motives of self-preservation, the traveller who journeys over the deserts of a great continent, is obliged, though not a naturalist, to study the habits of the tiger or the jaguar.'

After these introductory explanations the authors proceed to give a very rapid view of the early events of the revolution in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, with which our readers are generally acquainted, and upon which we need not enlarge. In the year 1810, the revolutionary government, which had just been established in the city of that name (where the viceroy had been deposed and the supreme authority committed to a junta acting in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh), despatched a small force into Paraguay, for the purpose of securing the adhesion of that province. This expedition proved unsuccessful, and the invading army, after gaining some advantages in the first instance, were afterwards completely overpowered and mostly made prisoners. A small remnant capitulated and left the country. The next year however (1811), the principal Creoles and some of the leading Spanish officers formed a conspiracy for the same general purpose, which was attended with more success. The leaders of it prevailed on the governor to assemble a convention of the principal persons of the province. Our authors say but little of the proceedings of this convention, and that little they seem to have learned from incorrect sources. We find the subject more fully treated in a Spanish manuscript account of the early events of this revolution, which we have in our possession. There appears to have been a considerable display of eloquence upon this occasion, and in the manuscript alluded to, the speeches of the governor, of the bishop (who was subsequently so strongly affected by the progress of affairs as to lose his reason), and of Don Joseph Antonio Yegros, one of the principal Creoles, are reported at great length, and perhaps with much accuracy. We learn from the same account, that there appeared at this assembly not less than seven royal governors, who had been successively appointed by different corporations, pretending to exercise the authority of the king of Spain. The convention was first called upon to decide whom it would acknowledge in this latter capacity. Upon this

question opinions were much divided, and the vote stood as follows ;

For Charles the Fourth	73
Ferdinand the Seventh	86
Joseph Bonaparte	70

Ferdinand was accordingly declared to be the legitimate monarch. The result of the deliberations of this convention was not therefore, as our authors suppose, a declaration of independence, but a formal acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Spain. The assembly next decided, by a vote of two hundred and twenty-nine to thirty-eight, that the seven royal governors and the commissioner of Buenos Aires should be furnished with passports ; that the resignation of the acting governor, Velasco, should be accepted ; and that the royal authority should be exercised by a junta, to be named by the governor himself, who does not seem, as our authors state, to have been forcibly deposed, but to have resigned of his own accord, and to have enjoyed in a high degree the esteem and confidence of the people. A junta was accordingly appointed, and immediately installed with the general approbation. It consisted of a president, two other members, and a secretary having a right to vote. Don Fulgencio de Yegros was the president, and the secretary was the future dictator, then denominated simply Dr Francia. As this is the first appearance of the Doctor on the political stage, our authors very properly introduce here an account of his origin and early life, which we extract entire.

‘ The history of the revolution of Paraguay being in fact the history of Dr Francia, it seems proper to give a brief account of the character and early life of this personage. His father, a native of France, went over in his youth to Portugal, and from thence to Paraguay, where he married a Creole. Although in this latter country he is considered as of Portuguese origin, the Doctor himself denies the fact, and maintains that his family is French. Having been at first intended for the church, or, according to his own expression, *condemned to study theology*, he commenced his education in the wretched schools kept by the friars of Assumption, but afterwards went to the university of Cordova del Tucuman, which was under the direction of the Franciscans since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Here he made considerable progress, and took his degree of doctor of theology ; but the study of the canon law having given him a taste for jurisprudence, he resolved on not taking orders, and became a lawyer.

‘Perhaps (at least it may be presumed from the sentiments subsequently expressed by him) the little faith he had in the dogmas of the church contributed to his adopting this resolution, no less than the taste he might have acquired for the study of jurisprudence. Besides, nothing was more common in America, than for young men who were intended for the bar to enter in the first instance upon a course of theology, as it also was for ecclesiastics, to devote themselves to the profession of the law. Upon his return to his country, Dr Francia distinguished himself by probity and undoubted integrity. He was never known to dishonor his profession by pleading an unjust cause, nor did he ever hesitate to defend the weak against the strong, or the poor against the rich. He never failed to exact considerable fees from those who were able to pay, and especially from those who were fond of lawsuits; but exhibited a singular disinterestedness when he knew that the means of his clients were scanty, or when unjust pretensions had brought them before the tribunals. Inheriting a moderate patrimony, he never sought to increase it. Half a house in town, and a little farm (*chacra*) in the country, constituted all his fortune and satisfied all his wishes. So indifferent was he to money, that finding himself one day in the possession of eight hundred dollars, and thinking such a sum a great deal too much for a single man, he carried it to the gaming-table.’

‘Being of a studious disposition, rather unsociable, and uniting to a taste for study the love of licentious pleasures, he remained a bachelor. He of course was never the head of a family; he rejected all tender sentiments, and was a stranger to friendship. In fine, the little information that was to be obtained in his intercourse with his countrymen, together with their total want of literary resources, prevented him from going much into their company. To this might be owing the inflexibility of character for which he was remarkable, and which has shown itself so singularly in his administration. He was also subject to frequent attacks of hypochondria, which had the effect of producing a sort of madness; a circumstance that may the more easily be accounted for, when we consider that his father was regarded as a very eccentric man, that his brother is insane, and that one of his sisters was for a long time in the same state.

‘On arriving at manhood, Francia was elected member of the *Cabildo* or Council of Assumption, and subsequently held the office of *alcalde*. A man of his character could not but be independent even when in office, and such in fact he was both in his public and private capacity. He showed no anxiety to please either the governor or the Spaniards; and in defending his country against the pretensions of Spain, he proved as incorruptible a magistrate as he had been an upright judge. With such qualities

he could not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of his fellow citizens.'

The administration of the junta does not seem to have been remarkably brilliant. The president Yegros and his assistants were not men of business, and passed all their time in military parades and other public and private amusements. Francia was the only effective man, but he frequently found it impossible to overcome the obstacles he met with from his colleagues; and on such occasions repeatedly retired into the country, and declared that he would have nothing more to do with the government. His colleagues, who could not get on without him, were then compelled to give way, and persuade him by compliance to come back. His intentions seem to have been at this time pretty good, but he had already adopted his notion of an exclusive and independent system of administration. He concluded with Buenos Aires an arrangement of boundaries, but constantly refused to lend the least aid in the war against Spain. He was apparently more humane than his colleagues, and exerted himself occasionally with effect in preventing military executions.

This organization lasted about two years, when the junta, acting no doubt under the instigation of Francia, called another convention, which met at Assumption in 1813. This body is represented by our authors as having been very ill composed. Francia was almost the only member of it who possessed any reading or acquaintance with business, and he acquired in consequence a great influence. After a few sittings it was voted to change the form of government, and while they were casting about for the model of another, the Doctor brought forward, as a work of authority, Rollin's Roman History, one of the very few good books to be found in the country. After consulting this oracle, it was concluded to copy the model of the Eternal City, and substitute for the existing junta two annual consuls. The first choice fell, as might have been expected, on Francia, and Don Fulgencio Yegros was appointed his colleague. The former seems to have been at no great pains to conceal his intentions in regard to the degree of influence which he was to exercise in the new system. He directed two leather-bottomed armed chairs, or, as he called them, *curule seats*, to be prepared for the use of the consuls at their public sessions, on one of which was inscribed the name of *Cæsar* and on the other that of *Pompey*. On the first occasion that

offered, the worthy Doctor, as we are told by our authors, modestly installed himself in the chair of the conqueror of Pharsalia, leaving to poor Yegros the less brilliant and somewhat ominous position of his less successful rival. If there was anything malicious in this disposition of names and assignment of seats, the conduct of Francia exhibited more frankness than policy; and it is not improbable that this farcical incident was in part accidental. Be that as it may, it appears that Francia was now pretty sure of his ground. Yegros, it is true, obtained at first the command of half the troops; but it was arranged between them, that the supreme power should be exercised by each in turn for four months in succession. Cæsar's turn, *comme de raison*, came before that of Pompey, and by this ingenious stratagem, the Doctor secured to himself the first and last four months, and left for his colleague only the intervening third of the year, at the end of which the functions of both were to close.

The latter, therefore, had apparently the better right to be dissatisfied with the operation of the consular system; but as ambition is one of those appetites which grow by what they feed on, the two thirds of the supreme power which he had obtained availed nothing to Francia, while his colleague possessed the other. In 1814, at the end of the first consular year, Congress met again at Assumption to renew the government, but instead of permitting them to do this quietly, Francia proposed to them to change the constitution a second time, and dispensing with the two consuls to commit the whole executive power to a single magistrate, whom (still recurring to his favorite authority, Rollin) he advised them to designate by the title of *Dictator*. This proposition was agreed to without much difficulty, and the assembly proceeded to elect their new ruler; but here the learned Doctor found himself more at a loss. Upon sounding the dispositions of the members of Congress, he found that by some strange accident it had not occurred to these honest Creoles that the person who proposed to institute a dictatorship, a consulate, a presidency for life, a protectorate, or any such laborious and troublesome office, may in almost all cases be prevailed upon, if sufficiently pressed, to fill it himself. For want of this obvious reflection, while they were quite ready to choose a dictator, they had not considered the Doctor as a candidate, and were mostly prepared to vote for Yegros. Pitying their simplicity, and fully

aware, no doubt, that the shoulders of his colleague were not sufficiently Atlantean to support this burden, Francia prevailed upon the Congress to defer the vote till the next meeting. On the following day the subject was taken up again, and, strange as it may seem, the Doctor was again overlooked, and all eyes were turned, as before, upon Yegros, so that the would-be-dictator had no resource left but that of moving another adjournment. *The third time*, says the proverb, *never fails*. Before the next meeting the legislators of Paraguay had obtained some notion of the nature of their office, and as, to do them justice, they appear to have exhibited throughout a good deal of docility, whenever they could be brought to comprehend the Doctor's intentions, they now passed over Yegros, and voted unanimously for Francia.

It may not be improper to add, for the better understanding of these proceedings, that the deliberations of the Congress were assisted at this third meeting, by the presence of a strong guard of honor, which, by order of the learned Doctor, surrounded the church where the assembly was held. It cannot be doubted that the attention thus shown by this careful magistrate to the security and respectability of the proceedings, contributed greatly to enlighten the Congress of Paraguay, in regard to his qualifications for the dictatorship. It is known that similar precautions have had an equally good effect at certain critical periods in the history of other countries, and particularly on a late occasion, when a person who calls himself the *Liberator* (in better English *Deliverer*) was spontaneously chosen president for life of the republic of Peru, in consequence of having taken the trouble to inform the members of Congress, on the night before the election, that such as did not vote for him would be thrown into prison, and to shoot General Nicochea and a few other distinguished patriots *pour encourager les autres*. The Deliverer, we may remark, *en passant*, appears to have forgotten that the new lights, which are made to burst upon the vision of mere civilians by military guards and executions, uniformly vanish when the troops are withdrawn; and having imprudently set off upon a journey of two or three thousand miles for the purpose of *delivering* the Colombians in the same way, had the mortification to find his disciples in Peru relapsing, the moment his back was turned, into their former stupidity, and becoming again as insensible as ever to the beauties of the Bolivian Code, and the pretensions

of its author to be president for life of all the republics, present and to come, in Spanish America. It has been noticed, as one of the singularities in the character of Washington, that his method of delivering republics was different, and that in reasoning with Congress upon the various topics of public interest which he had occasion from time to time to discuss with them, he never found it necessary to recur to the species of argument, which has since been used with so much temporary success at Assumption and Lima.

To return, however, from the Deliverer of Colombia to the Dictator of Paraguay (no very violent transition), it appears that his competitor, Yegros, was not at first as fully satisfied with the new arrangement as might have been wished. The portion of the army under his command exhibited a disposition to resist by force the authority of the new dictator, and there was some danger, for the moment, of a civil war. *Fortunately* (say our authors, we do not exactly see why,) an officer named Caballero, who commanded under Yegros, and who had great influence with the troops, although a personal enemy of Francia, exerted himself with success in appeasing the revolt. As a reward for his services on this occasion, he was arrested three or four years after by order of the Dictator, under pretext of being implicated in some conspiracy, real or supposed, and in order to escape the ignominy of a public execution, committed suicide in prison. The Dictator was elected in the first instance for the term of three years. The following extract will show the character of the measures, which he adopted for the purpose of confirming his authority, and of obtaining at the end of this term a reappointment for life.

‘As soon as Dr Francia found himself at the head of the republic, he established his residence in the house which had formerly been occupied by the Spanish governors. His first care was to reform his own manner of life; gaming and women were renounced for ever, and since this time he has exhibited the greatest austerity in his habits. The morning was passed in transacting business. The superior officers, the military commandants, and the Alcaldes were summoned to receive orders; private persons, who had any petition to present or complaints to prefer, were admitted to an audience, and the workmen, who were employed by government, attended to receive their instructions from the Dictator himself. His daily walk was on the parade. In the evening he employed his hours of leisure in reading, especially

such French authors as could be obtained in the country, having learned French a short time before the revolution. The belles-lettres, history, geography, and mathematics were by turns the object of his studies. The knowledge of medicine being very limited in Paraguay, he read Tissot and Buchan, and practised upon himself according to their prescriptions. He used to take particular interest in the perusal of an old treatise on the arts and professions; and drew from this source the information of which he has subsequently made so extraordinary an application. But to acquire a knowledge of the art of war was his favorite object; for he felt conscious that the political existence of the country, and even his own, depended on his manner of organizing the armed force. In order to provide himself with the necessary materials, he established a monopoly of timber, an article in great demand at Buenos Aires, only permitting it to be exported by those who furnished him with arms and warlike stores. At a later period this system was made to comprehend every branch of commerce; and by means of licenses he procured everything he stood in need of, while at the same time he secured, by granting them, the attachment of the public officers and merchants, who wished for a share in these advantages.

‘In the army, he began by removing, under various pretexts, such of the officers as gave him umbrage or seemed to have too much influence with the soldiery. These were for the most part ignorant of the duties of their profession, and had been the authors of various disturbances; but the real motive for their dismissal was, that they belonged to good families. The Dictator was by no means inclined to employ men who might consider themselves citizens as well as soldiers. The new officers were not in general men of greater ability, but such as could only by his aid expect to rise from the low condition in which he found them. He dismissed in like manner all the soldiers of whose opinions he had any doubt, and replaced them by fresh recruits. Having taken these measures, he proceeded to organize various corps, exercised them every day, and subjected them to a severe discipline. This discipline, however, was observed only while the soldiers were under arms, or in their quarters; at all other times they were under no control. The Dictator was sole judge over the military; but knowing how necessary they were to him, he treated them with great consideration. A body of grenadiers composed his guard, and at the same time performed the duty of *gens-d’armes*. By their means he communicated his orders to the environs, summoned the persons whom he had to speak with, and caused his arrests to be put in execution. In this way they came to be the terror of the place; particularly when for the sake of gratifying the Dictator they acted as his spies. As the

sergeant of the guard was the person who introduced those, who wanted an audience, it was necessary to be in his good graces in order to be announced. These grenadiers were not well acquainted with the Spanish language, and were therefore incapable of delivering with precision the orders of which they were bearers, or the answers given to them by individuals; hence misunderstandings arose, which were considered as acts of disobedience, and punished accordingly.

‘In the civil administration, the Dictator made at first no material change. He contented himself with removing all men of independent spirit, and put creatures of his own in their places. He took upon himself exclusively the nomination of the *cabildos* and *alcaldes*, who, being originally the defenders of the rights of the people, were now converted into the servile instruments of despotism. He increased the number of circles or *comandancias*, which form the territorial division of Paraguay, and gave the administration of them to men who were devoted to his interests. He even changed the *zeladores*, a sort of subaltern police officers, whose care it was to watch over the public tranquillity. The religious orders also attracted his attention; here at least he effected a salutary reform by abolishing the Inquisition, of which there was a commission in the capital. The bishop having been affected by this event to such a degree as to lose his reason, the Dictator forced him to resign his powers to the Vicar-General (*Provisor*), who then assumed the government of the diocese under the direction of Francia. Processions and the performance of divine service by night were prohibited, as tending to produce suspicious meetings.

‘All these changes were not effected at once. The Dictator allowed his measures to keep pace with the growth of his power, and in the beginning had even a certain regard to appearances. His orders were less absolute, and he seemed anxious to justify them in the eyes of the public. In private he was more affable, and received visits of politeness from the civil functionaries, officers, and other persons of distinction. He did not then think it a disparagement to his dignity to offer them seats, nor did he oblige them to remain standing all the time that he was speaking to them, as was afterwards the case.

‘In the mean time the three years of his dictatorship were on the point of expiring, and a new Congress was to assemble in 1817; but Francia took care that it should be composed of creatures of his own, employing for this purpose the commandants of the circles, and caused himself to be created Perpetual Dictator. Being once installed in this office, he acted without disguise, and soon undeceived his fellow citizens in regard to the nature of the power with which they had entrusted him. Some caricatures,

ridiculing his person, were pasted up at the corners of the streets. Those who had made them attributed them to the Spaniards, but Francia was not to be deceived, and ordered the real authors to be arrested and put in irons without any form of trial. As this measure only affected individuals who were not liked, and who had the name of being turbulent, their condemnation produced but little sensation in the public mind, and the less as since the time of the Spaniards, people were accustomed to see the government act as judge in its own cause. About this time an ancient colonel of Buenos Aires, named Valta Vargas, a native of Paraguay, was also put under arrest on suspicion of conspiring against the Dictator. This imprisonment was followed by several others, which however afforded no light upon the subject, although the incident served to increase in some degree his severity and distrust. From that time forward, when he went out on horseback, he used to be escorted by hussars; two before and one behind. It was their duty, in the first instance, to make the passengers keep to the sides of the streets as the Dictator passed. Afterwards they were directed to drive off roughly all who stood in the way. The sabre blows that were distributed on these occasions soon cured people of their curiosity, and thence forward the progress of the Dictator through the city was like traversing a desert.'

In the above account of the successive steps by which Dr Francia attained his present elevation, or as Shakspeare expresses it,

'The base degrees by which he did ascend,'

our readers will have noticed the analogy which we have already pointed out between his political course and that of Napoleon. The measures employed by both are no doubt such as are naturally suggested by the circumstances in which they stood, and might with some variations be repeated on different occasions, without any actual imitation. But in this instance the resemblance of names and incidents is too minute to be other than intentional. The transition from a democratic to a consular, and afterwards to a dictatorial or imperial government; the means used for gaining the assent of the legislative bodies; the contemptuous treatment of the inferior consul; all these circumstances, with others, which we need not recapitulate, prove that the Doctor had his eye upon a model of more recent date than the one described by Rollin. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the remarks which he made on the character of

Napoleon, at his first interview with our authors, which is described in the following extract. It would seem, that the Dictator had been somewhat less successful in copying the costume of his famous prototype than his conduct. We are told by our authors, that he had mistaken a German caricature of Napoleon, which had accidentally fallen into his possession, for a correct likeness, and had been led in consequence to provide himself, as a part of his official dress, with one of those immense cocked hats, which the caricaturists, probably from a spirit of contradiction, have generally substituted for the uncommonly small and low three-cornered beaver, habitually worn by the 'man of destiny.'

'In September, 1818, we arrived at Corrientes, where we were forced to make a stay of eight months, nor did we succeed in obtaining from the authorities of that place permission to embark for Paraguay till May, 1819, when communications were finally re-established. It is from this period, that the events of which we have been eye-witnesses take their date; those which have been previously related are only the result of such information as during my residence in the country, I was able to obtain from the best authorities. On the thirtieth of July we landed at Assumption, and a few days afterwards were presented to the Dictator. He is a man of middling size, regular features, and the fine black eyes peculiar to the natives of South America, with a penetrating look expressive of distrust. On that day he had on his official dress, which was the uniform of a Spanish brigadier, that is, a blue gold-laced coat, white waistcoat and breeches, white silk stockings, and shoes with gold buckles. So splendid an equipement could not fail to excite our surprise, after having just seen the half naked condition of Artigas and his lieutenants. Dr Francia was then about sixty years of age, although he did not appear to be above fifty. He asked me several questions, with an air of superiority, and apparently with the intention of embarrassing me, but he soon after assumed a different tone. On my opening a portfolio to look for the papers I had to present to him, he perceived a portrait of Bonaparte, which I had placed there on purpose, knowing his admiration for the original. He took it up, and, on being told whom it represented, examined it with great interest. He then entered familiarly into conversation on the subject of the political affairs of Europe, with which I found him much better acquainted than I could have expected. He asked for news about Spain, and expressed the highest contempt for that country. The constitution of Louis the Eighteenth was not to his taste, and he gave a decided preference to the military government of Napoleon, of whose fall he spoke with regret. I

remarked, that in conversing upon his reign, he dwelt with pleasure on such circumstances as seemed to have any analogy with his own situation. He reproached us, as Swiss, with our wretched campaign of 1815, and applied to us the fable, in which the dying lion receives a kick from a certain long-eared animal. But the principal topic of his conversation was the friars, whom he accused of pride, depravity of manners, and a disposition to intrigue. He declaimed violently against the tendency visible in the clergy in general to resist the authority of government. In order to give us a more perfect idea of his principles in this respect, he declared that if the Holy Father himself were to come to Paraguay, he should be nothing more than his chaplain. He appeared to anticipate the return of fanaticism and superstition in Europe, and insisted on the necessity of crushing the monastic spirit in time before America became infected with this new contagion. The reëstablishment of the Jesuits in Europe, which we announced as being realized in part, seemed to him incredible; so great was, in his opinion, the folly of this measure. When we mentioned the emancipation of America, he at once discovered the ardor of his devotion to the cause, and declared his fixed resolution to defend it against all enemies. The ideas which he expressed in regard to the mode of governing these new nations, in their present imperfect state of civilization, appeared to me very correct; but unfortunately he has made no application of any of them in his own country. He condescended to show us his library, which, though small, is the only one in Paraguay. We there saw, by the side of the best Spanish authors, the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Rollin, Laplace, &c. which he had procured since the revolution. He had also some mathematical instruments and geographical charts, and among these the most correct map of Paraguay to be found in the country. It was made by Don Felix de Azara, at the time of the demarkation of the boundaries, which took place during the last twenty years of the preceding century, and presented by the author to the Cabildo of Assumption. It has never been published. As the Dictator was sometimes seen studying the celestial globe, and by means of his map displayed a perfect knowledge of the country without ever having travelled over it, the inhabitants were persuaded, that he conversed with the stars. He has, however, never availed himself of this circumstance to impose upon their credulity; but on the contrary exerts himself in removing the prejudices, which his countrymen have imbibed. He dismissed us with the following words—"Do what you please, profess what religion you choose; no one shall molest you; only take care not to meddle with the affairs of my government." This advice we did not fail to follow, and on his part the Dictator

faithfully kept his word. On taking my leave, I left the portrait of Bonaparte on the table, thinking that it would be acceptable to him. He, however, sent it back to me with an officer, who was directed to ask me what I would take for it. As I did not like to set a price on an article in itself of little value, and as the Dictator made it a rule never to accept presents, the portrait remained in my possession. I was the more surprised at this from the circumstance of his having shown me in his cabinet a caricature, published at Nuremberg, which represented his hero, and which he in good earnest considered as a portrait, till I explained to him a German inscription, that was at the foot of this wretched print, on which he seemed to set so great a value. It was doubtless this caricature that suggested to him the idea of assuming as a part of his dress the enormous *chapeau-bras*, in which Bonaparte was there represented.'

The following extract, which forms the last chapter of the work, describes the personal habits of Francia, and seems to come in naturally in connexion with the above passage.

'In order to finish the portrait of the personage, who is the chief subject of the present essay, I now proceed to give some details of his domestic life; and shall add some facts for which a place could not be found before, and which seem well calculated to explain the character of this extraordinary man.

'It has been already mentioned that Dr Francia, as soon as he had the sole direction of the public affairs, took up his lodgings in the residence of the former governors. This building is one of the largest in Assumption; it was constructed by the Jesuits a little before their suppression, and was used by them as a house for retreat, in which the lay brothers performed certain religious exercises prescribed by St Ignatius. The Dictator had it repaired, and gave to the exterior of it an air of elegance not usual in the country, and opening wide streets all round, made it stand apart from the other houses. His establishment consists of four slaves, namely, a negro boy, a mulatto man, and two mulatto women. One of the latter superintends the kitchen, and the other has charge of the wardrobe. In his habits he is extremely regular. The first rays of the sun hardly ever find him in bed. As soon as he rises, the negro brings a chafing dish, a tea-kettle, and a pitcher of water, which is heated in his presence. The Dictator then prepares, with his own hands and with all possible care, his *maté* or Paraguay tea. Having taken this, he walks awhile in an inner gallery which looks out upon the court, and smokes a cigar, taking care first to unroll it lest it should contain anything poisonous, although his cigars are made by his own sister. At six o'clock comes the barber, a dirty, ill dressed, drunken mulatto,

who, however, is the only one of the faculty, in whose hands the Dictator will trust himself. If in good humor, he will condescend to chat with this person, and often prepares the public through his means for the projects he has in contemplation; thus making him his official gazette. After this, having put on a calico morning-gown, he takes a turn in the outer gallery, which goes all round the house, and receives such individuals as have been admitted to an audience. At seven o'clock he retires to his cabinet, and remains there till nine. The military and civil officers then make their appearance, to give in their reports and receive orders. At eleven the *fiel de fecho* brings in the papers that are to be presented to him, and writes *à la dictée* till twelve. At this hour the secretaries retire, and Francia sits down to table. His dinner is frugal, and is prepared according to his own directions. On her return from market, the cook lays out the articles purchased before the door of her master's cabinet, who, on coming out, sets apart the things he intends for his own use. After dinner he takes his *siesta*, and then his *maté* and cigar, as in the morning. He then attends to business till four or five, when the escort arrives to accompany him on his ride. The hair-dresser now attends him while the horse is saddling. This being done, the Dictator goes out to visit the public works or the barracks, especially those of the cavalry, in which he has apartments for his reception. In these excursions, although attended by an escort, he goes armed not only with a sabre, but with a pair of double-barreled pocket pistols. On his return home about nightfall he applies himself to his studies. At nine he takes his supper, which consists of a roast pidgeon and a glass of wine. If the weather be fine, he then takes another walk in the gallery, which he sometimes does not quit till very late. At ten he gives the order for the ensuing day; and, upon retiring to rest, locks with his own hands all the doors of the house. During several months in the year he resides at the barracks of the cavalry, which are situated out of the town, about a quarter of a league from his ordinary residence; and here his manner of life is the same, except that from time to time he goes out to hunt. In all the rooms which he occupies, there are arms within reach; pistols are suspended from the walls, or placed by his side at table; and sabres, generally unsheathed, are to be found in every corner. Precautions of the same kind are observed in the etiquette prescribed for giving audience. The person admitted is not to approach the Dictator nearer than six paces, until invited by him, and even then not nearer than three. He must let his arms hang down in a line with his body, and the hands in the same position, and open, that it may be seen that they conceal no weapon. Neither civil nor military officers must presume to appear before him with swords by their sides. Never-

theless he likes that people should look at him while speaking to him, and that their answers should be prompt and decisive. One day he desired me to ascertain, by examination, whether the natives of Paraguay had not a bone too much in their necks, which prevented them from lifting up their heads and speaking out.

‘At the beginning of a conversation he always tries to intimidate, but when his first onset is sustained with firmness, he becomes more mild, and ends by conversing agreeably if in good humor. It is then that the man of superior talents may be recognised; for in the course of his conversation, which turns upon a great variety of objects, he discovers a depth of understanding, a degree of penetration, and an extent of information beyond what could be expected in one, who, it may almost be said, has never been out of Paraguay. Free from the numberless prejudices entertained by his countrymen, he often makes them the subject of his pleasantry. Thus, at an interview which I had with him, he laughed a good deal at the expense of the commandant and curate of Curuguaty, who had sent him a poor woman in chains and loaded with an enormous rosary, transmitting with her a report of her trial, from which it appeared that she was a sorceress. From this he went on to describe the various magical arts practised by the people in cases of sickness, and the cures which they attributed to them, and finished by saying, “You may judge by this of the use of priests and religion among these people; they serve to make them believe in the devil, rather than in God.”

‘The conscience of men is a sanctuary which history itself cannot but respect; but this rule ought not to be extended to public acts, by which the supreme head of a government discloses his religious opinions. I therefore presume there will be no impropriety in mentioning, that, though in the early periods of his elevation he used regularly to hear mass on Sundays in one of the chapels of the barracks, and attended service at the cathedral on great holy-days, he soon after ceased to appear at all at church, and in 1820 dismissed his chaplain. From that time he has been a stranger to every kind of worship, and has never ceased exclaiming against the established religion. One of the commandants having asked him, on some occasion, for the image of a saint, in order to place it as a patron in a fort that had been just built. “How long,” said he, “men of Paraguay, will you continue to be idiots? while I was a catholic, I thought as you do; but I have since discovered that cannon balls are the best saints to guard our frontiers.” In our first audience, on being informed of our religion, “Profess whatever you please,” said he, “be Christians, Jews, or Mahometans, but not atheists.”

‘Whenever the Dictator is seized with a fit of spleen, he either shuts himself up for several days without attending to business, or

else vents his ill humor upon everything round him. The *employés*, the officers, soldiers, all are equally exposed to ill treatment. He then launches out into invectives and threats against his enemies, real or supposed. It is on these occasions especially that he orders arrests and inflicts the severest punishments, and even thinks it a mere trifle to pronounce a sentence of death.

‘The state of the weather seems to have a considerable influence upon his temper; at least it has been remarked, that when the northeast wind prevails, these fits are much more frequent. This wind, which is attended with humidity and a suffocating heat, produces frequent and sudden showers, and makes a very unfavorable impression on people of irritable nerves, or who suffer from obstruction in the liver or the lower intestines. When, however, the west wind blows, which is dry and fresh, the Dictator is generally in a pleasant state of mind. He then sings and laughs by himself, and converses agreeably with all those who approach him.

‘Whatever may be said of the unevenness of his temper, there is at least one laudable quality in which he is constant, I mean his disinterestedness. No less liberal in his personal expenses than sparing of the public money, he pays in cash for everything he stands in need of. His private fortune has derived no improvement from his elevation. He never received a present, and is always in arrears for the receipt of his appointments; in this respect even his greatest enemies do him justice. On several occasions, he has proved himself no stranger to a sense of gratitude. Having one day been informed that a young man of a family of Cordova, in whose house he had been admitted in his youth, happened to be at Assumption in the greatest distress, he ordered him to be sent for, and after giving him some hundred francs, made him his secretary. He also sometimes remembers his schoolmates, and never fails to afford them his assistance when they want it. But he loses the recollection of every service, and acknowledges neither relations nor dependants, from the moment he sees anything like resistance to his authority, or a want of respect towards his person. To omit giving him the title of *Excelentísimo Señor*, is an unpardonable sin, although he himself *thous* all but foreigners; a habit which he has acquired by degrees and in proportion as his power has been confirmed. “You are to pay to me as much respect as you would to your king, and even more,” said he to a foreigner, the subject of a monarch; “for I can do you more good and more harm than he can.” Several of his favorites have fallen into disgrace for attempting to put themselves on too familiar a footing with him. Others have been put in irons for arrogating to themselves a power which had not been conferred. Two of his nephews, who had been officers in

the troops of the line, from the beginning of the revolution, were the first whom he dismissed from the service shortly after having got himself made dictator; and this merely because he apprehended that they might avail themselves to his prejudice of the circumstances of their position. Hence it was, that any fault committed by them was punished with much more severity than those of the other officers; one of them was put in irons, and kept in that state for the space of four years, for having struck some person who had insulted him at a ball; another was confined in a public prison during a whole year for having made use of one of the musicians of a regiment in giving a serenade. In fine, his sister, the only person towards whom he ever showed any lasting attachment, and who had the care of his countryhouse, was sent home to her family for having employed a *zelador* to punish one of the slaves.

‘It is easy to conceive that, being so extremely jealous of his authority, the Dictator could never have a confidant; in fact, he never took the advice of any one in anything he ever did, nor can any one boast of having exercised the slightest influence over him. If then he sooner or later meet with the fate reserved for almost all oppressors of their country, he will have no one to blame but himself.’

Our authors enter at considerable length into an account of the administration of the Dictator in its several departments, but we have not room to follow them here in detail, and must refer our readers for information on these points to the work itself. The authority of Francia is sustained by a little regular army of about five thousand men, mostly cavalry, well armed, equipped, and disciplined, and stationed at the capital. As the whole population of the country is supposed to be something short of two hundred thousand souls, dispersed over a territory not less extensive than the kingdom of France, this power is amply sufficient to effect its object and to keep up a continual reign of terror. The regular troops are composed exclusively of Creole whites, who constitute about seven tenths of the population, the other three tenths being made up of Indians, blacks, and mulattoes, together with about eight hundred Spaniards. There is beside the regular army an establishment of militia, in which every individual of whatever race is enrolled upon reaching the age of seventeen, and which consists, in the whole, of twenty thousand persons. It is occasionally employed in aid of the troops, but it is on these that the Dictator places his dependence for the security of his power. To make assurance doubly sure, he has resorted to various other measures

of precaution, among which are the secularization of all ecclesiastical property, and the assumption by himself of the functions of head of the church. In this respect, he has gone one step beyond his imperial prototype, and copied the policy of Henry the Eighth of England. The bishop of the diocese, as we have already remarked, was driven to madness by these proceedings, in his opinion, no doubt, the consummation of sacrilege and tyranny, but which our authors are disposed to view with some degree of favor. For the same purpose, he interdicted all communications with foreigners, not only personal but epistolary, and for the better attainment of this object entirely suppressed the postoffice. The measures adopted for the immediate safety of his own person are not less rigid; and when he happens to be seized with one of his habitual fits of ill humor, he is apt to carry them upon the slightest provocation to some new and extraordinary excess. On one occasion, a poor woman was sent to prison for approaching the window of his palace, and her husband, though not with her at the time, was obliged to share her fate. Not satisfied with taking this severe notice of so enormous an offence, the Dictator immediately ordered the sentinel on duty at the door to shoot every person whom he should see looking at the house. It seems that the learned Doctor concentrates in his own person the functions of commissary and quartermaster general and particular, as well as those of pope and dictator, and delivers out himself to the soldiers on guard the ammunition that is wanted. On the occasion alluded to, the Dictator, exasperated almost to madness by this failure of respect for his person (as he was pleased to consider it), the wind probably blowing fresh from the northeast, brought out a second musket charged with ball to the sentinel at the door, and addressed him as follows; 'If you see any body fix his eyes on this house, fire upon him. If you miss the first time, fire again,' (handing him the second musket.) 'If you miss a second time, I shall take care not to miss you.' It is rather singular, that after issuing this order, he should have been so much at a loss to account for the down look of his loving subjects, as to inquire of our authors into the anatomical conformation of their necks. The fact was pretty soon known through the capital, and the citizens took good care either not to pass the giant's castle or to look the other way. But about a fortnight after, a poor native, fresh from the country, took the liberty, in the indulgence of a not unnatural

curiosity, to turn his eyes in the prohibited direction, and was actually fired upon by the soldier on guard. The Dictator, upon hearing the report, came out to inquire what was the matter, and on learning the offence of the Indian, revoked the order, pretending to forget that he had ever issued it.

Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the Dictator has not succeeded in stifling completely the opinions of his countrymen. He has been annoyed, on the contrary, by a succession of conspiracies, formed by the most respectable and wealthy citizens; the discovery of which has led in turn to still more violent measures of prevention and punishment. It is in fact the great vice of all usurped authority, that it can only be maintained by the continual repetition of acts still more odious and sanguinary than those by which it must necessarily be acquired. The common feelings of human nature cannot be wholly overcome. They must and will break out in frequent attempts to throw off the unnatural pressure imposed upon them, while the usurper, if he succeed in defeating these, is compelled in self-defence to visit their authors with exemplary punishment. It is somewhat consoling to reflect, that even in this remote corner of christendom, inhabited by a mixed and scanty population, there has been found spirit enough to keep the tyrant in a state of continual alarm for his personal safety, and probably in the end to effect his overthrow, especially if the neighboring republic of Buenos Aires shall ever acquire stability and consistency enough to be able to aid her sister province in this good work.

Immediately after Francia declared himself dictator for life, a conspiracy against him was entered into by most of the leading citizens, in concert with an agent of Puerrydon, then supreme dictator at Buenos Aires, who came to Assumption for this purpose. The plot was maturing in secret for two years, and was to have been put in execution on Good Friday of 1820; but during the preceding Lent, one of the conspirators unluckily discovered it in confession to a friar, who ordered him to reveal it immediately to the Dictator, which he did. A number of the principal inhabitants, including the *quondam* Pompey of our new Cæsar, Don Fulgencio Yegros, were in consequence arrested and detained in close confinement. Meanwhile Ramirez, one of the independent chiefs of the neighboring country, who, after acting some time under the command of Artigas, had finally turned upon the latter, and succeeded in getting possession of the province of Entre Rios,

previously under his government, attempted to open friendly relations with Francia, and for this purpose sent envoys to Assumption. The Dictator exhibited on this occasion much the same respect for the law of nations, which was shown by the Dey of Algiers in the case of the French consul, reported in very good verse by the late Premier of Great Britain, in the 'Antijacobin,' and threw the envoys into prison. Ramirez, upon this, began to place himself in a hostile attitude and entered into a secret correspondence with the discontented citizens of Paraguay, which was also unfortunately detected. Alarmed at this new enterprise, the Dictator now brought his prisoners to trial, and as they were successively convicted, parties of eight or ten of them were executed every three or four weeks for two years in succession. Their wives and relations generally shared their fate. Finally all the Spaniards in the country, to the amount of eight hundred, were sent to prison *en masse*, where a part of them died of the effects of ill treatment, and the rest were only released upon the payment of such contributions as reduced them to ruin. The victims of these inhuman proceedings generally exhibited a manly firmness, highly honorable to the national character, and our authors mention a number of interesting anecdotes of the conduct of the sufferers, which we would gladly extract did our limits allow it.

The ultimate result of these continual prosecutions was, however, to break, for the time, the spirits of the people, and to plunge the whole community into a sort of gloomy despondency. These people, say our authors, naturally not very communicative, now lived entirely apart from each other. There were no more social meetings or entertainments. Even the women lost their privilege of talking, and the guitar, before the inseparable companion of the Paraguayans, became silent. There ensued a sort of blank desolation and stupor, which ended in making every one insensible to any misery but his own. If a man fell under the Dictator's displeasure he was, as it were, struck with a curse. Nobody could visit him without exciting suspicion. Every one who sought to communicate with a state prisoner was immediately arrested. This happened to several wives, who had said a few words through a grate to their husbands. While terror thus reigned in the capital, the other cities and the country were not better off. Under pretext of taking precautions against rebellion, the civil and military authorities committed the most arbitrary acts, and

thus avenged themselves on the people for the base submission they were obliged to show to the Dictator. Fines, imprisonments, and executions succeeded each other without intermission, and the subalterns pursued their course with perfect freedom, for they knew that the Dictator was inaccessible to remorse or pity.

Among the measures of Francia, which our authors are disposed to regard with some degree of favor, are his attempts to improve the internal condition of the country and to encourage agriculture and manufactures. But however laudable the object, the means employed by the Dictator for effecting it are, we fear, such as would ill suit the taste of our public; and with all our zeal in the cause of improvement we should certainly object to their use in this country. Terror seems to be the only instrument resorted to by the ruler of Paraguay in this, as in every other part of his administration. Wishing to encourage the manufacture of leather belts, he directed, as a preliminary step, that a gallows should be raised before the door of his principal shoemaker. This being done, he sent him the order for the article wanted, with a proviso that if it were not executed to his mind, the workman should be forthwith hanged. On another occasion he sent a blacksmith to the galleys for finishing, as he thought, in a slovenly way, one of the screws belonging to a gun carriage. But the most extensive and remarkable operation of this description was the attempt of the Dictator to improve the appearance of his capital. It was the boast of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick and should leave it of marble. Our new Cæsar having succeeded so well in copying the example of the first of the name, was probably encouraged to imitate the second. It seems to have been his first object, in carrying this plan into effect, to convert the city into a heap of ruins, and thus far he has to all appearances admirably succeeded. Whether he will be equally fortunate in the second and not less important part of the undertaking, that of building it up again in a better form, is still uncertain. The following extract, which contains an account of these proceedings, may also interest the reader, by the description it gives of a place but little known abroad.

‘A calamity of a different kind now befell the capital, for which it was indebted to the Dictator. It will be recollected, that at the time of discovering the conspiracy of 1820, he entertained the idea of rendering the city more regular, which however was

not then realized, as he had fixed on no particular plan for the purpose. Assumption is built on a declivity, in some parts rather rapid, and bordering on the river Paraguay. The streets are crooked, irregular, and for the most part so narrow, that they might more properly be called lanes. The houses being of one story only, and generally separated from each other by the interposition of trees, shrubs, little gardens, and grass plots, present the appearance of a village rather than a city. Springs of water, gushing out on all sides, form rivulets, and make the ground marshy, while the rain-water, in its descent down the declivity, has cut furrows in the greater part of the streets. Such was the town which the Dictator undertook to divide into quarters or wards, without paying the least regard to the damage that must accrue to the inhabitants. The place certainly stood in need of a better distribution and the streets required to be made larger and to be kept cleaner, but the disposition of the houses and the vegetation that surrounded them were, as regards salubrity as well as convenience, well suited to a tropical climate and a sandy soil. In 1821 he commenced laying out streets in the part of the town which was least populous, making them run from N. W. to S. E. with others crossing them from N. E. to S. W., all from thirty-five to forty feet wide. These new streets served as a rule to go by in the opening of other parallel ones through the whole city. There was a space of about a hundred paces between each of them, although when a public building happened to lie in the way this space was reduced or augmented, as the case required. The same privilege, however, was not extended to private houses. When a new street was to be opened, the Dictator would point out to his master mason, who was also his engineer, the direction in which he was to drive the stakes, and sometimes superintended this operation personally when he took his afternoon's walk. After this he used to send to the proprietors of the houses which stood upon the line the order for pulling them down; yet this was only a preliminary measure, serving to facilitate the execution of his plan, for the ultimate direction of the street, in passing from one side to the other of the demolished houses, rendered further devastation unavoidable. In this way did ignorance and arbitrary power unite to desolate the capital; and many buildings which would finally have been found to stand not more than twenty-five or thirty feet within the line drawn, were devoted to destruction. The rubbish of these ruins was employed in levelling the streets and filling up the furrows and other sinuosities of the soil, and where the declivity was too great, it was corrected by means of steps. Three new squares were made, and an old one was enlarged, and, finally, to render the streets dry, the Dictator obliged the proprietors of grounds where springs of water existed to stop them up.

‘These supposed improvements went on but slowly; for it often happened, that a fall of rain would destroy in one night the labor of a fortnight, and it repeatedly became necessary to begin the whole work over again. The streets were not paved, and the water which poured upon them in torrents in the rainy season would wash away the materials used for levelling them and open fresh ravines in an incredibly short space of time. In consequence of these proceedings many houses now no longer stood upon a level with the street, the foundations of a great number had been sapped by the rain, and some of them tumbled to the ground from the water having penetrated beneath them and removed the light soil on which they stood. Others were undermined by the springs, which had been filled up, and which naturally sought a new outlet. In a word, so great was the destruction, that at the end of four years, the capital of Paraguay had all the appearance of a town which had suffered a bombardment of several months. Nearly half the buildings had disappeared, the streets were bordered with hedges of dry stakes, and of the houses that remained scarcely any presented an entire front. As it appeared to the Dictator that further changes might be necessary, the erecting of new houses was only permitted in the more remote parts of the town. In the mean time it was his intention, after paving the principal streets, to oblige the rich inhabitants of the country to construct other houses in such spots as he should determine, in order to rebuild the town; and he actually laid the foundations of several with the idea of their being afterwards sold to them. He used to say that the place in future should be inhabited by Paraguayans and not by the Spaniards, who till then had been in possession of the best houses. There was nothing to check his progress—he had only to command; so that it may be presumed he will experience no more difficulty in rebuilding the new town than he had in destroying the old one. He caused several hundred houses to be pulled down, without making any kind of indemnification to the owners, or giving himself the least trouble about what became of them or their families. Each individual was obliged to demolish his own dwelling. If he pleaded a want of the necessary means, the convicts were directed to do it for him, and were allowed to carry away with them whatever they pleased.

‘Although no expense whatever was incurred in reimbursing the proprietors, yet it will naturally be presumed, that this undertaking cost the state considerable sums. The Dictator, however, only paid the master workmen, and for the execution of the work employed a few hundred convicts. The peasants furnished the materials, at their own expense, and when the work to be performed lay out of the capital, they were required to send laborers.

It was in this way that all the forts on the frontiers were erected, as also various barracks and other buildings at Neembucu, Assumption, and Villa Real. In this way, too, several new roads were opened through the forests, and others which had been injured by the rains were repaired and enlarged; and, in fine, it was by this means that the Dictator was enabled to collect at the capital a large quantity of materials, to be employed in the erection of some forty houses, which were to be let for account of the state. The people of the country were every hour called away from the labors of the field by requisitions, either of their persons or their cattle; in addition to which the *leva* or impressment, an ancient Spanish custom, is frequently practised, and by means of it are assembled men, beasts, carts, utensils, and whatever else is to be found in the streets of a nature to be employed in any sort of work. At Assumption the officers, and even common soldiers, avail themselves of this practice for their own account; and although this is done without the knowledge of the Dictator, the effects resulting from it are not the less injurious, since the peasants are thereby prevented from coming into town to sell their productions.

We believe, that we have now given to the Dictator of Paraguay nearly as much space as he has a right to claim, or as our readers will think him entitled to. Before we leave the subject it may be proper to mention the circumstances, under which our authors obtained permission to depart. They are detailed in the following extract, which also gives some additional particulars of the personal habits and conversation of Francia.

‘At the beginning of the year, 1825, the Dictator received from Mr Parish, his Britannic Majesty’s chargé d’affaires at Buenos Aires, the notification of a treaty of commerce, which had just been concluded between England and that republic, one of the most important results of which was to be the recognition of the republics of South America. On making this communication, Mr Parish requested, that the English merchants who might be at Paraguay, should be permitted to depart with their property. The news of this recognition had its effect. The Dictator ordered the English to put their ships in readiness, but allowed them to be manned by foreigners and negroes only. He also prohibited the exportation of any other articles but such as they had been able to procure with their own funds. Thus a vessel, which had been sold upon credit by a Spaniard to an Englishman, was confiscated and lost to the former, who was ignorant of this prohibition. They took their departure in the months of March and April. The Dictator, in order to justify the captivity of the British, wrote to Mr Parish, by the first vessel that sailed, saying that

his Britannic Majesty's subjects had only shared the fate, which the force of circumstances had imposed upon all the inhabitants of Paraguay, and that as they had come of their own accord, and without being sent for, they could have no reason to complain.

‘In allowing the English to depart, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of having yielded to necessity. He accordingly authorized Don José Tomas Ysaci, a Paraguay by birth, to go upon the same voyage with two brigs. This gentleman, who was one of the first merchants of Paraguay, had paid us every attention, and in addition to the various proofs he had given us of his friendship, he now offered to convey us to Buenos Aires, in case we could obtain our passports. This then was the moment for making such a request to the Dictator, especially as other foreigners were allowed to depart. On the twenty-seventh of March I called on him for this purpose ; but he was engaged, and I retired. He, however, called me back almost immediately and desired to know what I wanted, but, without giving any answer to my petition, directed me to go and examine some forty recruits who had just been taken ill. Having made this visit, I returned to give an account of it. He then addressed several questions to me on the subject of my travels in the interior of Paraguay and my intention of publishing the result of my observations. The recognition of the new republics by England seemed to give him great satisfaction, and in speaking of it he observed, that the French had done wrong to allow themselves to be forestalled by the British. “The analogy,” said he, “in the character of the two nations, the identity of religion, and the nature of the products of French industry seemed to demand the establishment of such relations, and the commerce of France would have been made to flow by their means through a new and most important channel. But this government, instead of signalizing itself by an act of liberality, which would have been quite in conformity with the interests of the nation, has preferred supporting a tottering throne by means of a ruinous expedition, the effect of which can only be to retard its downfall. With me it would not be a matter of surprise to see them attack our republics in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, and this is one of my reasons for not allowing the departure of the French. As respects your case, I shall take it into consideration.” Nearly two months elapsed before I obtained the reply of the Dictator to my request and before the ships of Mr Ysaci, which had been ready ever since the beginning of May, got permission to sail.

‘Under these circumstances, I began to lose hopes of being able to profit by this opportunity for leaving Paraguay, and the more so as the Dictator had intimated to me his design of giving me forthwith the inspection of the troops that were to be brought

into actual service, as also the direction of a new military hospital, which he was about to establish, in regard to the situation of which it would be necessary that I should be consulted. At length, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, the Dictator furnished the necessary papers for the departure of one of the brigs of Mr Ysaci, and gave an order for her sailing at one P. M. At eleven an officer brought me my passport and that of Mr Longchamp, with an order on the public treasury, in payment for the services I had rendered the state, as a physician, to which was added a license, not often granted, for exporting the cash. The short space of two hours was all the time we had for arranging our affairs and packing up our collections of natural history, which consisted in a great measure of very delicate objects; but there was no room for hesitation, nor any other alternative but to go at once or run the risk of not getting out of Paraguay till after the death of the Dictator. We, therefore, set about packing, in a hasty manner, a part of our collections and most necessary effects, leaving the rest under the care of persons of confidence, and went on board the vessel, which immediately weighed anchor. We departed at the appointed hour, followed by the good wishes of a multitude of spectators, who upon this occasion had assembled on the quay.

‘A French navy officer, Captain Hervaud, who had come to Assumption in 1821, with the command of one of the ships of Mr Ysaci, embarked with us. This worthy man, who, by the effect of three shipwrecks, had lost a considerable fortune, believed himself doomed to remain prisoner for life at Paraguay, when Mr Ysaci, by representing the age, the misfortunes, and the prudent conduct of this officer, succeeded in obtaining from the Dictator the permission to place him on the list of the ship’s crew. Another, though a less agreeable part of our company, were five friars whom the Dictator would not allow to be secularized, and who were now sent out of the country. Five more, who were taken out of the state prison, were disposed of in the same manner, and embarked on board a vessel belonging to Mr José de Maria, which was to sail the following day.

‘Thus, after residing six years at Paraguay, four of them against our wills, we were suffered to leave the country. It is but doing justice to Dr Francia to declare, that in all this time he never threw any obstacles in the way of our pursuits, but that, on the contrary, he has more than once showed us marks of kindness. Happy should I be, were it in my power to say as much of his administration. As respects the inhabitants of Paraguay, Creoles as well as Spaniards, their general conduct towards us was such as to give us the greatest satisfaction, and we shall at all times entertain a grateful remembrance of the hospitable reception which they gave us.’

The general result of the information conveyed by the entertaining little work before us, seems to be, that the fine province of Paraguay is now laboring under a most ruthless and sanguinary system of oppression; and that the spirits of the people are so completely crushed, that there is but little chance of their obtaining relief by their own unassisted exertions. It cannot be doubted, however, that the republic of Buenos Aires, to which Paraguay naturally belongs, will seize the first moment of recovered tranquillity to come to the assistance of her unfortunate neighbor. In the mean time we cannot but hope, that the sentiment of mingled horror and disgust with which these disclosures of the character and proceedings of Francia have been received throughout the civilized world, will have some effect in deterring such of the other revolutionary leaders of Spanish America as may have formed projects similar to those which he has executed, from carrying them into full effect. The friends of humanity and liberty will have reason to regret the separation of these colonies from the mother country, if they have only exchanged a foreign yoke, however oppressive, (and oppressive it was to an extent of which the public was hardly aware until the appearance of the late authentic work of Juan and Ulloa) for the bloody, and at the same burlesque despotism, of such characters as the Supreme and Perpetual Dictator of Paraguay.

Our authors allude, at the close of their Preface, to a succession of paragraphs respecting the political situation of Paraguay, which have appeared in the French newspapers from time to time during the last two years, and have, we believe, been in part reprinted in those of our own country. They furnish a curious instance of *mystification*; and we extract with the more readiness what is said upon the subject in the present work, as we are able to add some further particulars from our own knowledge.

‘As the reader may be surprised not to find anything in this work corresponding with the accounts lately given of Paraguay in the newspapers, it seems necessary to give some explanations upon this subject. It was in the *Mémorial Bordelais* that these accounts were first published, and they subsequently appeared in the greater part of the continental journals.

‘Dr Francia was represented at first as governing in the name of the queen dowager of Portugal. Afterwards it was insinuated, that the emperor Don Pedro had made overtures to the Dictator for the union of Paraguay with the Brazils, and that the latter in the

mean time was negotiating at Madrid, where he had commissioners. Some time after was brought forward one of his envoys named Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, and Generalissimo of the army of Paraguay. Finally, Dr Francia was said to have abdicated in favor of this marquis, to have committed the reins of government during his absence to the Secretary Zapidas, and to have retired to Villa Real del Pilar. But all of a sudden, and without any one knowing how, he was seen to reappear at the head of the government, proclaiming the independence of Paraguay, assembling and presiding over a congress of provinces, some of which belong to the Upper Peru, and others to the confederation of the river La Plata, and ultimately declaring war against the Brazils.

‘The frequency of these communications, coming from a country that lay under an interdict, was well calculated to excite surprise, more especially as the merchants of Buenos Aires who were most interested in these changes, were entirely ignorant of them, as also the English editors. For myself I saw at once the apocryphal character of these reports (of which I have only mentioned a few); for independently of the numerous contradictions which they contain, they are in themselves evidently false. All the names mentioned in them are misapplied. There never was in Paraguay any person of the name of Le Fort or any Marquis of Guarany, no more than a Bernardo Zapidas, or a Galician called Abendano, who, for having been concerned in an insurrection, was to have been shot. As respects the brother and brother-in-law of the dictator, who were said to have accompanied him to Villa del Pilar, the first is in a state of insanity and the other is kept in irons. After this, let the reader determine what degree of credit he ought to give to the accounts of the twenty thousand regular troops, of the navy, the legions, the generalissimo, the commodore, the supreme tribunal of justice, the superior board of finance, the deputies of the departments and the rich exports, which have afforded so much matter to the paragraphs alluded to, since they are deficient in every circumstance, even in the general notions of geography, necessary to give them an air of truth. One of the facts stated, however, admits of no doubt. A self-styled envoy of Dr Francia, calling himself Le Fort, Marquis of Guarany, has in fact appeared at Madrid. May not this person have been the author of this long *mystification*, of which the newspapers were the involuntary instruments, and have resorted to it for want of other means to accredit his mission? At first he was, as I have been assured, very well received by the government; but the imposture being no doubt discovered, he found it necessary to break off the negotiations and quit Spain, as is stated in one of the abovementioned articles.

‘From the last letters which have reached me from Buenos Aires, I have reason to believe that Paraguay continues in the same state as when we left it. The communications with that country have even become more difficult, for the vessel that brought us over has not been able to obtain permission to return to it.’

The article alluded to in the above extract, which mentions the departure of the *soi-disant* Marquis de Guarany from Spain, is not more correct than the rest of the series, and we are able to state from our own knowledge, that the person in question is at this moment in prison at Madrid. It appears that he came from Rio Janeiro to Lisbon, and thence proceeded to Spain somewhere about the commencement of 1825. He gave himself out as an agent of Francia, and also of the (now dowager) queen of Portugal, sister of the king of Spain. At this time he is known to have had the command of considerable sums of money, and it does not seem to be ascertained from what quarter he obtained his supplies; but it is considered certain, that his pretence of a political commission from the abovementioned personages was entirely apocryphal. Upon arriving in Spain, he immediately attached himself to the Apostolic party, and engaged in the conspiracy fomented by the clergy in the autumn of 1825, which ended in the premature explosion of Bessières. He was found to be deeply committed by the discoveries made on this occasion, and was put under arrest. A few weeks after the suppression of the plot, as our readers will recollect, a revolution occurred in the Spanish cabinet in favor of the party which contrived it; and the Duke del Infantado was appointed secretary of state. The proceedings against the persons implicated in the conspiracy were immediately stopped, and among the rest our adventurer was set at liberty. He appears, however, to have contracted a sort of attachment for the place of his confinement, for he continued, by an arrangement with the jailor, to retain his lodgings in the prison, and resided there, though at liberty, for several months. During this period, the succession of paragraphs alluded to by our authors in the above extract were published in the French papers, having been undoubtedly written and sent on by him from Madrid. In one of these, he declared, as the latest news from Paraguay, that Francia had abdicated in his favor, and that he was, at the moment of writing, supreme and perpetual dictator of that country. The Spanish government, aware, no

doubt, of the origin of this intelligence, now thought it time to interfere. The personage in question being still at his lodgings in the jail, they directed the keeper to turn the key upon him, and *un beau matin* he found himself again under arrest. He is now on trial for forging the signature of the Queen of Portugal, and may think himself fortunate if the affair end with nothing worse than confinement for life. It is understood that this adventurer has never even visited Paraguay. His real name is Fort, and not, as above described, Le Fort; but he also lays claim to two or three others. He pretends to be a descendant from Sebastian Cabot, and in order to give himself some appearance of connexion with individuals in Paraguay who are known abroad, he also assumes the name of Yegros, one of the principal Creole families, which has been repeatedly mentioned in this article. His style and title, as written out by himself at full length, are as follows, *Don J. A. Fort de Yegros y Cabot, Marques de Guarany*. This last name, as our readers are aware, is that of one of the principal tribes of Indians inhabiting the territory of Paraguay, but is not known there as the designation of any particular family.

ART. VII.—1. *A View of West Florida*. By JOHN LEE WILLIAMS. With a Map. Philadelphia. 1827.

2. *Letters of the Hon. J. M. WHITE*, Delegate of the Territory of Florida.

3. *Answers of DAVID B. M'COMB, Esq., with an accompanying Letter of General LAFAYETTE*. Tallahassee.

THE country which bears the beautiful name of *Florida*, has been the theme of numerous writers, and the scene of many adventures, since the discovery of America. The shores of the Gulf of Mexico, lying opposite the islands of Cuba and St Domingo, would naturally be the first points of discovery on the continent. Hence the discovery of the coast of Florida, and that of New Spain, were almost simultaneous, and in consequence, North America was at first designated by these two names alone. The name of Florida, however, was gradually confined to a narrower space, by the French settlements in Canada, and by the successive establishments of the British

on the Atlantic coast. Spain, claiming the whole of the continent in virtue of the right of discovery and the pope's bull, viewed every settlement by other European powers as an encroachment; hence the numerous hostile occurrences between her and the colonies of France, Spain, and England, recounted by early writers. Spain was finally restricted to the comparatively insignificant portion, which continued to be known by the name of Florida, and which, after several changes of ownership, has at length become a part of the United States, and is now one of their territories.

The circumstance which has been stated, may account for the space which Florida has always occupied in the history of America, apparently so disproportioned to its intrinsic importance. Garcilaso de la Vega, who is supposed to have adopted in his compilation rather too many of the fictions of other writers, has given almost an entire volume to the transactions and events in Florida, from the first discovery by Ponce de Leon, in 1512, by whom it was named, until the death of Hernando de Soto, who landed at Tampa bay in 1539. Charlevoix, in his tedious folios, bestows a liberal portion of them on the affairs of this country, with copious accounts of its productions and climate, and of its natives. The Abbé Raynal, Adair, Burke, if he be the author of the 'History of the European Settlements,' have given it a place in their pages. The last relates the story of the enchanted fountain, supposed to possess the property of perpetuating and restoring youth to those who were so fortunate as to bathe in its waters; and sarcastically adds, that this precious liquid would be the most valuable article which the new world could export to the old. While this country was in the possession of the British, a period of fourteen years, several interesting accounts of it were published, describing its productions and general features, with considerable accuracy. The best known are those of Roberts and Romans; but the interior being occupied by numerous tribes of jealous and hostile Indians, it was impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of it. Bartram, who ventured into the country while under the dominion of Spain, has written a very interesting work, but highly colored, and chiefly valuable for its botany. The survey of the coast under the direction of the British government, executed by Gault, is entitled to praise; his chart is still used, and is remarkable for its accuracy. Florida was considered by that government an important pos-

session, not only on account of its position in the gulf, which, among other advantages, it was supposed, would enable its subjects to carry on a forced trade with New Spain, but also on account of its adaptation to many valuable productions of southern climates, its timber and naval stores, and the Indian trade. Some valuable information, relative to this country, is contained in the work of Major Stoddard, a gentleman of considerable literary merit, who lost his life during the late war, in consequence of the bursting of a shell at the siege of Fort Meigs.

We are prompted by no feeling of national vanity, when we assert, that more has been done towards obtaining an accurate knowledge of Florida during the few years that it has been in our possession, than during the whole period which elapsed from its first discovery. Previous to the late war with Great Britain, it was inhabited by a warlike race, the Seminoles, emigrant Creeks, or *wild* people, as the term in that language denotes, so called, from their having wandered away from the main body of the nation. The more ancient races had been overcome by the Creeks, particularly the Yamasees, who had been either destroyed, or reduced to slavery, some of their descendants existing in this state even within a few years. The Seminoles and Creeks, therefore, having a common origin and relationship, it was natural they should unite for mutual support and assistance against any European enemy. Although the nation resided within the limits of the United States, they were continually exposed to be acted upon by Spain or England, by means of those who resided in Florida. During the late war, this advantage was not neglected by Great Britain, but in conformity to that wretched policy, as ruinous to the Indians as derogatory to her own character, these people were excited to take up the tomahawk against our defenceless women and children. The first plan of operations, adopted by the British in 1813 and 1814, was to get a footing on the Appalachicola river, near the junction of the Flint and Chatahouchy, and draw around them the Seminoles and the Creeks; to possess themselves, through their means, of the country between this river and the Alabama, where another strong hold was to be made, with a deposit of arms, and a combined force collected, and finally to unite with the Choctas and Chickasas, and reach the bank of the Mississippi, five or six hundred miles above New Orleans. A moment's reflection will show the alarm-

ing consequences of such a plan, if successfully accomplished. It was happily frustrated by the premature movements of the Creeks, and the rapid succession of signal victories obtained by General Jackson; by which the Indians were completely broken and subdued. When the British arrived, and constructed their temporary fort near the mouth of Flint river, it was too late, and the attempt to take possession of the Mobile bay, was successfully repulsed by the guns of Fort Bowyer. The reduction, we may almost say destruction, of the Creek nation was the primary cause which led to our subsequent acquisition of Florida. We could never be safe while this country was in the possession of a power either unwilling or too weak to prevent our enemy from occupying it, as a point whence to assail us, and to Spain it now became a useless, expensive, and perhaps dangerous possession. The hostile Creeks, who refused to treat with the officers of the United States, fled into Florida, and there, uniting with the Seminoles, still continued their hostility long after the treaty of peace with Great Britain. This led to General Jackson's campaign of 1818, when they were at last completely overcome, while an opportunity was afforded of traversing a country from which the Spaniards themselves had been excluded with jealous care by the Indians, and several fertile tracks were discovered, which at this day constitute the most valuable parts of the new territory.

After taking possession in 1821, one of the first measures of President Monroe, in relation to Florida, was the removal of the Indians from the valuable lands which they occupied. This task was successfully performed by Governor Duval, and two gentlemen, Colonel Gadsden and Mr Segui, who were associated with him. Their present number is supposed to exceed two thousand souls, scattered in little villages or hamlets. A tract of land has been assigned them near the centre of the peninsula, in the rear of Tampa bay, where a strong military force has been established; but it has been found necessary to supply these unfortunate people with provisions for several years, as they declare the country which they inhabit is too poor to raise corn. This, however, may well be doubted, as an attempt was made by Mr White, last summer, under the direction of the president, to induce them to remove beyond the Mississippi, which, however, they absolutely declined. The removal of the Seminoles, from a country peculiarly adapted to

their mode of life, abounding in game and fish, and possessing a fruitful soil, is a circumstance which cannot be viewed by the philanthropist without pain. It can be justified on no other ground than that of the *vis major*, probably the same argument which justified the Seminoles a century before, in dispossessing and reducing to slavery the unfortunate people by whom it was then occupied. To the mind of the statesman, the measure was justified by its necessity; for without it, there was no possibility of uniting the eastern and western parts of the territory, under one government. The centre was occupied by the Seminoles, and of course all communication between the extremes was cut off. The memorial of the first legislative council of Florida, which is ascribed to the present delegate in Congress, and which shows an enlightened forecast of nearly all these prominent points of interest to the territory, and has since been so ably followed up in detail by its author, recommends the selection of a spot between the Appalachicola and the Suwany, for the seat of government, so soon as the Indians shall have been removed, and in the mean time, the construction of a national road from Pensacola to St Augustine. Both these objects have been successfully accomplished, and may be considered the groundwork of the present territorial organization; had it been otherwise, the probability is, that the western part would, before this, have been annexed to Alabama, and the eastern to Georgia.

Shortly after the acquisition of Florida, several publications made their appearance, but containing very meagre accounts. The book of Mr Forbes is a wretched compilation from old works, which represent the country as resembling the West Indies in its productions, such as cocoa, coffee, cassava; whereas this description is only applicable to the extreme southern part of the peninsula, or to the neighboring *Keys*. The little volume of Vignoles is something better, but his map, except as to a small portion of East Florida, is not to be depended on. It was not until the operations of the land office were nearly completed, that we could be said to possess anything like an accurate one. We believe, no country in the world contains such admirable delineations of its surface, as may be seen in the land office at Washington, of those portions of the new states and territories, which have been laid off in townships and sections. By these means every mile square is laid down with minute accuracy, and every six miles form a

complete map, where the smallest streams are traced with the greatest precision. Such a work, however, is not effected without great expense; the surveys in Florida alone have probably cost not less than one hundred thousand dollars. Free access is allowed to these valuable documents deposited in the public offices; and Mr Tanner, well known as a skilful and enterprising geographer, by whom the map of Florida, appended to the work which stands first at the head of this article, has been engraved and published, has laudably used these advantages, in the numerous valuable works of this description, which he has given to the public within the last four years. We contemplate, with great satisfaction, the unceasing attention to this department of useful knowledge, which is in truth the foundation of all exact acquaintance with any country. The various new maps, and improvements on old ones, which have been executed in this country, within the last ten years, would form the subject of an interesting article.

From the Preface to Mr Williams's book, it appears to have been composed merely as a memoir to accompany a map of Middle and West Florida, the first which has appeared since the execution of the public surveys. The memoir, although modest in its pretensions, contains much valuable matter; but as it does not purport to be a complete geographical and statistical work, many subjects of interest are left untouched. It is, however, very full on all the topics necessary to the delineation of the natural features of the country, and the author appears to possess a respectable acquaintance with two important branches, mineralogy and botany. The work is evidently the production of a plain, candid man, who seems to be under no influence calculated to deceive himself, or to impose on others, for he has given many facts, and hazarded but few opinions. If the faults of mere composition may be passed over in any instance by a reviewer, it ought to be in favor of a work like the present, which in point of utility is before every previous publication on the same subject. Still, it is to be regretted, that some parts of it had not been previously subjected to the operation of a friendly file.

Mr Williams begins his memoir with a very brief, much too brief an account of the boundaries of Florida. For the last quarter of a century, this has been a fruitful subject of contention, and seems likely to be revived in a new and unexpected

ed manner, between the United States and the state of Georgia. The correspondence between our government and that of Spain, on the subject of the western boundary, occupies a large space in our diplomatic history, and although the matter was finally closed by the late treaty, yet the question was never expressly determined; so that some serious questions arising out of it, in relation to land titles, may at some future day be referred to the courts. A labored argument in favor of the right of the United States, is found under the title of 'The Florida Question stated, by H. M. Brackenridge,' in Mr Walsh's 'Register,' for 1816. The author is at present one of the judges of the territory, and the writer of the letter in the Appendix to Mr Williams's book. The northern boundary was settled by the treaty of 1795, at the thirty-first degree of north latitude, to the Chatahouchy, thence down that river to its junction with the Flint, and thence in a straight line to the head of the St Mary's river. The western part of the line was actually run and marked by Mr Ellicot; but it was impracticable to complete the survey, in consequence of the hostility of the powerful tribes on the eastern part of the line. Mr Ellicot contented himself with seeking out the head of the St Mary's river, and there erecting a mound, which exists to this day, and drawing an imaginary line on the map, between this point and the junction of the Flint and Chatahouchy. Within the last twelve months, the President and the Governor of Georgia respectively appointed commissioners to mark the boundary, which was supposed to be determined by these two points, the one fixed by the treaty itself, the other established by the commissioner of the United States, and acquiesced in by Spain. But it appears, that after the line was nearly half completed, the Georgia commissioner was recalled by Governor Troup, who had determined not to regard Ellicot's mound as indicating the head of the St Mary's, there being a more southern branch, which, from its size, ought to be considered as its source. The business was in consequence suspended, and has given rise to another message of the Governor to the legislature of Georgia. This subject is now before the Congress of the United States. In the mean time, the gauntlet thus thrown down by Governor Troup, has been manfully taken up in a quarter, where we did not expect to find a champion. The acting Governor of Florida, Mr M' Carty, in a temperate, well written, and judicious message to the legis-

lative council of the territory, boldly resists the pretensions of Georgia, which extend to the most valuable part of Middle Florida.

We are informed by Mr Williams, that on taking possession of Florida for the United States, General Jackson divided the province into two parts, by the Suwany river, which was intended to conform as nearly as possible to the Spanish division of East and West Florida. The part which lies to the west of the Suwany, now composes the two districts called the Middle and Western, the capital of the territory, Tallahassee, being situated in the first, and Pensacola, our present naval depot, in the gulf, near the extreme western boundary of the latter. The two districts form a tract of country about two hundred and seventy-six miles long, from east to west, and from forty to ninety miles from north to south; containing sixteen thousand and five hundred square miles, and ten millions, five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land, which is about one third of the whole surface of the territory; and possessing a population of eight or nine thousand souls, rapidly increasing. Of the general appearance of the country Mr Williams gives the following description.

‘The face of the country is, generally, rolling, but there are neither mountains nor hills of any considerable magnitude. It is intersected from north to south by numerous rivers, many of which are navigable quite through the territory. A large portion of the country is covered with forests, the trees usually at a considerable distance apart, without underbrush; while the surface of the ground presents a carpet of verdant grass and flowers most of the year. The borders of the water-courses, however, as well as the hammocks, are covered with thick woods of hard timber, tangled with innumerable vines. An abundance of lakes and ponds diversify the interior; while the seacoast is indented with bays, bayous, and lagoons, abounding with fish of all kinds, and affording every facility for internal as well as foreign commerce. Although the largest portion of the country is covered with pine barrens, and much of it extremely poor, yet there is also much upland, interval, and hammock land, of the most excellent quality; peculiarly well calculated to produce sugar, rice, cotton, tobacco, indigo, corn, small grains, vines, and fruits; and all the timbers necessary for ship-building are found here in abundance. The pine barrens afford excellent grazing for cattle, and they are abundantly stocked with wild game. The climate is healthy and the seasons mild.’ pp. 5, 6.

The term *hammock*, which is used in this description, we believe is one peculiar to the southern states. It means a piece of ground thickly wooded, whether a plain or a hill, and distinguished from the open oak and hickory land, or the immense forests of thinly scattered pines, which with few exceptions cover the whole face of the country. The word has been confounded with *hummock*, used by mariners to designate the knolls, or small elevations, along the coast.

The description of the coast, which follows, is interesting in a geological view. From the Perdido bay to Cape St Blas, the coast presents a remarkable appearance; the beach is composed of sand as white as snow, with occasional hummocks of pure silex, which, to one sailing along, have the appearance of distant snow-capped hills. From St Blas to the Appalache bay, this changes to a yellowish brown sand, with occasional white hummocks; but after this, the coast is composed of a calcareous rock, covered with grass and rushes, for several miles into the sea. The interior to the east of the Chactahatchee river consists, for the greater part, of a mass of sand, from fifty to an hundred feet in thickness, upon a base of limestone. The difference in the appearance of the coast to the east and west of Cape St Blas, is ascribed by the author to the currents of the gulf being thrown so far out to sea by the shoals of the Tortugas, that they scarcely strike the coast of Florida, until they reach Cape St Blas; and thence westward, the coast being more acted upon by storms and currents, the fine white sand is washed upon the shore. We are not prepared to combat the theory of Mr Williams, but we confess that we are less satisfied with it, than with the simple fact, that this difference of appearance on the coast does exist. Our author proceeds to divide the country into various regions, or districts, for the convenience of a more minute description. The first is the tract between the Escambia, the principal river of the Bay of Pensacola, and the Perdido river, which forms the boundary line which separates Florida from Alabama. This tract is represented as chiefly alluvial, but of uneven surface, in some places even hilly, and finely watered with numerous springs and streams. The substratum is generally a clay of various colors, white, blue, yellow, and red. Strata of dark iron sandstone pervade it in many places, and are often thrown up in small hills, especially in the low grounds, near the water courses. To pursue the description in the words of the author;

‘This clayey substratum is generally covered with a fine, white, siliceous sand, which in its native state produces little more than pine forests and grass; except where the tide or the streams have thrown upon it fossil or vegetable remains; these form hammocks and intervals, rich in vegetable productions. The peninsula, extending between Pensacola bay and St Rosa sound, has not even clay beneath the sand. Peat is sometimes found there in extensive beds, with abundance of cypress and cedar stumps, standing far beneath the sand. A stratum of sandstone, three or four feet in thickness, is forming, some twenty miles from the west end of the peninsula, but it is yet too tender for building.’ p. 7.

The second division, is the tract which extends from the north side of St Rosa, or Chactahatchee bay, to the thirty-first degree, and bounded on the east by the Chactahatchee river. Excepting a few narrow strips of land on the river just mentioned, along the Yellow Water, which forms one of the branches of Pensacola bay, and a few tracts on some of the smaller streams, such as the Alaqua, Shoal, Uchee, and Bruce creeks, it is a dreary waste of pine forests, much of it hilly, but abounding with an extraordinary number of streams of the purest water, and extensive pastures for horned cattle. This tract, together with that which has been described, constitutes the two counties of Escambia and Walton; but out of the town of Pensacola, the whole population of both does not exceed eight hundred or a thousand souls. From the Alaqua to the Chactahatchee, the country is somewhat better, but by far the greater part of it consists of pine woods unfit for tillage; the places of better soil uniformly rest on soapstone and limestone formations.

‘The soapstone is found in strata, from five to eight feet thick, and extends to the Shoal river. The limestone has been discovered west of the Chactawhatchee, only in the Uchee valley, where it is abundant. On the eastern bank of the Chactawhatchee, the limestone is found less compact than on the western; it seems a congeries of shells, some of them entire, cemented together by a tough aluminous matter. Buhrstone of an excellent quality is found in large masses near the Alabama line. Millstones are made here of a better quality than can be procured from abroad. This stone extends as far eastward as the Flint river, and northward for a hundred miles or more. The structure is nearly compact; the cavities are very small; it appears like a mass of fine scallop shells; is evidently calcareous; and rings like marble. The color is from a light gray to a brown, the break conchoidal, and has an earthy appearance. Ponds and sink holes

are numerous between the Chactawhatchee and Chapola rivers, and large springs, forming navigable streams, often burst from this formation; the waters, though perfectly transparent, are highly impregnated with lime, and are not generally considered healthy.' pp. 7, 8.

The third division includes the extensive tract of country, which lies between the Chactawhatchee and the Appalachicola rivers, and forms the counties of Washington and Jackson. Its surface is very various; but like the division last described, with the exception of the valley of rich land on the Chipola river, by far the most valuable body in the territory, and the river alluvions of the Appalachicola, subject to inundations in summer to the great injury of the crops, and very sickly, this is also a vast forest of pines. There are some smaller spots of tolerable land, such as Holmes's valley, Oak and Hickory hills, the Econfina, in all, including the larger bodies already mentioned, falling short of three hundred thousand acres. It is to be observed, however, that the quality of the soil covered by a growth of pine, is not entirely alike; the sand ridges, although covered with grass, are utterly hopeless in an agricultural view; but there are tracts dispersed in all directions of considerable extent, where the clay lies near the surface, distinguished by a larger growth of pine, intermixed with dogwood and scattering hickories, which may be made to produce by *cowpenning* and manuring. When our country acquires a dense population, such lands may perhaps be cultivated. A remarkable feature in this third division is the number of large ponds, or small lakes, which are scattered over its surface, but not, like those of Tallahassee, surrounded by borders of rich land. Another feature equally remarkable, is the large springs, such is Holmes's, Shackleford's, Big spring of Chipola, and various others, which form navigable streams at once. In this division, also, we find one of the finest bays of the Gulf of Mexico, that of St Andrew's, which will one day become important. It presents a noble sheet of water equal to that of Pensacola, to which it is only inferior as to the quantity of water on its bar. Should the Appalachicola river be conducted into it, and it is said that a canal of a few miles will suffice to accomplish it, a town will rise up as rapidly as did Mobile, and, as a place of commerce, will very soon outstrip Pensacola.

The fourth division stretches from the Appalachicola river

to the Suwaney, and is divided into Gadsden and Leon counties. We shall give the description of this last division in the author's words.

'East of the Appalachicola river, there are few indications of stone, until we approach Leon county. Here a ridge appears above the earth, from four to six miles from the coast, and parallel with it; it dips a few degrees to the SSW., and is probably the edge of that stratum which forms the coast. The navigation of all the streams between St Mark's and Suwannee is impeded by it. This rock resembles chalk, generally of an ash color; some of it, however, is quite white, and is used for chalk. A kind of imperfect flint is imbedded in it, in form of a shelly nucleus. It becomes hard on exposure to the air. The flint is of a light gray color, full of holes, which are filled with the calcareous matter. It breaks with a conchoidal fracture; gives fire freely with steel; is quite opaque, but void of the greasy feel which is peculiar to pure flint. On points of the coast, where the waves have washed the calcareous matter away, these flinty nuclei form extensive and very rugged reefs. The fort of St Mark's is built of this limestone. Grass grows spontaneously on this rock, whether covered with salt or fresh water, even to the depth of twenty feet. Oysters grow in great masses to the rock, and they are very hard to separate from it.

'Through the centre of Gadsden and Leon counties, ridges of clay extend, and form the base of an excellent soil. The upper stratum is red and very pure, and has an unctuous feel; but very small sandstones, of the size of a buck-shot or bullet, pervade the whole mass; this stratum is usually fourteen feet, more or less, in thickness. Under this, a white clay, similar in quality, extends from twenty to thirty feet, which reposes on a rotten limestone; somewhat different, however, from that found in the western part of Jackson county. The shells which compose it are more perfect, and the cement is a calcareous, instead of aluminous matter. It is found to make excellent lime. The springs and streams in this part of the country are very pure; they rise and run over the aluminous formations, but they all at length sink beneath the limestone rock, where, having united their currents and become highly impregnated with lime, they rise at once navigable rivers; such are the St Mark's, the Wakulla, and Oscilla rivers, which from these springs pass over the chalky formation to the sea.' pp. 8, 9.

On the subject of climate, the work before us contains some good remarks. West Florida, from its proximity to the gulf, enjoys the seabreeze, which contributes to health and comfort. The pine woods, especially where it is hilly, are perfectly

healthy at all seasons, but the vicinity of ponds, marshes, and river alluvions, is subject to all the varieties of bilious affections, heightened by the warmth of the climate. All countries, while covered with their natural forests, may be considered healthy, excepting where, from peculiar circumstances, vegetable putrefaction is hastened in an extraordinary degree.

The writer next devotes several pages to the bays and inlets along the coast. The Perdido, which is the first in order, from west to east, is about thirty miles in length, and, on an average, two in width; but, from the shallowness of the water on its bar, it is of little importance, excepting as the means by which, at some future day, the Bay of Pensacola may be united with that of Mobile. The Bay of Pensacola is decidedly the finest in the Gulf of Mexico, and as a naval station and rendezvous, was worth to us half the price paid for Florida. The least quantity of water, ever found on the bar, is twenty-one feet six inches, which is usually in the winter, after a continuance of northerly winds. Frigates, of the largest size, can enter without difficulty, and by means of lighters, there is very little doubt, that ships of the line might be brought in. The entrance is easily defended, and the sheet of water within, which is free from shoals, is wide and spacious. It has been for two years past our naval depot for the West India station; extensive works are about to be constructed, and it must soon become a place of importance. The shores around the bay are not flat and uniform, but in many places elevated, presenting, particularly above the town, situations beautifully picturesque. St Andrew's bay, which has already been mentioned, was, until lately, but little known; it has at least eighteen feet of water on its bar, is easy of access, has a good anchorage, and is perfectly sheltered from every wind. It divides into two arms, each of which extends far into the country. The rich settlements of Chipola, and several counties of Alabama, will give an impulse to the trade of such establishments as may be formed here, or have by this time probably been effected. St Joseph's bay lies farther to the east, but is more properly a cove formed by the gulf, as it receives no fresh water river. The entrance is at least six miles wide, the greater part of this space being occupied by a middle ground. The depth of water, at its entrance, has been variously represented; our author states it at thirty feet, and such appears to have been the general opinion, until a special examination was

ordered last summer, when it was found to have but eighteen feet, to the great disappointment of many, who had begun to speculate on the removal of the naval depot from Pensacola. The Appalachicola bay, at the entrance of the fine river of that name, said to be one of the best for steam-boat navigation in the south, is formed by the islands of St Vincent and St George ; but is wide, and exposed to the full sweep of the easterly winds. The entrance affords little more than twelve feet of water, while vessels drawing more than eight feet are compelled to lie a long way off from the mouth of the river. The immense marshes, for nearly a hundred miles up this river, must always render any settlement near its mouth peculiarly unhealthy. The Appalache bay is next spoken of ; but it is a mere indentation of the coast, which receives the Ocklockney and St Mark's rivers. Fifteen feet of water may be carried into St Mark's, but the river is so much obstructed by oyster banks, that not more than seven or eight feet can be carried up to the Fort, which is notwithstanding the *entrepot* to the rich county of Tallahassee.

The next ten or fifteen pages of the work are taken up with an account of the capes, the islands along the coast, the rivers, and the lakes of West Florida ; but as it is not our intention to make an analysis of the whole work, we must recommend its perusal to those who are desirous to make themselves acquainted with these particulars. A considerable portion of the work is occupied with zoölogy, ornithology, and botany, perhaps greater than would be agreeable to general readers. This cannot be said of the historical outline, which was necessary and useful. We extract the account of the limestone caves of Chipola, which is curious and amusing.

‘ These [natural curiosities] consist, principally, of natural caverns, sinking rivers, great springs, and natural bridges.

‘ The Arch cave is situated near the public road, about three miles west of the ferries on Chapola river, in Jackson county. It opens, to the east, an aperture under a vast limestone rock ; about five feet high, and thirty feet wide. This passage descends gently, for three or four rods ; the cavern then opens, to the extent of a hundred feet wide, and fifty feet high. A deep channel of transparent water skirts the south side for some distance ; it then breaks off in wells, and finally disappears altogether. The course of the cave now turns northwest ; it grows narrower, and resembles an arch of the gothic order. After proceeding about sixty yards, the cave is crossed by a stream twenty feet wide, and

five deep; in this, numbers of crawfish are seen. After passing this stream, the passage turns north of east and presents a hall, one hundred feet in length; pretty straight, with a very uneven floor of red clay, covered with the debris of the decomposed rock. A row, or rather cluster of stalactical columns, supports the centre of this hall, while thousands of stalactites stretch down their long tubes towards the white bases, which are growing up to meet them, from the floor. Many large holes, in the rock above, are filled with bats, which, on the approach of lights, flit off to other dark recesses, with a roaring sound, like heavy wind.

‘The passage now becomes crooked and intricate, for a few rods, and then opens into another lofty apartment, from which there are many avenues, most of which remain unexplored, as well as two water courses, one of which bounds the passage.

‘This cave has been explored about four hundred yards. The congelations, on the sides of the walls, have the appearance of grey ice, through which, a sparkling crystallization appears. They often project into curls and folds, representing draperies, and mouldings of inimitable forms. The projections are nearly white, but the same sparkling crystalline appearance continues. The regular stalactites are hollow; the outside, a soft chalky decomposition; the centre, irregular sparry crystals, of a yellowish hue.

‘In the neighborhood of the Arch cave, Colonel Stone attempted, in three several places, to sink wells; but in every instance, he came to hollow spaces in the earth; and the well-digger, becoming at length frightened at the danger of entombing himself in some fathomless cavern, abandoned his work.

‘The Ladies’ cave is about one mile southeast from the Arch cave; it opens to the northwest; the entrance is wider, and easier of access, than the former; it is, also, more spacious within. About fifteen paces from the entrance, it is divided into two passages; the left, about fifty yards in extent, terminates in a deep river, which passes to the north, under a bold arch of sparry congelations, which has not been, and cannot, without a boat, be explored; the banks are bold, rocky, and difficult of access. The right hand passage is formed of rugged rocks, bold projecting pillars, curious excavations, and fanciful galleries, which it would be difficult to describe. The congelations are fine and infinitely various. The passage terminates in a narrow chasm, which has the appearance of a water-course, through which, at about three rods distance, another room appears. This has been but imperfectly explored. To the right of this last branch of the cave, the excavation has been examined about one hundred feet; many holes appear to lead off in different directions; some of these may lead to other caverns.’ pp. 35–37.

Upon the whole, this little volume is creditable to its author, and well deserves a place in our libraries. We have only to add, that it is much to be desired, that Mr Williams should persist in the intention announced in his Preface, of giving the public a similar account of East Florida.

The Appendix contains a number of interesting documents, principally the letters of Mr White, the present delegate of the territory, on various subjects of interest to his constituents, and serving to throw light on the character and resources of the country. We have perused these documents with much satisfaction, and approve highly of this mode of bringing subjects directly before the department which is ultimately to act on them. Mr White possesses a highly liberal and enlightened mind, and has ever manifested himself an active, zealous, and efficient representative. He has, in fact, already laid the groundwork of almost every important measure calculated to ensure the present and future prosperity of the territory which he represents. In procuring the passage of the preëmption law, which met with serious opposition in Congress, he rendered a signal service to his constituents, many of whom, had he failed, would have been driven from their homes, or have fallen victims to merciless speculators. The proposition introduced by him last winter, respecting the propagation of the live oak, has been considered highly deserving of public attention. From a recent survey of Florida, under the direction of the secretary of the navy, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of this timber, so valuable for ship-building, it has been discovered, that this is much less than has been supposed. Extensive plantations of live oak, which is said to be of rapid growth, have been ordered by the government to be made in the most suitable places. This kind of forecast is highly commendable. A private English gentleman, Evelyn, a century ago, formed those plantations of oak, which now supply the British navy. But Mr White is chiefly indebted, for the reputation he has acquired, to his well written letters on the subject of Florida canals, and his zealous efforts in Congress to carry his plans into execution. Mainly in consequence of his exertions, aided by the efficient coöperation of Mr Webster, a sum of money, sufficient to cover the expense, was appropriated, and a corps of the most skilful engineers proceeded last spring on this important duty. Their surveys have been completed, but the

result has not yet been made known to the public. When the practicability of a ship channel, across the northern part of the peninsula, was first suggested by Mr White, it produced a great sensation in our commercial cities, where the dangers and delays of the present navigation round the cape, and among the Bahamas, were known to their sorrow. The importance of such a passage, in every point of view, was so obvious, that many expressed it as their opinion, that if the whole peninsula could be swept away by some convulsion of nature, we should be vastly the gainers by it. The idea of a thorough-cut had something magnificent in it. Its practicability, or rather impracticability, could not be ascertained without a previous examination. If practicable, the benefits which might flow from it, were beyond calculation; and if its execution exceeded our present capacity, the suggestion was still a noble one, though unsuccessful, and by no means deserving the appellation of visionary. Humboldt has suggested the practicability of cutting through the Isthmus of Darien, but it would not follow, if a board of engineers, however able, should report it impracticable, that he was therefore a visionary projector. These remarks are made in justice to Mr White, as the first to suggest a project of great national benefit, but which, it is rumored, has not been found within the reach of any reasonable sum of money to accomplish. It is understood, however, that their report on the second plan suggested in the letters of Mr White, but not entirely original with him, will be decidedly favorable. In importance, it is inferior only to the first. We allude to the continued inland navigation for steam-boats, by connecting canals, from the Mississippi to the St Mary's. If a canal of sufficient size for the passage of steam-boats could be made, it would almost compensate for the failure of the thorough-cut; and it is highly probable, that if the public attention had not been so much awakened by the prospect of accomplishing this last, the practicability of a steam-boat canal would never have been ascertained.

The Answers of Mr M'Comb appear to have been elicited by a number of well directed queries from an intelligent citizen of Berne, Switzerland, and transmitted through General Lafayette. It appears from the answers of Mr M'Comb to these queries, that he is a practical planter, residing in the neighborhood of the fine tract of land voted to the General by Congress, and selected adjoining the city of Tallahassee. Mr

M' Comb has given some interesting particulars ; but we fear somewhat colored by a warm fancy. We cannot be brought to believe that the blessings of this life are so unequally and so partially dispensed among the dwellers on different portions of the earth, as, by the perusal of this paper, we should be led to suppose. We cannot help thinking that the advantages of the Tallahassee district are somewhat exaggerated ; and that the counterpart of the picture has not been shown us at all. That it does possess a counterpart, we cannot doubt ; otherwise it would be a paradise. It is true, the answers are limited to the questions proposed, and do not profess to give a full account of the country, setting forth what is bad, as well as what is good. Now, judging from a presentment of a grand jury of Tallahassee, which has gone the rounds of the newspapers, we should not pronounce a very high opinion of the state of society and manners in that part of the world. It may be a paradise, but its inhabitants are not angels. It may be said, that such a state of things is incident to new countries. This is doubtless true, and how many other things are incident to new countries, which are nuisances or annoyances to emigrants from old countries ? The *infant* state of settlements, is, like the infant state of the world, a *savage* or barbarous state ; not indeed literally so, but in a greater or less degree. New settlements are undoubtedly most pleasant to those who are accustomed to them, or who, from long absence from the older settlements, have forgotten the comforts and conveniences which they there enjoyed. No one, who has not had the experience of a new country, is aware of the habits or the conveniences, which he must be prepared to give up, when he thinks proper to emigrate ; others indeed may be found in their stead, but they are such as to be most pleasing to one of the cast of mind of Colonel Boon, who loved the solitude of the forest, the freedom from society and its restraints, and who preferred a residence ' forty miles from any place.' * However rapid the increase of population and the improvements of a new country may be, many years must elapse before it can possess the comforts and advantages of an old one. Of these we are not fully sensible until we find the want of them ; and as to the delights of the former,

* This was part of Colonel Boon's description of a tract of land in Kentucky, entered by him in the Virginia Land-Office.

one half of them exist only in the imagination. We have no desire to throw discouragements in the way of those who think they can better their condition by emigration, but to warn them against expectations which must lead to disappointment.

Mr M' Comb prefers a Swiss colony to any other. We think it highly probable, from the steady and persevering character of that people, that they would be most likely to prosper. The French have too much imagination; they will paint a thousand things in the distant perspective, which will not be realized on a near approach; they will become impatient of delay, and disgusted with unexpected obstacles. The Swiss and the Germans have uniformly been found the most contented and persevering of the European emigrants, and consequently the most useful. Mr M' Comb states an important fact with respect to *white laborers* in Middle Florida. He says they *can* and *do* endure the heat of the sun in their agricultural operations, without experiencing the least inconvenience from it. This is owing to the elevation of the land, and to the contiguity of the gulf, and consequently the influence of the seabreeze. The two great staples of the country, he observes, are the sea-island cotton and the sugar-cane, both of which have succeeded, and of course will succeed. In addition to these, he mentions indigo, rice, and all the various grains, and *cerealia* of the southern states. He thinks the Swiss colony might soon derive a profit from the culture of the vine, of which there are eight or ten different species, natives of the woods, where they bear an abundance of grapes. The woods are filled with wild grape vines, which require only the skill of the vine-dresser. The French blue grape, it seems, has in many instances been engrafted on the wild vines, and has borne the second year, and the third abundantly. This is a very important fact, as it goes to prove, that, by taking advantage of the numerous stools or roots, a vineyard might be rendered productive in half, perhaps one third of the time requisite farther north. A population, therefore, acquainted with the culture of the vine, and the manufacture of wine, of both of which our population in general is entirely ignorant, would be a valuable acquisition. Mr M' Comb states, that the olive and the orange have been cultivated in other parts of the territory with success, and that the few orange trees about Tallahassee, from three to four years old, have never suffered the slightest injury from frost. The white

mulberry has been successfully introduced ; the purple mulberry is a native of the forests, and very abundant. Mr M' Comb says, that ' fruit trees from Prince's botanic garden, New York, have succeeded well, particularly peaches, nectarines, and apricots. The plum, cherry, mulberry, *olive*, orange, and *apple* grow wild. In fact, I never knew a country where the forests abound with a greater variety of indigenous fruit.' The celebrated botanist, Michaux, speaks of a wild olive found in Florida, it is believed the only part of America where it is known, unless in the adjoining portions of the southern states. But its fruit is small, and bitter, and of no value. Perhaps it might furnish valuable stocks to engraft on. The *apple* spoken of, we presume, is the crab-apple. It is generally understood, that the orchard apple and the garden cherry are not successfully cultivated so far south. The wild oranges spoken of, are mentioned by Mr Williams as the sour, and what is called the bitter-sweet. These are only a few of the facts stated by Mr M' Comb, in his pamphlet, which contains much valuable information for emigrants, making some allowance for what, to us, appears somewhat overcharged.

Florida is undoubtedly a most important acquisition to these United States, in a military and political, if not in a commercial and agricultural view. We should always have been uneasy with this country in the hands of a foreign power. Tribes of Indians not under our control ; the mouths of some important southern rivers in a foreign territory ; the communication on the line of seacoast interrupted between the southern states ; important harbors on the gulf in the hands of those who might be enemies, or at least favor those who were ;—these and many other considerations urged to the acquisition of Florida. The sovereignty was well worth the five millions paid for it, especially as the amount was employed in relieving our own citizens, and creating a capital which contributed to the more rapid development of the resources of our own country. All that can be added to Florida may be considered as so much clear gain, by increasing the wealth, commerce, and resources of the nation ; and we think it decidedly the policy of the government to give every encouragement to its speedy population and improvement.

ART. VIII.—*Personal Sketches of His Own Times.* By Sir JONAH BARRINGTON, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, &c.

THE entertaining character of these 'Sketches' has been sufficiently evinced by their wide circulation, and the liberal extracts from them into the newspapers and other journals. It is evident, therefore, that we are not introducing a new book to the notice of the public. The freedom of Sir Jonah's pencil, and the extravagance of his coloring, have certainly not diminished the popularity of his pictures, though they may have lessened the faith of his readers in their perfect fidelity. They would have been deemed, perhaps, less veritable still, if they had not related to a people whose national characteristics are as eccentric as their political and social condition is singular and unhappy.

After all that we had read or heard of Ireland, however, and though prepared to find in Irish society more than the usual ill results of misrule and oppression, we have read Sir Jonah's details with almost as much surprise as sorrow. Even the wretchedness of the lower orders will not strike his readers so much, as the state of social intercourse among the higher. Those portions of the book, especially, which relate to *Duelling*, with anecdotes of which, both ludicrous and melancholy, it is abundantly seasoned, excite a horror which is not lessened by the levity with which the subject is treated by the author. The madness of private brawl pervaded all classes and professions, and would seem to have been regarded as an essential part of Irish gentility. A time will come, it can hardly be doubted, when the bloody code of honor which our author has been at the pains to record, 'the thirty-six commandments,' as they were irreverently called, established by a convention of polite duellists, will be regarded as the last inspirations of madness in men made desperate by misrule and anarchy. Even making large allowance for a caricaturing pencil, what we find in the 'Sketches' may create a reasonable doubt, whether there are many notions more absurd, than to fancy any connexion between the existence of this usage, and the courtesy and refinement of our modern manners. These are qualities less valuable than are supposed, if they can be imagined to have flourished in Ireland at the era in

question. Yet there was evidently no lack of these champions of good manners, the most pacific professions having contributed their quota ; but, as has happened to other martyrs, in cases of like dubious merit, with no sensible benefit to the public. We must take the occasion presented by these ' Sketches,' to say something on a subject which our readers may perhaps think already over trite.

There are too many fatal examples to the contrary, to permit us to doubt, that in the present state of public opinion on this point, a false honor may drive individuals of both sense and virtue, to the commission of this modification of murder. Yet do we confidently predict, that civilization will not be long in exploding it, as much for its strange absurdity as its wickedness. We are fain to think that common sense has in this matter more adherents than openly avow themselves, who wait, as it were, some convenient time, and some note of concert among themselves, to revolt against this tyrant of society, which may be truly called bloody without a figure, and to set up the lawful ruler instead. If one did not daily see innumerable prejudices persevered in by mankind, for which they have long ceased to pretend any sound reason, this revolt of the friends of good sense would seem near at hand. For though some persons, pressed, we suppose, for a reason, very gravely tell us that the duel is a remnant of that right of private war which was abolished by the institution of society ; left us for the revenge of injuries which social laws cannot reach ; the thing seems, by the better opinion, to have just so much foundation in reason, as is included in the customary reply to grave casuists who cavil at it. This runs commonly in such phrases as ' The thing seems absurd enough ; but it is a necessary evil ;' or, ' This is a matter about which it is quite useless to reason ;' which last seems true enough indeed of one side of the question.

An ancient custom is, however, like an old tree, which may stand upright a long time after the roots that nourished it are decayed. A sort of *vis inertiae* influences our moral nature, which, like that of material bodies, seems to fix it in an old habit of thinking, or, if the philosophical reader pleases, makes it run on in an old course of error, long after the impression of the original impulse. Most of the monstrous absurdities which men have at length seen fit to reform, have even been lamented as lost benefits ; from the monastic institu-

tions which once fed, in the most industrious of modern states, a lazy and vicious population, down to the law of primogeniture which has vanished under the good sense of our own. There are some worthy persons, and judicious thinkers too, who yet fancy they see in the abolishment of this last, the end of all legitimate gentility; on no better grounds of belief, we hope, than of those *élèves* of the old school, who lament the disuse of hair-powder, not on the score of ornament merely, but as the removal of another patrician distinction; and who not long since regarded cropped hair as an infallible mark of Jacobinism, as their fathers saw, in the disappearance of the hoop, the removal of one more entrenchment of modesty. But as these extravagances of superstition, pride, and dress have vanished one after the other, it is perhaps no folly to expect a time when the fashion we have borrowed from a fiercer age, of spilling blood on frivolous and fantastic pretences, will seem as strange and unreasonable, as if a modern English peer were to fortify his villa, and sally out against his neighbors, in imitation of the warlike barons, his predecessors. If the exquisite romance of Cervantes had all the influence ascribed to it, in dispelling the lingering fooleries of knight-errantry, what a noble object awaits genius in the composition of a work of like avail against a fashion of like origin and like absurdity!

An old usage, nevertheless, is not to be dismissed merely because it is old; and as the extraordinary pretension to violate, in this particular matter, the laws of God and the dictates of reason, has obtained widely in Christendom, our readers might suppose, from the very singularity of the thing, that it rested on deep and stable foundations. They may, at any rate, think the case entitled to a hearing; from which no worse consequence can follow, than that we shall at least be furnished with reasons for what to many seems a remarkable absurdity in modern manners, and likely to lessen the opinion of posterity of our sober sense. We shall even throw out of view any obligations which may seem to arise out of the law of God, as an argument which, for some valid reason we presume, is by courtesy left to sleep in the controversy. Nor are we so idle as to address ourselves to all sorts of persons indifferently; neither to them whose vivacity, finding no vent through the apertures of wit and fancy, necessarily flames out in the grosser element of animal courage; nor to those impatient aspirants after fame, who delight to think themselves, as

it were, within pistol-shot of her citadel; nor to those who have no reasonable expectation of achieving notoriety by any other path than this of the *duellum*. But as the sage consoled himself, that however the world might go wrong, there would always be a corner in it where a philosopher might hide; so may we suggest to these last, that there are always fastnesses enough of rudeness and barbarity, where their single talent, now useless, nay inconvenient, in the busy mart or the polite saloon, may find its proper use in quelling spirits one degree fiercer than themselves; and where they may brawl, at the worst, without the expense of lives more valuable than their own.

There is another large class of readers, to whom, though for an opposite reason, it must be equally needless to address ourselves. Many, we hope, there are, who own themselves, without shame, of too feeble or too sober a temper, to 'seek the bubble, reputation,' in the pistol's mouth, though, on proper occasion, they might in the cannon's; and who, regarding the fanaticism of honor as no wiser than that of religion, would think as little of building their reputation on 'a good shot,' as their faith on

'The holy text of pike and gun.'

As their blunt perception sees not how a man's good name is set up by his falling in his private brawl, and a corresponding soberness of fancy lays them less open to the accesses of jealous and fantastical punctilio, we may reckon on them as our allies of course against the *Monomachists*; (we want a name, and this may serve as well as 'Fire-Eaters,' 'Yahoos,' or any other.) Our concern is chiefly with that middle party, who, though they pursue not the *duellum* as a business, and still less as an amusement, persuade themselves that it is what they are pleased to call a necessary evil; a bulwark between the gentleman and the ruffian; a vindication of offences which, through the halting of justice, cannot otherwise be overtaken; and, at all events, an ordeal that, as opinion now runs, must be undergone by every one who would keep his honor, or (what they choose to regard as the same thing) his courage unblemished. Though often reluctant champions of the point of honor, they are still less ready to be martyrs in the cause of true morals; to which, however, it is the more important to gain them, not only as a party whose considerable numbers

would weigh down the scale in favor of good sense and public quiet, but as comprehending no small amount of virtue and just feeling. Nor were it a small point gained, to rescue them from a dilemma the most painful to a good mind ; that of fighting in a cause when scarcely half convinced of its justice. As the equally valiant, and hardly less wise Sir Hudibras exclaims ;

‘ What rage, O citizens ! what fury
Doth to these direful actions hurry ?
What æstrum, what phrenetic mood
Makes you thus lavish of your blood,
Which ye are bent to throw away
In vain, untriumphable fray ? ’

Our barbarous ancestors themselves, from whom we derive this venerable abuse, might smile at the foolish pertinacity which retains it in circumstances so different. We do them, however, great injustice if we imagine that, in resorting to the duel, they had any view to our fantastical notion of the ‘ point of honor.’ Instead of being an offence as with us, that, notwithstanding its reception with the polite, scarcely escapes ‘ unwhipt of justice,’ it was originally (and before chivalry had arisen to show us how symmetrical an edifice Folly can sometimes build up) only one of the forms of their rude jurisprudence, a clumsy and inartificial method of arriving at the truth, which, however absurd in itself, was natural to a fierce and ignorant people. A Goth or Burgundian, observing the ponderous structure of our jurisprudence at this day ; the solemn courts, the astute advocates, the thousand tomes of learning, the exquisite logic of evidence ; all adapted or intended to protect property, life, and honor, by extorting truth from its most perplexed combinations ;—would doubt whether it was in madness or in ridicule, that in questions confessedly the most delicate, we resorted to that rough trial of arms by which he had been wont to invoke the award of Heaven, in despair of eliciting truth by any process of his own. His amazement, again, would not be less, to hear that this happy method of adjusting differences was not, however, a mode of trial sanctioned by the laws, but a sort of customary privilege of flying in the face of them, in injuries of particular enormity ; especially if he learned that this vast machinery, though regarded as a sufficient protection of property and life, was thought to prescribe no adequate penalty for a chance blow, or an opprobrious word.

If our barbarian looked a little farther into the structure of society, his astonishment at this singularity would be proportionally increased. In the same degree that he admired the diffusion and the preëminence of the arts of peace, he would be perplexed to see the worth and honor of their cultivators referred to so rough and so unapt an arbitrement. 'Consider,' he might say, 'in how many particulars my age differed from yours, and thus conceive my surprise at their coincidence in this. Mine was ignorant and rude. Perjury flourished at a great rate among my barbarous contemporaries; and any caitiff might find some twenty compurgators to swear away the most notorious crime, with as little remorse as oaths, in your day and with some nations, are taken at the custom-house. On the other hand, we were busy with war, and skillless in all the arts of peace, especially in the intricate logic of your courts; and in leaving, as we thought, to Heaven the discovery of truth, at least avoided confounding it by any ignorance of ours. This appeal, besides, was not quite so much an affair of chance, nor altogether so absurd as you imagine. Every one who esteemed reputation in my day, must, of necessity, seek it in war. He would therefore be familiar with the exercises of arms, and capable of defending his good name much in the same proportion that he valued it. Hence his success in combat was in some sort an evidence of his honor and his virtue; because these among us consisted principally in bravery and skill in arms, as imbecility and cowardice were the greatest vices. Among you I perceive a quite different condition of things; all your policy tending to peace, and the most eminent honors being reserved for the successful in its arts. Your intellectual habits, your elegant pursuits, give force to the mind at the expense of the body. Your very courage is rather civic than warlike. Among such a people, when a man's honor or virtue is called into question, instead of expecting him to establish it by a personal combat with his accuser, it might be rather less absurd that they should contend which could produce the best poem, or make the best speech, or invent the best labor-saving machine. Nay, the very selection of your weapon in such cases, betrays a certain inelegance and brutality, since skillfulness in the use of it implies neither graceful exercise of the body, nor acuteness of eye, nor presence of mind, nor, lastly, any display of courtesy and humanity in the encounter itself. The fatal bullet may be sped with the same deadly aim, against the

lightest offender in a mere punctilio, and the most culpable assassin of your happiness or fame. You therefore, in this appeal to a yet blinder chance, ought to be counted more barbarous than we ; as you must seem also more absurd, to abandon the award of laws designed with so much art and care, for the rude arbitrement of arms.

‘With us, too,’ might our observant barbarian continue, supposing him to know something of our complex modes of trial, ‘the giving of the lie was like your putting in the plea, and nothing more, and the ordering of the combat was like joining the issue. But if a fact were notorious in the eyes of all men ; if a man had been openly assassinated in the market-place ; or if another had been appealed of murder, and the supposed victim presently appeared in public ; or if one challenged for a crime, visibly showed that it had been committed by the appellant himself ; in these cases our judges, though they wore no ermine, and were not the profoundest of casuists, naturally concluded the combat to be useless, and would not suffer it to proceed against the evidence of their own senses. But these wholesome and essential limitations seem quite to have slipped out of your modern code of honor. Flagrant crime may neither disqualify the criminal to challenge, nor exempt his accuser from answering his defiance. A man may defraud his creditors, and betray his friend, and be notoriously divorced from truth ; yet your code of honor allows him to vindicate a reputation thus certain and established, by appeal to the uncertain issue of a combat, though no one in his sober senses would trust or believe him, and the fruits of his fraud may rise palpably in brick and mortar in the streets. Nay, a man shall one day pronounce a fellow to have neither conscience nor character, and, the next, stand on points for him as his *second*, and hear no question of the honor of *his friend*. Your absurdity goes one step farther yet, in requiring a man of the most unblemished fame, if he chance to have his toes trodden on by one of these convicts by common consent, to demand of him what he is plainly unable to give, “the satisfaction of a gentleman.” These inconsistencies make me repeat involuntarily what one of your philosophers has been pleased to say of his ancestors, my contemporaries, and retort with fresh force, from the change of times, my wonder that you “should rest the honor, fortune, and life of a citizen on a mere hazard ; and should resort to proofs so incapable of con-

victing, that they have no connexion whatever with either innocence or guilt.' ” *

These are the reflections of a barbarian ; but they may be worth pursuing a little farther. ‘ You would be more excusable,’ he might add, ‘ if you could plead your superstition in your behalf, and if you really believed that chance would befriend the right in these murderous encounters. You might then claim to be on a level with my barbarous predecessors, the Germans, who in their civil wars regarded the event of the first single combat, as the actual decision of Heaven ; or with your modern barbarians, the Turks, who respect as such the first victory achieved. But the codes of my own day were in other respects preferable to that by which you are pleased to regulate your concerns of honor. By the law of the Thuringians, an adulteress was condemned to the ordeal of the boiling water (another test of truth, which I wonder you have not retained), only when she could find no one to defend her. This shows that a reputation served a better purpose among them than with you. At a later day, among the Franks, a man who was weak in body, or had no taste, perhaps, for the battle, or was much occupied with affairs, might hire a champion to fight all his causes to issue, or take care of his reputation, for a time certain, and for a stipulated sum ; just as he hired a bailiff to take care of his feud. For the very reason that this was thought a bad custom among us, it would be an excellent one among a peaceable people like you. So if a criminal accused his judges of false judgment, he was obliged to fight them all. Lewis the Fat, who thought the exertion too great perhaps, even for a criminal, reformed this rule, I hear ; but were it applied to many of your duellists, of a certain reputation, it might give them as much fighting as they could do in their whole lives, and make them perhaps less eager to begin. What surprises me not the least, is the importance you attach to a blow. We ourselves were not insensible to pain, and therefore punished a blow by the fine of a *sou*, two blows with two *sous*, and so on according to the extent of the injury. With you, I learn from the philosopher I have quoted before, one blow is equivalent to a hundred thousand ! This strange mode of valuation it is, no doubt, which explains the contradiction, that while you sometimes kill a man for jostling you at

* Spirit of Laws.

the play, you think you sufficiently punish him for propagating against you the vilest slanders, by lightly laying a whip across his shoulders.'

Our observer would be hardly the wiser, at least not the better convinced, were he told, as he might be by some grave antiquary, that these niceties so foreign to the vulgar reason, had their origin in the chivalrous age; that as he who had once engaged his word, was not allowed in the judicial proceedings of the barbarous times, to retract it without a penalty, so, in the fantastical period which succeeded, to be even accused of what was in fact a legal offence, might well be accounted a gross insult. That anciently only villains fought on foot, and with a baton, instead of on horseback, and with a lance; hence to be struck with a stick, or on certain parts of the body, came afterwards to be deemed an especial affront to gentility. The like exception was taken to a box on the ear, because a knight never fought with his face uncovered. 'This,' he might reply, 'explains well enough the origin of these punctilios, but seems no just excuse for sustaining them by such disproportionate penalties. Besides, the age you appeal to, was as fantastical as yours is sober. A knight-errant would now be engaged in the house of correction; a lover of the chivalrous stamp would be taken to have lost his wits; even a tournament would be likely to be dispersed by the peace-officers, with "the power of the county."' At least limit this peculiar privilege of the gentleman to such as, by the more ancient rules of chivalry, would have been entitled to the honors of the tourney; to him that is of gentle blood by four descents at the least, and can display a legitimate coat-armor, not placed at random on the pannels of his coach by his coachmaker. Deny it, by the same rule, to any that has blasphemed God, or offended the ladies; is wanting in courtesy, or is false to his word, to gratitude or honor; has deserted his comrade in a difficulty, or assailed his enemy without warning, or by indirect means despoiled him of his estate. Put all these without the pale of the field of honor, and the enviable privilege of jousting in it, might safely be entrusted to those who would remain.'

As it thus appears that we have made wide deviations from the code of honor, as it subsisted in 'the high and palmy state' of its empire, it is but fair to inquire how far it consists, as now reformed, with the peace and dignity of society. We shall be pardoned for pursuing this inquiry somewhat discus-

sively, for the same reason that regular tactics are laid aside in a *guerilla* warfare ; as, to say the truth, we hardly know on what point of reason our antagonists make head, or on which to direct our attack. Yet as we may daily observe many otherwise judicious persons running the risk of being shot through the body, or actually losing their lives, to the great detriment of their affairs, and the yet greater discomfort and grief of their families ; it were unfair to set them down for mad, without some formal inquest of the motives which prompt them thus to ‘set their lives at a pin’s point.’

If our men of honor, in shooting an adversary through the head, did not eagerly disclaim all views to revenge, and were there not something in this passion quite inconsistent with the generosity we are wont to ascribe to a gentleman, we might set down the usage to the account of this, one of the blindest and most headlong of our propensities. But that this were an error as regards a great portion of them, may appear from the great placableness of the combatants, who, on the least blood drawn, and often on the expenditure of a certain amount of gunpowder, are seen to forgive imputations which (had they been better marksmen) might have been washed away in blood ; to say nothing of those, who, the usage apart, are heartily disposed to let pass both the affront and the revenge. The generosity evinced on these occasions may indeed be deemed excessive. For as in polite society, all who are admitted are, for the time, on a footing of equality, so among such as are admitted to the privilege of the *duellum* (as the worthy Baron of Bradwardine calls it), considerations which are thought of moment in other affairs, whether of bargain or compromise, seem to be wholly lost sight of. Thus he who, with the loss of life, would lose, at the same time, the highest fortune and the largest honors, is no more considered than his antagonist, who may have nothing to lose in this world, either in fortune or good name. We submit to our court of honor the hardship of this case. In this wager of battle, the stakes should be equal ; and though for ordinary purposes a good appearance and a polite address may well enough pass a man for a gentleman, some stricter *qualification* might seem not unreasonable, to entitle him to draw blood in these honorable encounters.

But were one ever so blindly intent on revenge, he could not be quite insensible to the treacherous part, which the world

plays on these occasions ; first, like the author of all evil, seducing him into the mischief, and then abandoning him without consolation to its bitter fruits. For however tyrannical it be in exacting this bloody sacrifice to its opinion, or rather this martyrdom in what it calls the cause of honor and good manners, we do not find that it reserves for the zealots of its faith any of the honors of the martyr. Instead of paying the price of blood with extraordinary suffrages of its respect, thus applying those outward unctions by which the inward smart of conscience is sometimes appeased, it plays the part of a great personage to his bravo, whose mercenary murders are rewarded with ill dissembled aversion. In this point of view, the wholesale murderers of the species, soldiers of fortune and conquering kings, are many times more fortunate and prudent, as they either bind the vulgar opinion to their victorious car, or defy it in the insolence of power. Our *Monomachist*, on the contrary (and the better man he is, the more inevitable is this result), pines through the world, with the mark of blood on his brow, a kind of wandering Jew in the ordinary circle of life. The bloody passage in his history is indeed, by the common consent of his friends, buried in a silence, which is, however, not oblivious. The very caution with which all allusion to it is avoided, awakes the jealous remorse, which slumbers, another Argus, with open eyes in his bosom. The ignorant regard him with such superstition as they feel near the ruin which tradition has stained with crime ; the wiser, with such a respect at best, as the ancients attached to spots which had been stricken with thunder. The warmest defence that is made of him (for an apology is no less required by the inconstancy of opinion, for having struck the blow, than for failing to strike it) seldom goes beyond what is to be found in the common turn of expression ; ‘ If ever a man was justified in fighting, it was he ; ’ a dreadful doubt indeed, in a case which is irreparable. The wretch, who can be callous to these significations of the natural sentiment, must be left to the scourge of a more awful tribunal. We will not ask what part conscience takes meanwhile ; whether, like the gold of the miser in his secret chest, she consoles the martyr for the censure of the populace ; * or, her whispers growing more audible as the voice of the world is remote, she plays through life the per-

* Hor. Sat.

plexed casuist; weighing the extreme revenge against the frivolous provocation, the code of honor against the law of God and of the land, the breath of opinion against the stifled sighs of remorse. But we have insensibly grown serious.

This examination might turn out more satisfactorily to our casuist, if he could always array some substantial wordly good gained, against this unquietness of his conscience. But it happens strangely and unluckily, that while he may, nay, often must incur this bloodguiltiness for some light punctilio, he cannot decently nor safely either, by means of it, protect his estate, or rid himself of an inconvenient rival, or revenge even the more serious injuries to his good fame. This summary justice may indeed for ever put it out of a rude fellow's power to jostle him rudely in a crowd, or obstruct his view at the play; but he must betake him to the vulgar tribunals of justice to exculpate himself from a charge of overreaching in a bargain, or forging a deed, or making way with a will. As it seems, then, that our law of honor either goes too far, or not far enough, those that feel themselves under compulsion to obey it, ought to bethink them of extending its jurisdiction to more important matters.

The professed Fire-Eater himself might have some reason for his taste, if by a fortunate *hit* he could regain the reputation, which no other known act of his life has perhaps given him the least claim to; or by taking the life of one man of probity, could win or enforce the opinion of the rest. But it is the defect of this sort of argument, rigorous as it may appear, that though sometimes necessary, it seems, to support an established reputation, that indeed to reason requires no such supererogatory proof, it is never imagined to set up any that has no better foundation. The common understanding is not so depraved as to give him credit for more than hardness of nerve and precision of eye. The most it can do for an infirm character, is to stifle the loudness of reproach, and give a conscious scoundrel the satisfaction of knowing, that all people think him a dirtier fellow than they care to express. We have seen some of these bullies in our time, walking like 'the pestilence at noon-day,' and reading contempt and hate so much the more visibly in the eyes of all, for that they forbore to give them tongue.

But nothing shows this folly in a stronger light, or more forcibly displays the tyranny of opinion, than a reflection

which must occur to every wise observer of life. How few of the best of us can hope to unite all suffrages in our favor, or have our actions justly scanned, much less our sentiments truly appreciated! And as this arises not seldom out of the dullness or the baseness of others, the applause of the crowd is often as little to be desired as to be hoped. A man of sense and spirit, therefore, may sometimes, without either insolence or pride, take no displeasure from knowing that he is obnoxious to the vulgar censure, and might doubt the reality of that virtue which found no enemies. 'I hate him because he is just,' is no paradox to him who has observed how constantly vice feels itself, as it were, reproached by virtue. From what weakness, then, or inconsistency in our nature is it, that a man, thus careless of the censure of the million, shall sometimes go to buffets with a single slanderer from the crowd. Yet this same individual, should he happen to be eminent in power or place, or to lead the front of party, or to embark on the fretful sea of a political canvass, endures with wonderful fortitude all the slanders against his patriotism and his honesty, and hears himself, with a smile, likened to all the traitors and conspirators infamous in story. Our modern history furnishes some instances, indeed, where those, who, at the same moment, were shaking Europe with the terror of their arms, or wielding it by their policy, have descended to play the champion in this lesser field; which seems about as ridiculous, by the way, as if Cicero had challenged a conscript father for reflecting on his birth, or Mark Antony had sent a card to the author of the 'Philippics.' If there is a conspicuous absurdity in these pugnacious ebullitions of the great, who, confiding to the judgment of mankind the higher acts and motives of their lives, can descend to settle points with some obscure antagonist; the folly of those is not less, who, in a lower sphere of action, have the wit to estimate justly the opinion of the crowd, without the civic courage to resist, in this matter, its fantastical requisitions.

From all these inconsistencies one would really be tempted to conclude, that the punctilio, which we call the point of honor, if not merely an inveterate habit of thinking, retained because men have not yet been at the pains to reflect on its whole absurdity, is a kind of maniacal infusion into the otherwise sober temperament of the age; such as is sometimes seen in the constitution of individuals, and is depicted in the worthy

knight of La Mancha, the last specimen of a like folly, a little more preposterous.

That ingenious refiner, the author of the 'Spirit of Laws,' informs us, that honor is the principle of monarchies. That honor, as he describes it, is somewhat fantastical, mixed up, if we understand him, of artificial punctiliousness, ambition of dignities, and jealousy of personal bravery; all admirably adapted to make subjects revolve round the sovereign as the fountain of honors, and join cause with him against the plebeian orders of the state; to make the gentleman a creature of modes and caprices; and sustain a warlike nobility, always prompt for the schemes of ambitious conquest. To encourage, at least not to discountenance the punctilio we have been treating of, might be a sort of wisdom in kings, who thus regard their subjects as so many pageants in the array of pomp, or so many brute instruments in the *matériel* of war. But as our institutions require no such artificial distinction of the gentleman from the commonalty, nor the training of a mere soldiery, it is the less necessary to abuse and distort reason, with any view of policy, or foster a sentiment which has no true foundation in nature. Better and nobler that sentiment of the Romans, which decreed a crown to him, who had saved the life of a citizen; a sentiment yet more just among us, where, by the spirit of our laws, he is part of the majesty of the state, and where, through the happiness of our circumstances, it is his rational, not his brute properties, that are required for its service. If European rulers look on government as a game, played for their diversion, and where all the pieces are of much the like value; it should with us rather resemble the higher combinations of chess, where their values are different, and where they should be sacrificed with some reference to these respectively. Now our code of honor listens to none of these distinctions; but absurdly proceeds as if all men were rationally as well as politically equal.

This leads us to say a word to the gentlemen of our army and navy, whom we can by no means except from the influence of these considerations, nor hold excused for risking, in private brawl, the life which belongs more peculiarly to their country. Courage is not, as it might have been considered in a barbarous age, so exclusively the praise of a soldier, that it must be demonstrated at all risks, even at the expense of patriotism and conscience; and that it cannot be let to sleep,

in scorn of the silly or the brawling, till, like my uncle Toby's, 'proper occasion calls it forth.' It is not in peace, that 'the sword is the proper argument of the soldier;' nor is it to be drawn, at any rate, on every light occasion, any more than a man of breeding thinks of disturbing the current of social discourse, with trenchant arguments and sturdy logic. Yet if the raw recruit, whose sword is yet unfleshed, persists in referring his courage to this doubtful proof, the veteran of many battles has no such excuse; for at least the ambition of acting on this poor field, ought to be understood as an acknowledgment, that the combatant has never had and never expects to have the honor of acting on a better.

We shall here conclude with some suggestions for the consideration of those especially, who honestly think this barbarous usage is in some strange manner one of the guards and defences of our modern refinement; a class of thinkers the more likely to perpetuate the abuse, for the reason, that the errors of a man of virtue are always of the most dangerous example.

It must be allowed, in the first place, to be some objection to this method of enforcing the lesser morals, that it gives the advantage precisely to those who most require to be awed into civility. The temper which is prone to insult and outrage, has thus the farther satisfaction of making amends after its own fashion, and of blowing out a man's brains as a compensation for having trod on his toes. The sensibility, on the other hand, which most avoids contention, brawl, and contumely, must find the least pleasure in exacting this rigorous penalty. Thus the absurdity is involved, of making champions for decorum out of the very persons most likely to violate it, which is not much wiser than making the town-watch out of the thieves and vagrants. How apt these Prætorian bands in the empire of honor are to turn their arms against their own sovereign, needs no better proof than what our author has furnished us in his sketches of Irish society, where the order seems to have been less, as the champions were many. Nor, perhaps, will some parts of our own country, the Tipperary and Galway of these states, serve our argument less; where not only these conservators of social quiet are more numerous, but the arms they carry are more effective. It should follow that our civility ought to increase as we travel towards the frontier, and the pistol gives way to the musket or the rifle.

It may, in the next place, strike the observant, that the affairs of honor have by no means increased, but greatly diminished in Christendom, during this age. We have the candor to own that this is susceptible of two explanations; first, that we are in reality, as our grandfathers assure us, much behind our predecessors in all the courtesies and arts of life; or, secondly, that by the excellent practice of duelling, the world is at length so reduced into politeness, that fewer occasions now offer for its exercise. This last reason seems the more agreeable of the two, as it holds out a hope of our presently dispensing with it altogether. It is certain, if we may trust the elder comedies, that the fine gentlemen of that day oftener whipped out their blades in coffee-houses, as they were also more used to put modest women out of countenance, and stagger drunk into their presence. Such a revolution, like all others, must be supposed to have cost as much blood as wit. At present, too, the most delicate 'affair' may be settled by the principals alone. A century ago, the seconds were expected in courtesy to take part; and in an age yet ruder, before the *duellum* had yet time, we suppose, to display all its benign effect, whole families, Montagues, and Capulets, on both sides, were fairly engaged on these honorable occasions.

Again, as it is the aim of the courteous Monomachist to draw the least possible blood that will satisfy his honor, the greatest civility and good manners ought, by this rule, to reside in those baser classes of society, who practise a more bloodless monomachy, stripping on the instant insult, and boxing their antagonists into good manners. Nor can it be thought an objection, that this mode of combat gives the advantage to the strong or active pugilist, instead of the skilful marksman, since of the two, the former art is the more promotive of health and beauty in its possessor, and less apt to be fatal to his antagonist. Our polite neighbors, the English, are so sensible of this, that gentlemen of condition promote pugilism by all means, and even learned judges look complacently on a mode of reasoning which Cicero, in his Roman rudeness, thought proper to beasts. Even assassination itself may be thought to have this advantage over our honorable murder, that it is obliged to go covertly like a villain in the dark, instead of assuming, as it were, the port of a gentleman, and stalking, like the latter, in open daylight. We have never heard, for instance, of any law among the Italians or Portuguese, enjoining on their dignitaries

to swear, that they had never committed an assassination ; whereas some of our own legislative bodies have gravely required of their members this solemn denial of murder ; as at a Botany Bay assembly, as the jest runs, it is the rule, that none shall cheat at cards, or pick any of the company's pocket, for that time.

Lastly, we should be glad to know by what change of the principles of human action it falls out, that the forbearance which we heroically applaud in a pagan, we treat as cowardice and dishonor in a christian. The 'Strike, but hear,' not only reads as well in English as in Greek, but seems no more out of place in a modern than a classical republic ; besides according with a christian maxim which may be known to some readers. Moreover, it consists entirely with the sentiments of that common reason, which still breaks out from the deepest and most fantastical clouds of popular error. But whether our readers shall agree with us or not, that the sort of honor we have been considering, is, like Falstaff's, 'a mere 'scutcheon,' our limits admonish us that we must here end our 'catechism.'

ART. IX.—*A Voyage to the Eastern Seas in the year 1816 ; including an Account of Captain Maxwell's Attack on the Batteries at Canton ; and Notes of an Interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, in August, 1817.* By CAPTAIN BASIL HALL, Royal Navy. 18mo. pp. 331. G. & C. Carvill. New York.

THE embassy of Lord Amherst to the court of China twelve years ago, together with the events of the voyage performed by the British vessels of war, the *Alceste* and the *Lyra*, on that occasion, and particularly the account of the Loo Choo islands narrated by the voyagers on their return, are doubtless in the recollection of many of our readers. The *Alceste*, commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, and the *Lyra*, a ten gun brig commanded by Captain Basil Hall, were despatched to convey the ambassador and his suite to the river Pei Ho, at the confluence of which with the Yellow Sea they were to debark and proceed to Peking. The particulars of this mission we shall not recount, but confine ourselves to the little volume be-

fore us, from the perusal of which we acknowledge at the outset, that we have derived much amusement and profit.

Soon after Captain Hall's return to England, he published an account of his voyage in an elegantly printed volume, accompanied with appropriate drawings, an appendix containing original charts constructed from his own surveys, and several scientific tracts suited for the instruction of future navigators, who should explore the seas which he had visited. This work was too expensive for general circulation, but it was so well received by the public, that the author was induced to prepare another edition, from which he excluded the scientific articles, and clothed the narrative in a somewhat more popular dress. He seems, indeed, to have spared no pains in this revision. The style is essentially altered throughout, four entire chapters have been added on topics connected with the voyage, but not embraced in the first narrative, and numerous original paragraphs are here and there interspersed from beginning to end. In its present character, therefore, we deem it a new work, and shall proceed to make our readers acquainted with its contents as such, notwithstanding the general interest, which Captain Hall's description of the Loo Choo people excited at the time it was first published, as well in this country as in England. The edition now offered to the American public, we suppose to have been reprinted from the last Edinburgh edition, although it bears indications of some very slight alterations by the author.

The curious and important events, which thicken upon us as we advance in the volume, will not allow us to dwell with Captain Hall in his first chapter, which takes us very agreeably from England to Java. We will venture to remark, however, that the story of his interview with the natives at Anjeer Point, of their appearance and amusements, is told in his best manner. He describes a wedding which he had the honor of attending, and at which he found, among other guests, 'ten venerable personages with long beards, seated on a low table, round several smoking bowls of rice, and messes of meat cut into small pieces.' Being invited to join this group of ancients, and partake of the wedding feast, he instantly complied, mounted the table with becoming gravity, and in default of forks and spoons, and in imitation of his associate guests, he made that use of his fingers for which nature contrived them. His companion was in a less tractable humor, protested 'he

saw no fun in this,' and refused the proffered hospitality. Meanwhile 'the happy couple were seated in great state in a deep recess on one side of the apartment, bolstered up with a dozen of large pillows covered over with gilt trimmings.' These persons were solemn and demure, said nothing, and took no notice of any body, nor of anything that passed. How the wedding ended we cannot report, for at this stage of the ceremony, to our no little disappointment, the author abruptly leaves us, and goes abroad to seek other adventures.

From the Straits of Sunda the ships proceeded to the coast of China, there to communicate with Sir George Staunton, chief of the English Factory at Canton, and with other persons destined to accompany the expedition. The Emperor had already been informed of the intention of the Prince Regent to send a mission to the court of Peking, and his reply was hourly expected. The vessels took in water at Hong Kong, one of the Ladrone Islands, where they awaited the Emperor's answer, which was at length received by an express from the Factory. Full permission was granted by it for the embassy to advance up the coast in the vessels, and land at the port nearest the capital.

Twelve days after quitting Hong Kong, they passed around the promontory of Shantung into the Yellow Sea. As their charts availed them little in these unknown regions, they were obliged to move onward with caution. The water became shallow long before land was discovered, and apprehensions began to be entertained, that the vessels would be stopped by the mud. At one time the *Lyra's* keel was actually ploughing in this sediment, which was perceived by the yellow color of the water in the wake, and also by the retarded motion of the vessel, and the difficulty of steering. The same thing was observed by Dr Clarke, the traveller, as he passed the mouths of the Nile out of sight of land. In this instance the vessel's wake exhibited a deep black color, and the muddy sediment was so impalpable as to present only a slight resistance. Captain Hall thinks, with apparent good reason, that the tract of water called the Yellow Sea will one day be filled up by these deposits of the rivers that run into it, and that the whole region will become alluvial, like that of Bengal or Egypt.

After a good deal of difficulty the mouth of the river Pei Ho, the destined place of the ambassador's debarkation, was discovered. The water was so shoal as to oblige the squadron to

anchor eight or ten miles from the shore, and two mandarins, one an officer in the military service, and the other in the civil, came off to pay their respects to Lord Amherst. 'Previously to approaching the ship, two visiting cards were despatched by an inferior officer from these great persons, which were at least a foot and a half in length, and not less than a foot wide. They were made of red colored paper, with the name and title written in a perpendicular line in the centre.' These mandarins were deputed by another of higher authority, to whom the charge was assigned of conducting the embassy through the country to Peking. At last the ambassador and his attendants landed at Tacoo, a town about a mile above the mouth of the Pei Ho. Here the navigators took leave of the ambassador, whom they did not see again till they met him at Canton five months afterwards, on his return over land from the Chinese capital.

The visiting cards of spacious dimensions, sent by the mandarins to Lord Amherst, remind us of Father Horta's description of the ceremony of visiting among the Tonquinese. The visiting card among that formal people rises to the dignity of a book. When a person pays a visit, he stops at the gate till the porter comes, and then gives him several loose leaves of paper, on which are written in large characters the name of the visitor, his titles, and the purposes of his visit. The common color of these leaves is white with a red cover, but there are other colors varying according to the rank and quality of the person to whom the visit is paid. An invitation card is still more formidable. It consists of several leaves, on the first of which is written the name, address, and titles of the person invited; then follows the invitation; and last of all the bill of fare for the proposed entertainment. Father Horta transcribed a form of invitation on a card which he saw, which ran as follows. '*Chao-ting has prepared a repast of some herbs, cleaned his glasses, and arranged his house, in order that Se-tong may come and recreate him with the charms of his conversation, and the eloquence of his learning; he therefore begs, that he will not deny him that divine pleasure.*' As our voyagers were not invited to an entertainment of this sort by the Chinese, they had no means of knowing the forms adopted on such occasions.

From the Pei Ho the two vessels sailed in different directions, the *Alceste* steering northward for the purpose of examining the Gulf of Leotung, and the *Lyra* southward along the

coast that borders the Gulf of Petchelee. In eleven days they met again at Che-a-tou Bay, and, after refitting, sailed in company to the harbor of Oei-hai-oi, to the eastward of the former port on the coast of Shantung. This place Captain Hall supposes had never before been visited by Europeans, and he speaks of the reception, which they met from the inhabitants, as favorable to the Chinese character. A vast concourse of people gathered round to see the strangers when they landed, and as they proceeded to the village, decorum and civility prevailed everywhere. They were escorted to the neat and elegant mansion of a mandarin, where they were regaled with tea, hot wine, and sweet cakes. They were allowed also to walk through the village, and in its environs.

'By the time this visit of ceremony was over, the mob had dispersed, and we separated into different parties, to stroll about the country, no sort of objection being made to our doing so. I have often remarked that on these occasions, where no harm is intended, and the gratification of curiosity the only object, the best way is to go straight forward, without putting difficulties into the people's heads, by seeming to imagine any permission necessary. At least during this voyage, whenever we began by soliciting leave to walk into the country, or to look at anything, our request was almost invariably refused. It is always easy enough to discover when such a proceeding is really disagreeable or improper; and it seems then full time to turn back.

'The first house we visited, at some distance in the country, was surrounded by a wall or fence, made of neatly wattled twigs. On the steps before the door sat a woman sewing, who as soon as she beheld the apparition of half a dozen strange looking men, screamed out, threw down her work, and in spite of all our attempts to pacify her, continued to alarm the neighborhood with her cries. Among the people who came to her relief was a middle aged man, probably her husband, who, with great roughness, turned us round by the shoulders, marched us out of his grounds, and pointed to the ships. There was no mistaking this, and finding our eloquence only augmented the lady's fury, and the honest man's indignation, we gave up the point, and turned from this uncivil couple towards a party of men and women employed in winnowing corn. This was done on a hard smooth mud floor, raised three feet above the level of the field, near a farm-house. We observed that they first beat the corn with flails, not unlike a watchman's rattle, and then tossed it into the air, that the wind might blow away the chaff. One of the farmers showed me a double drill-plough, and when I expressed some curiosity about these matters,

he put the plough into my hands, implying that he wished me to keep it. In the course of the evening he brought it on board, but would accept nothing in return. We succeeded in gaining ground much better with this group than with the scolding lady, chiefly by making friends in the first instance of the children, to whom we gave buttons, curtain rings, and such trifles as we had put in our pockets on leaving the ship. This speedily opened a way to the good will of the parents, and as soon as we observed them softening a little in their reserve, we engaged their full attention and respect, by allowing them a peep through the telescope, always an object of great wonder to such people; after this had gone round the circle, we produced the pocket compass, which they stared at with great delight, and a sight of our watches completed the treaty of amity between us.

‘While this was going on, a countryman driving a donkey loaded with vegetables, joined the party. We instantly tried to open a traffic with him for his whole cargo, but here an unexpected difficulty arose. He knew so little of our money, that he refused to part with his vegetables in exchange for Spanish dollars, a coin we had always been taught to believe passed current in every corner of the earth. All the trinkets we had brought with us had been already disposed of, and nothing but what was valuable remained; our friend, however, though evidently much amused, and willing enough to sell his cabbages, would give nothing without some equivalent. In this unwonted dilemma, when silver was of no avail, it occurred to me to try the efficacy of a more showy metal, and borrowing the countryman’s knife from him, I cut a button from my uniform, then seizing a bundle of leeks in one hand, and displaying the crown and anchor in the other, I appealed to the company whether the bargain was not a fair one. This was irresistible; and I carried my point by acclamation. In this way, by stripping one side of my jacket of its row of finery, and debating the value of each item, I became possessed of the whole cargo. The winnowing party, including several women, and a number of children, had left their work, and assembled round us, listening to this discussion, which I need not say was carried on with much laughing and joking on both sides, although neither party understood a syllable of the other’s language. I was a little at a loss what to do with my purchase, for my sole object, in which I completely succeeded, had been to produce good-humor, and I had nobody with me to carry the vegetables. At length, however, I explained to the peasant that I wished them carried to the boat, and although I took no farther charge of him, he delivered them faithfully in the course of the afternoon.’ pp. 52–55.

Towards the evening of the same day Captain Hall and Mr

Clifford crossed over to the opposite side of the harbor, and took a walk for some distance into the country. Pursuing a path leading from the shore, they passed a low ridge of hills, and soon found themselves in a neat little hamlet, at the bottom of a secluded valley, embowered in groves of trees. The villagers flocked around them with much curiosity, and received them with kindness and hospitality. They examined the dress of their visitants, and such articles as they had about them, with expressions of astonishment. The following picture is not more novel in its incidents, than beautiful in its moral, and may well be contemplated with admiration by communities, which boast of a much higher degree of civilization and refinement, than it has been usual to allow to these remote Chinese.

‘During the inspection which was instituted into my apparel, I had given to one man my hat, to another my gloves, a third amused himself and the company by opening and shutting my pen-knife, and in the confusion my watch was passed from hand to hand, till lost sight of altogether. At length these good people were satisfied; and fancying everything was restored, we took our leave as the day was closing. But we left the village by a different path from that by which we had come; and after wandering for some time among the hills, till it became almost dark, returned to the shore. Before stepping into the boat, however, I wished to make a record of the time of tide, and then first discovered that my watch was gone. I had no recollection of the person into whose hands I had given it; and even if I had, was without any means of discovering him. All the stories about the thievish disposition of the Chinese now crowded upon our recollection; and the good opinion we were gradually forming of their character, was shaken to its foundation. The watch, however, was much too valuable to be lost without an effort, and we resolved to return to the village, to give it a chance.

‘All was now silent among the cottages, and we wandered about for some time, till attracted by a light at a window, we went up to it, and addressed two people sitting at supper in the room. They were much alarmed at our sudden appearance, pushed us rudely away, and closed the window. This was an unpropitious beginning; but we persevered till, on reaching the court or square near the centre of the village, we fortunately lighted upon a party of eight or ten men, some lying on the ground, others seated on chairs, smoking their pipes, and enjoying the delicious coolness of the evening air, which had succeeded to the burning heat of the day. I was not much in a humor to notice fine grouping or pic-

turesque effects, but happening to remember the Chinese for watch, Pee-o-i, I repeatedly pronounced it, exhibiting at the same time my empty pockets. The word or the action easily made them comprehend my loss. But as I was under the full conviction all the while that I never should see my watch again, I may probably have expressed some impatience on the occasion. This, however, produced little effect on the Chinese, who merely took their pipes from their mouths, leaned on their elbows, and listened with great attention to all I had to say. When I had finished my speech, which consisted principally of signs, interspersed with occasional mention of the word Pee-o-i, an old gentleman of the party got up, and patting me good-naturedly on the shoulder, gave me his ready-lighted pipe to console me, and with great gravity, in the midst of which I fancied I could sometimes detect an ironical smile when he looked towards his companions, made me a long speech, which, although I could not understand a single word of it, seemed to set forth that it was quite useless to be angry about the matter. The rest of the party laughed heartily at the oddity of this dialogue, and seemed determined to take no steps till the discussion was over. As I saw very soon that there was nothing for it but good-humor—or rather, that nothing was to be gained by impatience, I sat down among them, accepted the orator's pipe, and puffed away as well as the most experienced smoker of the party. I had no sooner been seated on a chair which was brought for me, as they would not suffer me to stretch myself on the ground, than the spokesman of the party, who had just lectured me, as I conjectured, upon the virtue of patience, looking over his shoulder and laughing, spoke a few words to one of the young men seated on the grass near him, who immediately rose and left the party. In about five minutes the messenger returned, bringing along with him another person, who held my watch in his hand; and I now recognised the face of the man I had first given it to. He explained, as I understood him, that as I had left the village by another road (pointing first to the one way, and then to the other) he had quite lost sight of me, but that next day he meant to have brought the watch on board. This I inferred from his pointing to where the sun rose, and then towards the ships. At all events, I was happy enough to recover my lost property, and the first impulse naturally was to give him some reward. I had only a dollar, and two or three smaller coins with me, which I put into the young man's hand; but this was no sooner observed, than two or three of the others jumped on their feet, and taking the money from him, thrust it back again into my pockets. I made him sit down, however, and it will easily be understood that the recovery of the watch was more efficacious in restoring good-humor than the old fellow's lecture had been; and so my sententious friend

himself seemed to think, for he addressed me with the former affected seriousness of tone and manner, and then laughed heartily as he pointed to the watch. It is wonderful, indeed, how without language, people can generally make themselves mutually understood when there is good will on both sides, and how difficult, even with all the advantages of speech, the most simple explanation becomes, when temper or interest opposes an obstacle to the mutual apprehension of the subject.' pp. 56-59.

As they placed no value in money, Captain Hall tempted their curiosity with other articles, which he would gladly have left with them as a token of his gratitude, but they positively refused to take anything that was offered to them. When the man who restored the watch came on board the *Lyra* the next day, he still persisted in his refusal of a reward, nor could he be prevailed upon by any inducements to alter his determination. The lower classes at Canton are remarkable for thieving. They have probably acquired the vice by their intercourse with foreigners. Neither the expedition of Lord Macartney, nor that of Lord Amherst, in passing through the country, was annoyed by any propensity of this sort in the inhabitants.

Captain Hall observes, that 'in every village, however small, which he visited in China, there was invariably a school, where both reading and writing were taught to boys.' In the village, where the adventure of the watch occurred, the school was kept by a 'very formal, perpendicular, elderly gentleman.' Speaking of another village, the author says, 'we were attracted by the well known hum to a school, which the master, who came out to the door, begged us to enter. Everything within was remarkably neat and clean, and the room well ventilated; but the day was very hot, and one of the scholars, observing Mr Clifford fanning himself with his hat, left his seat, and presented him with his fan; at the same time, turning round, he gave me his book, opened I suppose at the place of the lesson. The whole school were then ordered to read at once, during which the master appeared to have the faculty of distinguishing any voice which was in error; a mode of teaching, it may be observed, universal from all time over the east, but only recently introduced from that hemisphere into this country, and I believe with much effect.' We hardly understand what our voyager means by the last clause in this sentence; but if he intends to say, that children can be taught to read by this Babel jargon of sounds, uttered simultaneously from every mouth in

the school, whether in the Chinese or the English idiom, we must beg leave to demur. We have strong doubts, also, of the teacher's ability, under such circumstances, to distinguish every truant voice in the midst of such confusion. To us the predicament of the unlucky pedagogue would seem to be not less embarrassing, than would have been that of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in deciding who was in order or out of order, who was talking sense or nonsense, had all the members chosen to make their speeches on the retrenchment question at once; and we should as soon expect light to shine on the counsels of the nation's guardians from this mode of debating, as improvement in a school founded on the Chinese model. Captain Hall remarks, that no schools for girls came under his observation in China.

In a few days the ships took up their course across the Yellow Sea to the coast of Corea. Long before they came to the main land they fell in with innumerable clusters of Islands, which were afterwards found to fringe this inner border of the Korean peninsula for a great distance. The voyagers landed at some of these islands, and were led into amusing adventures with the natives, which we shall pass over, and take our readers at once to the harbor on the main land where the vessels at length came to anchor.

‘As soon as the ships were secured, Captain Maxwell, Mr Clifford, and I proceeded in one of the *Alceste's* boats towards a considerable village, or rather town, in the northwestern angle of the bay. On drawing near, it was discovered that the whole population were in a commotion, much resembling the sort of bustle into which a colony of ants are thrown by the thrust of a spade. This sensation extended to a fleet of boats riding at anchor off the town, the crews of which were busily employed weighing anchor, and getting their oars to pass. Before we could reach the landing-place, eight or ten of the largest vessels were seen steering towards us, escorted by more than a hundred canoes and small boats, bustling and paddling along in tumultuous procession. Every boat, even the smallest that had a mast at all, was decked out with long streamers, and crowded almost to sinking with people. On arriving within a couple of boats' lengths of the headmost vessel, our ears were saluted with sounds not unlike those of the bagpipe, which issued from three pipes, or trumpets, played by men raised high in the bow of the boat. In the middle part of the deck, between the masts, we discovered a huge blue umbrella, held by two men over the head of a very important look-

ing personage, seated cross-legged on a mat, surrounded by attendants in richly colored dresses. The chief himself, for such he was dubbed the moment we beheld him, is worthy of a particular description. His principal garment consisted of a showy robe, or mantle, of blue satin, in whose ample folds he was well nigh lost; in front hung down his venerable white beard, as far as a rich embroidered girdle, confining the robe. On his head was placed a hat of a size in proportion with that of the other parts of his dress; the rim measured not less than three feet, over which rose a very small peaked crown. In his right hand he wielded, with an air of mighty importance, a slender black rod tipped with silver, from which hung at one end a small slip of black crape, and a narrow leather thong was tied to the other end—symbolical, it was thought, of the summary course of justice in Corea. In his left hand he grasped between the thumb and little finger his pipe, trimmed, from time to time by an attendant, stationed for that purpose close to his elbow, who took the tobacco from a silver box carried by a little boy.' pp. 86-88.

'The whole procession, like a royal regatta, now proceeded slowly towards the Lyra, to the sound of the pipes, which began to play the instant the boats went on. Captain Maxwell and I rowed to one side of the brig, while the chief's boat was placed on the other in a very seaman-like style. To get on board was not so easy a matter, and it was all our discipline could accomplish to keep the sailors from laughing at the manner in which the old chief got up the gangway, encumbered as he was with his immense robes. As the evening was fine, we thought it best to entertain our guest on the quarter-deck, instead of inviting him to my little cabin, hardly large enough, as some one observed, to hold the old gentleman's hat. Chairs were accordingly brought up, but the chief seemed to despise these European inventions, and would accept of no accommodation but his own mat. Even to this he at first objected, leaving us completely perplexed to discover his wishes. It has occurred to us since, that the publicity of the conference may have displeased him, and we regretted not having carried him below, however inconvenient the accommodation. At length he sat down, and immediately the whole of his own crew, and the men from about twenty other boats, leaped on board in all directions, to assist at the ceremony. Some of them climbed into the rigging, others established themselves on the poop, and one unbroken line of copper-colored wondering faces was ranged along the hammocks from stern to stern. When every one was seated, silence and something like order was established, and the chief, drawing his pipe from his mouth, and flourishing his wand, commenced an oration which lasted fully

five minutes. When he had concluded, Captain Maxwell, who had listened with admirable gravity and a look of respectful attention, made a reply in English, not quite so long, but quite as much to the purpose. The chief opened his eyes, stared, listened, and looked round to his attendants, as if to inquire the meaning of all this ; but obtaining no satisfaction from the appeal, as they all shook their heads, he called to a person who seemed to be his secretary, and touching him with his rod, made him sit down before him. The secretary took his place with all due formality, and having rubbed his cake of Indian ink upon a neat blue stone, which he carried with him, drew forth his camel-hair brush, and arranging a long scroll of paper on his knees, began, at the chief's dictation, to write a despatch, the by-standers assisting from time to time in the composition of this document, which they no doubt thought was to set all matters right. When completed, the chief looked it over, and then handed it to us. We looked at it too, but were obliged to shrug our shoulders, and signify our ignorance with the best grace we could. The chief was exceedingly provoked, and showed by his gestures and the angry tones of his voice how stupid he thought us.' pp. 89, 90.

To account for the surprise and disappointment of the chief on this occasion, we must consider, that in China, Corea, Japan, and the neighboring islands, the same written language is universally understood, even among persons from different parts, whose conversation is totally unintelligible to each other. The Chinese characters are used for this purpose, and they communicate ideas in the same way as the Arabic numbers, which are understood by all the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the wide dissimilarity of their languages. As this was probably the first time, that the Corean chief had seen persons of so much apparent distinction, as were the officers of the vessels, who could not read the common written characters, he must be supposed to have ascribed so singular a circumstance to their obstinacy in pretending not to understand him, or to their gross ignorance, neither of which could inspire him with very high respect for his visitors. Although puzzled with this result, he soon recovered his good humor, and seemed pleased with what he saw. When he took leave of the *Lyra*, his boats were seen rowing towards the *Alceste*, which he reached just as the officers had arrived from the other vessel to receive him.

'It appeared that he had forgotten the fate of his despatch on board the *Lyra*, or else he wished once more to fathom the depth of

our ignorance, probably not conceiving it possible that the owner of such a dwelling should be unable to read or write. Whatever his reasons might be, he ordered his secretary to prepare another writing without delay, and as soon as it was examined, handed it with great formality to Captain Maxwell. The original document is now in my possession, as well as the translation, made by the interpreter to the British factory at Canton, which runs thus ;

“Persons, of what land are you ?—of what nation ? On account of what business do you come hither ? In the ship are there any literary men, who thoroughly understand, and can explain what is written ?”

‘We readily conjectured that something to this purpose must be the import of the writing. Had we known it then, however, as correctly as we do now, the knowledge would have served us little purpose, for we had no means of reply, except indeed to the latter part of the question, which Captain Maxwell answered in a manner certainly the most effectual that could be devised. He did it, however, with so much ceremony, and at the same time such perfect gravity, that it was singularly ludicrous. Having called for his clerk, he proceeded to imitate the chief, and wrote a letter which he presented with a low bow. This despatch was not quite so long as the chief’s, and contained simply this ; “I do not understand one word that you say.”’

‘The chief, not doubting in the least that he should understand the writing as soon as he looked at it, carefully inspected the paper, and turned it first one way and then another, but all to no purpose. At last he looked towards Captain Maxwell with an inquiring air, and pointed impatiently to the paper. Captain Maxwell took up the chief’s letter and did exactly the same, implying an equal degree of ignorance ; but it was not till a considerable time had elapsed that the chief saw the similarity of their predicaments, and finally gave up all hopes of communicating by any means but signs.’ pp. 94, 95.

While the vessels lay in the harbor, the old chief and many of his people came frequently on board, and were extremely curious in examining everything that could be seen, rummaging even the midshipmen’s lockers, the sailors’ chests, and invading the cook’s premises, taking due cognizance of the tea-kettles, coffee-pots, and other utensils. Some of the chief’s retinue were also busy in measuring the *Lyra* with lines and rulers, noting down particulars respecting the guns, shot, spars, rigging, and whatever else they deemed worthy of observation. They ate and drank on board with much hilarity, accommodating themselves with apparent ease to the English customs, and mutual confidence and cheerfulness

prevailed. Nothing seemed to discompose the old chief, but the proposition on the part of the officers to land, which was uniformly met with coldness. As all intercourse was carried on by signs, they thought it not expedient to understand everything that was meant to be conveyed on this subject, but resolved to man the boats and row ashore without ceremony.

'As we approached the beach, the old man's distress augmented; and when at length our keel touched the sand, and the bowman, by leaping out to fix the gang-board, actually landed on the forbidden soil, he held up his hands in despair, drooped his wo-begone countenance on one side, and drew his hand repeatedly across his throat, from ear to ear, unequivocally implying, that some one or other must lose his head on the occasion. This was perplexing enough; but as we had now fairly done the deed, and reached the shore, it was thought that without any great aggravation of the offence, we might enjoy the satisfaction of a walk in this unexplored country. Accordingly, we stepped out, followed in very miserable plight by our venerable friend. As it was low water, we had to scramble through sea-weed and wet sand for about fifty yards, before reaching a dry spot, where a halt was made in order, if possible, to console our worthy companion. We tried to signify that our wishes went no farther than to walk about for half an hour, to stretch our limbs stiffened by so long a voyage; after which it was our intention to return on board to dinner. To the latter part of our discourse, which consisted in making the action of eating and pointing to the ships, his only reply was, to repeat the beheading motion with which he had before endeavored, in the boat, to work on our fears or our compassion. "How can I eat with my head off?" was the interpretation suggested by the late Dr M'Leod, a man of infinite jest, as every one knows, who has perused his most amusing narrative. The humorous manner in which this was spoken, made all our party laugh; but our mirth only augmented the chief's distress, and we began seriously to fear that we had proceeded too far.

'The town, however, not being half a mile from the spot where we had landed, our purpose was merely to walk through it, to climb the wooded hill behind, and to return by the top of the ridge to our boats, which were ordered to wait at the beach. Before advancing many paces, however, we were surrounded by upwards of a hundred of the natives, and there was reason to think we might pay more dearly for our curiosity than at first had been reckoned upon. A word from the chief at this instant might have finished our expedition in a trice; but on appealing to him against this interruption, he spoke some words to his body-guard, which consisted of four soldiers armed with bows and

arrows. The military soon got the better of the populace, by pelting them heartily with stones; thus inverting the usage of more polished communities, where these missiles are the established weapons of the mob.

‘The road being now clear, we turned to prosecute our walk, when lo! the old chief was in tears, literally sobbing like a child, with his head resting on the courtier’s shoulder. This was rather too much; for however pitiable and ludicrous it may now seem, it had then a very different character, and all idea of going farther was instantly given up. Every one regretted that matters had been pushed to this extremity, but Captain Maxwell probably more than any other person, as he had been in some degree urged into it, against his better feelings and sounder judgment.’ pp. 106–108.

Before dismissing this portion of the author’s adventurers, we will give his description of a Corean house, which he examined on one of the islands.

‘The door was made to turn on an upright moveable bar, fitted into a cross-beam above, and a hole in the threshold stone below. Before it lay a neat smooth little court, surrounded by a close hedge, of a sweet scented red and white flower, resembling the honeysuckle in shape. On the ground were lying some bundles of corn, and two wooden mortars, with double-handed pestles, for removing the husks. Cooking utensils were ranged along the wall on one side of the door; to the left of the court were several corn stacks. The house was overshadowed by large trees, whose leaf resembled that of the Portugal laurel; and the trunks of these trees and the ends of the house were covered with a thick matting of small-leaved ivy. Nothing within corresponded to the taste and neatness of the exterior. The room, for there was but one, was dark and dirty, the walls and roof being either covered with cobwebs or glazed by the action of wood smoke. The floor was diversified by hill and dale, much in the manner of some cottages which I have seen nearer home, with the appropriate appendage of a lake here and there. The fire-place stood between two large boilers, sunk deep in rude brick-work, the use of which vessels we could not surmise. On the hot embers of the fire lay a couple of fish, one of which, a fine fresh haddock, we took the liberty of helping ourselves to, in the inhospitable absence of the rightful owners. On the wall opposite to this miserable fire-place, were ranged on two shelves a goodly store of coarse crockery, and two or three round shining metal pots and pans. On one of the shelves also stood what seemed two wooden stools, handsomely carved, and varnished with the brilliant lacker used in China. These implements, if we did not mistake their use, certainly ap-

peared much too fine for the rest of the establishment, and quite out of place standing on a shelf. The roof was of thatch, resting on a network of rods, and the eaves extended more than a yard from the walls, at once affording shade to a narrow verandah in front of the house, and giving shelter to the window from rain—a precaution quite necessary to its existence, as it was composed of oiled paper, pasted over small square openings in a wooden frame. The walls themselves were built of stones and mud, most inartificially put together—a want of neatness and skill which did not apply to the more difficult branch of architecture, the frame-work of the roof, this being constructed precisely on our principles, with a king-post and rafters, very neatly morticed in their proper places.' pp. 115, 116.

Several days were passed in sailing among the clusters of islands mentioned above, till at length the vessels departed from the coast of Corea, and proceeded directly to the Great Loo Choo island. As they approached this island, the *Lyra* narrowly escaped shipwreck on a coral reef, but, without any other danger, good anchorage was obtained in the Bay of Napakiang, in the southern part of the island. Their first interview with the natives, who came off to them in canoes before they reached Napakiang, was calculated to make a peculiarly favorable impression. 'One of them, the instant he came alongside, handed up a jar of water, and the other put on board a basket of boiled sweet potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. The manners of our new acquaintances were very gentle and respectful; they made a rule of uncovering their heads when in our presence, bowed low whenever they spoke, and, when we gave them something to eat and drink, made a low salam to every person standing near, before they tasted what was given them.' Another party, when a rope was thrown to them from the ship, 'attached a fish to it and paddled away.' These marks of extraordinary kindness at the first acquaintance promised well, and the future conduct of the people fully confirmed the favorable opinion thus formed of them by the navigators.

The earliest account of the Loo Choo islands is derived from a Chinese work, published more than a century ago. In the year 1719 the Emperor Kang-hi sent an ambassador to Loo Choo named Su-poa-koang. On his return to Peking, the year following, he published in two volumes a particular description of the islands, both in regard to their productions and the history and manners of the people. Such is the report of

the Jesuit Gaubil. Nothing more was known of Loo Choo, till it was visited by Captain Broughton about thirty years ago. He was a few days in the harbor of Napakiang, but was not permitted to land. No other European had probably visited this people before the present expedition. The island is under the Chinese government.

The ships were hardly anchored when they were surrounded by numerous canoes filled with people, many of whom came directly on board. Among these was a person of higher rank than the rest, who inquired into the motives, which induced the strangers to visit Napakiang, and gave notice that other chiefs of superior rank would shortly come off to the vessels. Luckily he could understand a Chinese servant on board, who acted the part of interpreter, and thus rendered the communication with the people of Loo Choo much more easy and satisfactory, than it had been with the suspicious Koreans. Much curiosity was excited among the inhabitants by the appearance of these new visitors. Canoes were moving rapidly around the harbor, crowds assembled on the beach, and every place suited for observation was occupied by the gazing multitude. An amicable intercourse was immediately established between the chiefs and the commanders of the vessels. Large supplies of provisions were sent to each ship, which were continued from day to day, and for which neither persuasion nor importunity could induce the chiefs to receive anything in return.

The dress of these interesting persons was singularly graceful and picturesque. It consisted of a loose flowing robe folded over the breast, so as to leave the neck bare; but fastened round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of embroidered silk, nearly hid by the overlapping folds of the drapery. The sleeves were so wide that when the arms were crossed in front, the lower part reached nearly to the knees. Each of them wore on his head a yellow cylindrical cap, and on his feet a neatly plaited straw sandal, laced over a short cotton boot or stocking. Two of the chiefs were dressed in light-colored yellow robes, the others in dark blue, streaked with white, all made of cotton. Their caps or turbans were flat at the top, and appeared to be formed by winding a broad band diagonally round a frame in such a manner, that at each turn a small portion of the last fold should be visible above in front, and below at the hinder part. The sandals were bound to the feet by a stiff straw band passing over the instep, and connected with the fore part of the sole by a slender string drawn

between the great toe and the one next to it, the stocking being oddly enough contrived with a division like the finger of a glove, to receive the great toe. Each chief carried a fan either in his hand or thrust into the girdle, together with a short tobacco-pipe and pouch, enclosed in a small bag dangling at his waist. It seemed to be the fashion of the country not to cut the beard, in the nice arrangement of which they appeared to take particular pride. That of the senior chief was nearly a foot long, while those of the two others, though much shorter, were evidently cherished with great care.' pp. 137, 138.

As in Corea, so at this place, the people of distinction that came on board were extremely curious in examining everything they could lay their eyes on. Although their curiosity was eager, yet their manners were gentle and unassuming, and they were never troublesome or obtrusive. After two or three days had passed in this interchange of kindnesses on board the vessels, Captain Maxwell intimated his intention to land, and pay his respects to the great chief of the island. This proposition at first excited a good deal of alarm, and was met by several evasions on the part of the islanders respecting the character of the great chief, his place of residence, and other particulars calculated to throw obstacles in the way. They said, for instance, that he lived a thousand miles off, although the island was hardly half that extent in its whole length. Sometimes they denied, that there was any such chief, and then they affirmed that the Loo-Chooans were by no means a people of so much consequence as the Captain would make them, and that they were wholly unworthy of the honors he designed. By one artifice of this sort after another, they actually prevented the intended visit to the king, although the vessels remained six weeks in the harbor, and the voyagers were well satisfied that his residence was in sight, shrouded in groves of trees, at a distance of three or four miles.

Permission was granted to land on the beach for the purpose of taking astronomical observations, but the persons who went on shore were carefully watched, and none was permitted to walk into the country. By degrees, however, a little more confidence was inspired, and the sailors were allowed to saunter about under the shade of trees, and to recreate themselves within a limited space. When any one of the officers attempted to extend his walks, he was instantly met by a person in authority, who reminded him of his prescribed bounds, not refraining from gentle force, if admonition did not have its

proper effect. But as peace and good humor were objects of special consequence to the visitors, they took care to avoid direct occasions of offence, and always yielded to serious alarms and obvious manifestations of displeasure. Partly by stealth, however, and partly by a bold, strait forward manner, some of the officers contrived to stroll about the immediate environs of the landing-place, and to make some discoveries in the domestic economy and rural occupations of the people. Everything indicated contentment, plenty, and happiness, with much good taste in the arrangement of their grounds, and neatness and comfort in the structure, order, and furniture of their dwellings. No women were ever seen during the whole stay of the voyagers in the harbor, except on one or two occasions, and then by accident. It is supposed, that they were sent into the country as soon as the strangers arrived.

We shall here present our readers with Captain Hall's description of a Loo Choo entertainment, to which Captain Maxwell invited himself and his party rather unceremoniously, for however prompt and generous the Loo-Chooans were in sending all kinds of provisions on board, the chiefs had never hinted that it would give them any pleasure to meet their new friends on shore. Captain Maxwell insisted, that he could not any longer deny himself the satisfaction of showing his sense of their unbounded civilities by paying his respects to them in a proper way, and made it known to them that he should land for this purpose. Finding the Captain determined on this point, some preparation seems to have been made for the event, as will appear by the following extract.

‘After a good deal of consideration, it was agreed that Captain Maxwell should take with him several dozens of wine, some books, two looking-glasses, various trinkets, and a large piece of blue broad cloth. I took half the quantity of Captain Maxwell's presents. Smaller donations were also made up for each of the chiefs. Thus prepared, we set out at one o'clock in the Ambassador's barge, with a large union-jack flying ; and the wind being fair, soon reached the harbor. As we rowed past the shore, the people were seen running along the different roads leading into the town, so that by the time we reached the entrance, the crowd on both sides was immense, and the sight as striking and animated as can well be conceived.

‘On our entering the harbor, four or five of the chiefs came down to a point of land, and made signs, by waving their hands, that we must row past the end of a pier or mole, forming the

inner harbor. By the time we had performed this circuit, the chiefs were ready to receive us at the landing-place. They gave us their hands to help us from the boats, and then conducted us along the shore, Ookooma taking Captain Maxwell's hand, the chief called Shayoon giving me his, and Jeema taking charge of Mr Clifford. The other natives, according to their rank, conducted Dr M'Leod, surgeon of the *Alceste*, Mr John Maxwell, the commodore's son, and another midshipman, Mr Browne, selected to accompany us on account of his proficiency as a draughtsman. They held our hands nearly as high as the shoulder, and we moved along pretty much in the fashion of a minuet, with a sort of measured step, which made it still more ludicrous. In this manner they carried us through a lane opened for us among silent, gazing crowds of people. The children were, as usual, placed in front, three or four deep, all shining in their best dresses, and looking as happy as possible. The next two or three ranks crouched down, so as just to look over the heads of the children, and in order to allow those behind to see us in passing. By these arrangements many more could obtain a good sight of the strangers, than if they had been crowded indiscriminately together. We were thus paraded slowly along for about a hundred and fifty yards, till we reached the gate of a handsome wooden temple, where we were met by the principal chief, our guest of the preceding day, who stood just outside of the threshold on a small square pavement of polished stones. Ookooma, who had brought Captain Maxwell thus far, now relinquished his office to the old chief, who gave his hand, and showed the way to a small flight of steps leading to the temple, two sides of which were completely thrown open, and the whole skirted by deep verandahs, precautions which rendered the interior shady and cool. The apartment was large, and neatly furnished with gaudy paintings hung round the walls, richly carved wooden cornices and pillars, and everything shining with the brilliant varnish in which the Chinese excel all other nations. In the centre stood a large table, finely japanned, and two ornamental high-backed chairs, one on each side of the chief's seat for Captain Maxwell and me; benches being placed at the sides of the table for the other gentlemen.

'The chief, as soon as the party were all seated, opened the conversation by expressing how much gratified he had been by the reception he had met with the day before, and how glad he was to see us at his table. He then asked our ages, begged to know which of us were married, which single, and expressed himself greatly pleased with the account of Captain Maxwell's family, which happened to correspond exactly as to numbers and age with his own. But he could scarcely be made to believe that young Maxwell, a strapping youth of six feet, was not more than

sixteen years of age, insisting that he must be at least six-and-twenty. The same mistake was often made by the natives, who judged of the ages of our young men by their height alone. After some time spent in this easy kind of friendly chit-chat, a wine which they called sackee was handed round in very diminutive cups, filled to the brim by one of the chiefs, out of a small metal pot, in which this beverage was kept constantly warm. The chief and his companions, after we had drank, followed our example, and took off their cups fairly; and during the whole feast the sackee pot never left the table, being considered a proper accompaniment to all the strange messes which were brought in one at a time, and handed round by the attendants. When the first dish was placed on the table, a pair of chopsticks was given to each person present, and these were not changed during the feast.

‘Chopsticks, it is possibly not generally known, are two polished pieces of ivory or of some hard wood, about a foot in length, and as thick as an ordinary quill. They are used instead of knives and forks in China, and all the countries in that quarter of the world. They are both held in the right hand, one being fixed and the other moveable; so that the meat is caught up, as it were, by a pair of pincers. The middle of that chopstick, which is fixed, rests on the tip of the third finger and its top in the hollow space between the thumb and the knuckle of the fore finger; the moveable one is grasped by the fore and middle fingers and thumb. Until the manner of using these implements is learned, they are perfectly useless; and the chief observing some of us make no advances in acquiring the requisite knowledge, ordered sharp-pointed sticks to be given to us, that we might fork up our meat. As this would not do for rice, however, we resumed the chopsticks, but could make little progress, till we observed how the natives ate it, and even then our imitation was not very successful. They held the bowl in which it was contained close to their mouths as if going to drink, and then by means of the implements described, tumbled or rather stuffed in the rice till their mouths were quite full, sometimes also accelerating its farther progress by the agency of the chopsticks, in a very ludicrous manner.

‘The next dish, consisting of slices of fish fried in butter, we found excellent; after this, came smoked pork sliced, and then pig’s liver cut into small square pieces and boiled. Then tea was handed round, which was quite new, and not very good in its way, resembling, as our facetious doctor observed, more an infusion of hay than anything else. The short intervals between the numerous courses, were filled up with smoking, our pipes being filled and lighted by an attendant, whose sole business it was to run about with a small bag in his hand, and watch when any one required tobacco, which was not unfrequently, as the pipes were so

diminutive that some of the gentlemen of our party found no difficulty in smoking nine of them during the feast. The next dish was the oddest thing we had yet seen in the way of eatables, its very appearance disgusting most of the party; it consisted of coarse, very black sugar, wrapped up in unbaked dough, powdered over with rice flour, dyed of a yellow color. This dish was certainly very unpalatable, but most of the others were so good, that we made a hearty dinner long before the feast was over. The succession of dishes, however, continued without intermission, till our goodhumored host, seeing we no longer ate anything, ordered them all away, and then, suiting the action to the word, recommended the sackée by pledging us over and over again.

‘By carrying this good example a little too far, the old gentleman’s eyes at length began to glisten, the remaining crust of formality fell off, and observing that the room was hot, he requested us to take our hats off, as, till now, according to Loo Choo custom, we had kept them on. The chief, who by this time was quite in a merry mood, seized Dr M’Leod’s cocked hat and fixed it on his own head, while the Doctor, who was never slow to profit by a good hint, did the same with the chief’s hatchee-matchee, or band turban. The oddity of this transfer fairly overcame the gravity of all present; and excited the rapturous mirth of the chief’s sons, two fine little boys, in gaudy dresses and high top-knots of hair, who stood one on each side of his chair during all the entertainment.’ pp. 170–175.

We should gladly enter more minutely into Captain Hall’s account of this peculiar and interesting people, but we could do little justice to the subject within the limits to which we are necessarily confined. The picture he draws contains a great variety of objects, well selected, and skilfully delineated. Could the Loo-Chooans read his book, they would be ungrateful if they did not accord to him unmingled praise for his favorable opinion of their character and manners; and they would at least allow him the merit of a goodnatured observer, whatever they might think of the freedom with which he speaks of their jealousy and caution. The following is the description of the departure from Loo Choo. It may be premised that Maddra was a person, who had been much on board, was a favorite with every body, and had made considerable progress in the English language during the short space of six weeks.

‘At day-break on Sunday, the twenty-seventh of October, 1816, we unmoored; upon which the natives, seeing us take up one of our anchors, naturally thought we were going to sea imme-

diately, and meant to give them the slip without bidding adieu. This was very far from our intention; but the alarm spread immediately, and brought the chiefs off in a great hurry; not in a body, in their ordinary formal way, but one by one, as they could find separate canoes to paddle them from the shore. Old Jeema, called on board the *Lyra* on his way to the frigate; he was a good deal agitated, and the tears came into his eyes when I drew a ring from my finger and placed it on his, in exchange for a knife, which he took from his girdle to present to me.

'The other chiefs called alongside on their way to the frigate, but they went on when I told them I was just going to the *Alceste* myself. In the meantime poor Maddra came on board with the sextant in his hand; he was in such distress that he scarcely knew what he was about. In this distracted state he sat down to breakfast with us, during which he continued lighting his pipe and smoking as fast as he could; instinctively drinking and eating whatever was placed before him. In a little while he recovered his composure in some degree, and asked what books it would be necessary for him to read, in order to understand the use of the sextant; I gave him a nautical almanac, and told him he must understand that in the first instance; he opened it, and attentively looking at the rows of figures for a few minutes, held up his hands in absolute despair, being at last forced to confess it a hopeless business; he then put the sextant into its case, and bade us farewell. Before leaving the *Lyra*, he gave Mr Clifford his pipe and tobacco-pouch, with a crystal ornament attached to it, saying, as he held them out, "You go Ingeree, you give this to your child." Mr Clifford gave him a few presents in return, and expressed his anxiety to be always remembered as his friend. Maddra, with great earnestness, and with the tears streaming down his cheeks, placed his hand several times upon his heart, and cried, "Eedooshee, eedooshee!"—My friend, my friend!

'To me he gave a fan, and a large picture of a man looking up at the sun, drawn, he said, by himself, probably in allusion to my usual occupation at the observatory. After he put off in his boat, he stood up and called out several times, "Ingery noo choo sibity yootusha,"—I shall always remember the English people. When he went to the *Alceste*, one of the chiefs remarked to him, that he had come on board without his hatchee-matchee, or his state robes, and told him it was not respectful to wait upon Captain Maxwell for the last time, in his ordinary dress; particularly as all the others were in full array. Maddra, who, poor fellow, had been too much concerned about other matters to think of dress, was distressed at this apparent neglect of propriety, and immediately apologized to Captain Maxwell, who took him kindly by the hand, and, giving him a present, told him, he was always much too happy to see him to notice what dress he had on.

‘On going to the *Alceste*, I found the chiefs seated in the cabin, all looking very disconsolate. We tried in vain to engage them in conversation ; but their wonted cheerfulness had quite deserted them ; and, indeed, it was natural that they should be so affected, for, unlike their visiters, these simple people could have had little experience of parting scenes.

‘I took this opportunity of giving each of the chiefs some trinket, as a farewell present, and they in return gave me their pipes, fans, and knives, as memorials, accompanied by many friendly expressions. Mutual assurances then passed between us, of being long remembered, and the natives rose to take their last leave of us. *Ookooma*, who, as well as the others, was much agitated, endeavored to say something, but his heart was full, and he could not utter a word. The rest did not attempt to speak ; and before they reached their boats, they were all in tears. *Madra*, who was the last to quit the ship, cried bitterly as he wrung the hands of his numerous friends, who crowded round him, and loaded him with presents.

‘While we were heaving up the anchor, the natives assembled not only in canoes round the ships, but in vast crowds along the neighboring heights ; and as we sailed away, they all stood up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs till they could no longer be distinguished.’ pp. 275-277.

Among the most extraordinary particulars related by Captain Hall of the *Loo-Chooans*, is the fact that neither arms nor money of any sort were found in the island, nor any knowledge of either obtained from the inhabitants. Although the travelers saw no evidences of these potent engines so universally used in carrying on the operations of civilized society, it hardly follows that nothing of the kind actually exists. *Grosier*, probably on the authority of *Su-poa-koang*’s work above mentioned, speaks of their tribunals of war, their manufactories of arms, and their soldiers, which would imply at least that they have at some time known other arts than those of peace. As to money, it is very possible that they have no use for it. Even in China it is comparatively little used. Taxes in that country are for the most part paid in articles of produce, and the salaries of the Emperor’s officers are likewise paid in the same, such as grain, silk, and cloth. The first currency in China was in shells, but it is now extended to silver and copper. The silver pieces are exchanged by weight, the copper coin being the only one that passes by stamp. It is common for traders to keep constantly with them small scales for the purpose of weighing silver, and scissors to clip

pieces of a suitable size. Dollars may perhaps pass as currency in the neighborhood of Canton, where they are brought in such numbers, that the people have learnt their uniform weight, but we have seen that they would not take them in remote provinces.

Captain Hall mentioned to Bonaparte, whom he afterwards visited at St Helena, the circumstance of there being no arms among the Loo-Chooans. 'No arms!' he exclaimed, 'that is to say, no cannons. They have muskets?' 'Not even muskets,' I replied. 'Well, then, lances, or at least bows and arrows?' I told him they had neither one nor the other. 'Nor poignards?' cried he, with increasing vehemence. 'No, none.' 'But,' said Bonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch, 'but, without arms how do they fight?' Driven to this corner, the Captain could only reply, that they had no wars. '*No wars!*' reiterated the ex-emperor, with an expression of countenance, which showed how little credit he was disposed to give to such a report. He seemed equally incredulous, when he was told the Loo-Chooans had no money.

The two last chapters in Captain Hall's volume, the one on his interview with Bonaparte at St Helena, and the other describing Captain Maxwell's attack on the batteries at Canton, contain entertaining matter, and are written with spirit and vivacity. Indeed we think the author's style uniformly happy, and peculiarly well suited to this species of composition. He is a discriminating observer, his topics are selected with good judgment and good taste, his language is terse, appropriate, and varied; sometimes perhaps a little too much studied, but never stiff nor ponderous. In short, we could hardly name a better model of journal-writing, than the little volume, whose contents we have just been reviewing; and whoever would read for the double purpose of instruction and amusement, will find themselves richly compensated for the time they may give to its perusal.

ART. X.—*Bericht über die Naturhistorischen Reisen der Herren Ehrenberg und Hemprich, durch Aegypten, Dongola, Syrien, Arabien, und den östlichen Abfall des Habessinian Hochlandes, in den Jahren 1820—1825.* Gelesen in der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, von Alexander von Humboldt. Berlin. Gedruckt in der Druckerei der Königlichen Academie der Wissenschaften. 1826.

Report of the Researches in various Branches of Natural History made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, on their Travels through Egypt, Dongola, Syria, Arabia, and the Eastern Slope of the Abyssinian Highlands in the Years 1820—1825. Read before the Royal Academy of Sciences, by Alexander Von Humboldt. Berlin; printed at the press of the Royal Academy of Sciences, 1826.

THERE is perhaps no department of knowledge, in which the difference between the ancient and modern literature is more apparent, than that, with which the work just named is connected,—we mean the department of Voyages and Travels. The *literature of travels* (if we may be allowed so to speak) can scarcely be said to have had any existence in ancient days. Travelling, indeed, was then, for the most part, a difficult, and even a dangerous business. We have only to recollect, that the Roman word, *hostis*, means *stranger* and *enemy*, and it will be easy to believe what has now been stated. The character of the Romans was indeed, in this respect, more exclusive than that of the Greeks, who, at some periods of their history, were great travellers. They however divided mankind into Greek and Barbarian, and although the polite Athenian made a distinction between *ἐχθρὸς* and *παρεπίδημος*, yet he acknowledged no standard of civilization but his own. As stranger and enemy were synonymous to the Romans, so *ἄλλόφυλος* is employed by the Seventy to designate a Philistine, or any heathen enemy of the Jews.

The difference between ancient and modern times, in regard to books of travels, is felt at once when we ask the question, Where in Greek, Roman, Egyptian, ancient Arabian, or other ancient literature, is there any work of this nature to be found? Not that there were no scientific travellers, in ancient times. We know the contrary to be true. But the result of their

journeys was embodied in other forms, than that of an itinerary. Solon composed no book of travels. Herodotus visited Egypt, Syria, and Persia, for the sake of making historical inquiries; and the result of these he has embodied in his history. Other ancient historians and antiquaries did the same. Ancient philosophers, lawgivers, geographers, poets, biographers, and letter-writers, have also left us many monuments of their personal acquaintance with nations and countries foreign to their own. Still there is no work, descending to us from antiquity, which has any near resemblance to the itineraries of the present time.

There is, indeed, a book called the 'Itinerary of Antonine,' drawn up by order of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor, which was designed to show all the great roads in the empire, and all the stations of the Roman army. In its present form this work is very defective, having probably suffered much in the hands of copyists. At best, too, it appears to have been only a kind of 'travelling register'; amounting to little more than an official report of military posts, and the distances between them.

The first work among the Arabians, which seems to approach very nearly to the shape of more modern Travels, appears to be that composed by Abdollatif, about the year 1200. Before this time, geographical works, the result of travels and observations, had been composed by Arabian authors. Such was that of Ibn Haukal, who wrote, in the latter half of the tenth century, a kind of universal geography. A similar work was composed by Edrisi, in the twelfth century. But Abdollatif visited Egypt in person, resided there for a length of time, and, during his abode in that country, composed 'Histories and profitable Remarks on things which he had seen in Egypt, and on the occurrences which he had there witnessed.' The work contains valuable observations on the physical condition of that country, and of its inhabitants, and also respecting its antiquities. It has been translated into Latin by Professor White of Oxford, and into German by Professor Wahl of Halle.

Many other geographers and historians, of particular countries, appeared in the Arabic not long after the time of Abdollatif; but none of them, for some time, came so near as he, to the modern method of writing travels.

Something of the same feeling, which roused the nations of

Europe to vie with each other, in the toils and sufferings of the crusades, appears to have given birth to the literature of travels, in its more appropriate shape. The superstition which had, for a long time, attached such high estimation and reverence to the relics, which were said to have come from the Holy Land, and which were borne in solemn procession through all the great cities and large towns of Europe, as objects entitled to a species of adoration; this same superstition would, of course, regard Palestine itself as an object of the most intense interest, and would create an ardent desire to gain all the knowledge respecting it, which could be had. It was to gratify this curiosity, that some of the pilgrims to the Holy Land, who belonged to the company that made the first crusade, undertook to describe the events which occurred during their journey, and the objects which they found in Palestine. Ruperti, a monk of Bergen, who marched with the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, was the first, we believe, who composed such a narration. Every successive crusade gave occasion to new ones, of a similar nature. Not long after the art of printing came to be in general use, books of this kind had become so numerous, and were in so great demand, that a kind of *Corpus* of them was published by Sigmund Feyereabend, in one considerable volume, printed in the year 1583. As this edition was soon sold off, and as it did not comprise all the works of the same nature which might have been included, Nicolaus Noth, of Frankfort on the Mayne, republished it with additions, in two folio volumes, in the year 1609. This collection embraced twenty-one Itineraries, beginning with that of Ruperti mentioned above, and ending with that of John Schwallart (Zuallart), a native of the Netherlands. A number of these Itineraries were composed in Latin, French, and various other languages of Europe; which were all translated (some of them very poorly) into the German, and printed by Noth in this language. To the whole collection thus made, was given the name of *Reissbuch des heiliges Landes*, that is, 'Itinerary of the Holy Land.'

Similar to this work, in manner and spirit, is another collection, entitled *Voyages faits principalement en Asie, dans les XII., XIII., XIV., et XV. siècles, par Benjamin de Tudèle, Jean du Plan Carpin, &c.; par Pierre Bergeron, Haag, 1735. 2 tom. folio.* The greatest curiosity in this book (and it is indeed a singular production) is the famous 'Itinerary'

of Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew, and a native of the province of Navarre. He set out on his journey in the year 1160, and travelled by land to Constantinople. Thence he proceeded through the countries north of the Euxine and Caspian seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. Thence he went to farther India, traversed various provinces in that region, embarked on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands, and thence returned to Europe, by the way of Egypt, after an absence of thirteen years. He died in 1173. His Itinerary was composed in Hebrew, and printed in that language, first at Constantinople, in 1543; next, at Ferrara, in 1556; and lastly at Breisgau, in 1583. A Latin translation of it was made by Arias Montanus, and published at Antwerp in 1575. Another Latin translation of it, with the corresponding columns of the original Hebrew, was published at Leyden, in small octavo, in the year 1633, by Constantine L' Empereur, professor of Hebrew at the University in that city.

In the article devoted to Benjamin of Tudela in Rees's Cyclopædia, the edition of his work published by the rabbis of Constantinople, is absurdly represented as containing the Latin version of the Benedictine Montanus; while it is still more ridiculously stated, in reference to the other translation, that 'Benjamin's book was translated by the emperor Constantine!' A pretty fair specimen this of Cyclopædia learning.

About a century after L' Empereur's edition of the work of Benjamin (1633), it met with a most singular editor in the person of John Philip Baratier, born at Schwabach in Nuremberg, in 1721. He is said to have understood the Greek, Latin, German, and French languages, when he was five years old. At the age of nine, he could translate the Hebrew language into the Latin or French; and the Latin and French into the Hebrew. He could repeat the whole book of Psalms in Hebrew, *memoriter*, at the same age; and when he was ten, he is represented as having composed a Lexicon of rare and difficult words, with curious critical remarks. At this age he joined the University of Altdorf, and addressed a letter, in French, to M. Le Maître, minister of the French church at Schwabach, respecting a new edition of the Bible, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Rabbinic; which letter is preserved in volume twenty-sixth of the 'Bibliothèque Germanique.' At the age of thirteen, he published his version of Benjamin's Itinerary, in French, entitled 'Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin,' &c., 2 vols.

Amsterdam, 1734. It is allowed, by all competent judges, that he has corrected many errors of the veteran Hebraists, Montanus and L'Empereur; and besides this, he has added many notes and dissertations, which exhibit a high degree of critical skill and accuracy, and a profound and extensive knowledge. His notes seem to have been the first thing which destroyed the credit of the Rabbi's Itinerary, showing that it was filled with the most senseless fables, and that it abounded in the most obvious mistakes respecting the relative distances of places, and other things of the like nature. This was the downfall of the book; which after having gone through three Hebrew and two Latin editions, and circulated widely over Europe, and been greatly honored and much credited among learned men, came to its end by the fatal attack of a child of thirteen years of age.

Sed manum de tabulâ. We must proceed on our way. We do not intend to write a Bibliotheca of Travels; certainly not a *general* one; and with regard to the countries of hither Asia, with the adjacent ones on the continents of Africa and Europe, we shall only glance at some of the Travels, which give the most credible and valuable accounts of them. These countries are connected so intimately with the writings of classical authors, both sacred and profane, that no lover of literature can help feeling a deep interest in them, and a corresponding desire to know what are the best sources from which he can draw his knowledge. The work, too, which is announced at the head of this article, naturally leads us to dwell for a few moments, on those which have preceded it.

Ten years after the work of Rabbi Benjamin was printed, namely, in 1558, Pierre B. du Mans published, at Paris, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularités et Choses Mémoires, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres Pays Estranges.* This author was distinguished as a learned and accurate naturalist; and his work may be considered as one of the first, which bore any considerable resemblance to the form which accounts of Travels have since assumed in the hands of the great masters in this branch of science. The principal design of the writer was to describe natural objects. Manners and customs, civil, social, and domestic regulations and arrangements, are merely secondary with him, although he does not neglect them. So valuable is this work, that Professor Paulus of Heidelberg, in his 'Collec-

tion of Travels,' has printed copious extracts from it, accompanied with the annotations of a naturalist. The author was murdered in the forest of Boulogne, in 1564.

In 1583, was published in Neuburg of Bavaria, Leonharti Rauwolf's *Beschreibung der Raiss* [Reise] *in die Morgenländer, fürnehmlich Syriam, Judæam, Arabiam, Mesopotamiam, Babyloniam, Assyriam, Armeniam, etc.* The author was a physician by profession, and so careful and accurate an observer of men and manners, that his book has continued in use down to the present time.

A useful book was published in 1614, at Antwerp, by N. C. Radzivill, entitled *Jerosolymitana Peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis, Nicolai Christophori Radzivili*. In 1619, appeared also at Antwerp, one of the most useful of all the old works of this nature, and indeed, a master-piece for the time in which it was written. It was entitled *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, a Joanne Cotovico, J. V. D. et Milite Hierosolymitano*. 'From this work,' says Lüdeke in his 'History of the Turkish Empire,' 'much has been extracted by authors, without giving credit for it.'

But a greater work appeared in 1658–1663, in four volumes, quarto, by *Pietro della Valle*, a most learned and interesting man and author. He was a Roman nobleman, and published his work in Italian. He commenced travelling in 1614, went through Egypt, Turkey, Persia, India, etc., and in 1626 returned to Rome, where his work was composed, and printed some thirty years afterwards. One of the first geniuses of this age (Göthe, in the *Divan*) has given us a delightful sketch of the life of Della Valle. In the conclusion of it he says (as a kind of apology for dwelling on this subject), 'It may be proper to remark, that every one is prone to give the preference to that way, in which he has himself attained to a knowledge of anything; and also to introduce others to it, and initiate them into it. With this intention, have I given a particular description of Pietro della Valle, because he was the traveller, by whom the peculiarities of the East were first made known to me in the clearest manner; and to my partiality it appears, that by means of his representations, I first gained some ground which was appropriate to my *Divan*. I could wish this might serve to excite others, at the present time (which abounds so much in sheets and pamphlets), to read through a folio, by which they might come to a definite knowledge of an important

part of the world, one which in the latest books of travels is superficially changed, but which remains essentially the same as it appeared to our distinguished traveller, at the time when he wrote.' We have only to add, that Della Valle was the first man, in modern times, who made known the Samaritans to the European world. It was he who procured, at Damascus, in 1616, the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch that came to Europe. Della Valle purchased it for the French consul, De Sancy, afterwards bishop of St Malo, who presented it to the Fathers of the Oratory, at Paris; and there it was published by Morin, and became the ground-text of all succeeding editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In 1647, appeared at Schlesswig, the *Travels of A. Olearius*, in German. He was a counsellor in the suite of the embassy, which Frederic the Third, duke of Schlesswig and Holstein, sent through Muscovy, to the court of Persia. His work is among the best of those which respect the countries travelled by the embassy.

In 1676, J. B. Tavernier, baron of Aubonne, published his *Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, faits pendant l'espace de quarante ans*. These *Voyages* he made in the capacity of a jewel-merchant; in which character he gained access to all classes of people. His long continued intercourse with the East gave him the best opportunities for accurate information. His work has had great credit, and been often reprinted.

In 1686, Sir John Chardin, by birth a Frenchman, published, at London, an abridged edition of his *Travels*; and more fully afterwards, in 1711, at Amsterdam, in three volumes quarto, and in ten volumes duodecimo. Chardin, also, visited Persia and other parts of the East, in the quality of a jewel-merchant, and gained access to all classes of people. So great is the worth of his work, that it has been lately republished at Paris, by L. Langlès, member of the National Institute, Professor of Persian, etc., in ten volumes octavo, with maps and plates. The title is, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres Lieux de l'Orient, etc.* Descendants of Sir John Chardin were among the French Huguenot emigrants to this country.

Laurent d'Arvieux, long conversant with the East, and for many years French consul at Aleppo, left behind him papers, at his death, which happened in 1702, that were afterwards

published by order of Lewis the Fourteenth, in 1717, at Paris, by M. de la Roque. His account of the Bedouin Arabs, in particular, has been generally regarded as the best which has been given. It was translated into German, and republished in 1789, by E. F. K. Rosenmueller, at Leipzig. The largest and best edition of D'Arvieux is that published at Paris, in 1735, in eight volumes octavo, entitled *Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, contenant ses Voyages, &c.*

A useful work, with special reference to places named in the Bible, is that of Franz Ferdinand Von Troilo, entitled *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibung*, printed at Dresden in 1677, and several times repeated. The author was four years in the East.

In 1665, was published at Paris, *Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant, etc., par. Mr de Thevenot*; and in 1674 and 1684, additions to the above work. Of this work, Rosenmueller, the present eminent Professor of Oriental Literature at Leipzig, says, 'The notices are altogether simple and artless, and show a good talent at observation, as well as sound judgment. The work deserves to be better esteemed, than it has been of late.'

One of the most useful of all the *Thesauri* of Oriental Travels, is the work of Engelbert Kaempfer, Lemgo, 1712, entitled *Amœnitatum Exoticarum Politico-physico-medicarum Fasciculi V., quibus continentur variae Relationes, Observationes, Descriptiones, etc.* He was secretary to the Swedish legation in the East, where, during a residence of ten years, he had an excellent opportunity to make himself acquainted with the subject on which he has written, in its various branches.

Maundrell's '*Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem,*' contains useful things, in respect to both the antiquities and the geography of the sacred Scriptures. Maundrell was chaplain of the English factory at Aleppo, where, of course, he enjoyed distinguished opportunities for observation; but his work is on the whole but meagre.

We pass over Paul Lucas' *Voyage au Levant*, 1705, more splendid than solid; and also over a volume of Travels by Nyenburgh and Heyman, 1757, 1758, a work valuable, we believe, for those who can use it; but existing, as yet, only in the Dutch language. Tournefort's *Relation d'un voyage au Levant, etc.*, Paris, 1717, and often reprinted, is one of the richest works of his times, for comparative geography, and for the science of botany.

One of the most important of all the books of travels, which have reference to the East, is that published by Dr Thomas Shaw, in 1738, with a Supplement, in 1746. It is entitled *Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant, &c.* Shaw was born at Kendall, in Westmoreland, in 1692, and was educated at the University of Oxford. At the age of twenty-seven he took orders, and was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Algiers. During a residence there of twelve years, he made various excursions, for literary and scientific purposes, into Barbary, Egypt, Syria, and the Levant. He was possessed of great learning, of sound judgment, and of the power to an uncommon degree of acute and discriminating observation. His work is not disposed in the usual method of a journal, but arranged systematically, according to the nature of the subjects treated. It is a rich treasure of geographical, physical, and antiquarian knowledge; most of it referring, more or less directly, to the sacred Scriptures. In 1733, the author returned to England; and in 1740, he was appointed Principal of Edmund Hall, at Oxford; and afterwards Regius Professor of Greek. He died in 1751. His 'Travels' have been often reprinted; and they deserve a new edition, at the present time, being of unspeakably more value than a great part of the superficial works, which pour like a flood from the presses of the present day.

The *Travels* of Charles Thompson, into various countries of the East, printed in 1744; and Mr Otter's *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, printed at Paris in 1748, are not worthy of very special notice. Of a far different character is the great work of Richard Pococke, published at London, 1743-1745, in three volumes folio, and entitled *Observations on Egypt, Palestine, the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus.* Pococke was a proficient in the knowledge of the classics and of antiquities; and his work has generally been regarded as one of the most important of all those which have respect to the East. It has been often reprinted, and many editions of it have been published in the German language. After all, however, it is not so much to be relied on as the work of Shaw. The author was in the East less than half the period of time that Shaw resided there. Pococke very often relates what others told him, and what he believed upon their credit; and not unfrequently, as Michaelis has said, 'one must distinguish between Pococke the eye-witness, and Pococke who heard the

story of others.' And the difficulty is, that the author has written in such a way, that oftentimes this distinction is not easily made. Pococke made some severe criticisms on the work of Shaw abovementioned; but the latter triumphantly vindicated himself, in the supplementary volume of 1746. Richard Pococke, the traveller, is not to be confounded (as he often has been) with the great Orientalist, Edward Pococke, first Professor of Arabic at Oxford, who resided six years at Aleppo, was worthy of a place among the most distinguished scholars of any age, and lived nearly a century earlier than our traveller.

In 1752, the work of F. L. Norden, entitled *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie*, was printed in two volumes folio, at Copenhagen, under the patronage of Christian the Sixth, King of Denmark; which was translated into English, and published at London, 1757; and republished, in the original, by L. Langlès, at Paris, in 1795, in three volumes quarto, with maps, plates, copious notes, and a full index.

Alexander Russell, in 1756, published *The Natural History of Aleppo, &c.* He was a physician to the English factory at Aleppo, for eleven years; and his remarks exhibit a minute and thorough knowledge of the plants, animals, climate, diseases, &c. of that oriental region. The book has been often printed in England and in Germany.

But the greatest naturalist, of former days, who travelled in the East, still remains to be mentioned. This was Frederic Hasselquist, a pupil and friend of Linnæus. Hasselquist was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm and Upsala, and visited Palestine, during the years 1749–1752. He died at Smyrna, on his return from that country, in 1752; and his *Iter Palestinum* was drawn up by Linnæus himself, from the notes of Hasselquist, and by order of the queen of Sweden. The work extends to Egypt, as well as to Palestine, and remains, to the present time, one of the most distinguished of all the works which respect natural science, in regard to the East.

We pass by the less important productions of Ives, 1773; of G. Mariti, 1768; and of G. Höst, 1781; for the sake of touching more at large upon the noble work of C. Niebuhr, first published in 1772 at Copenhagen, entitled *Beschreibung von Arabien*; and at Paris, in 1779, with the title, *Description de l'Arabie*, which is one of the best editions of the work. The expedition to which Niebuhr was attached, so much re-

sembled that of Professors Ehrenberg and Hemprich, an account of which we have proposed to give, that it will not here be inappropriate to dwell a few moments upon it.

Michaelis, of Göttingen, was really the original author of this famous expedition. He wrote to Count Bernstorff, one of the most intelligent and energetic of the king of Denmark's ministers, and urged him to persuade the king to fit out a literary expedition to Arabia, for the mere purpose of promoting a knowledge of the East. Bernstorff, following the suggestions of his friend at Göttingen, persuaded Frederic to engage in this undertaking. Five distinguished men were nominated, for this purpose. F. C. von Haven was to take charge of the department of languages; Peter Forskal, of natural history; C. C. Cramer, of medical science, with special regard to medicinal plants; Carsten Niebuhr, of astronomy and geography; and G. G. Baurenfeind was to superintend the drawings necessary for illustration. This important mission embarked at Copenhagen, January 4th, 1761, but did not arrive at Mocha, in Yemen of Arabia, until the end of December, 1762. Here, in about five months, Von Haven died; in two months more, Forskal deceased at Yerim, a village of Yemen; in another month, Baurenfeind fell a sacrifice to disease, at the island of Socotra, on his way to Bombay; and about six months after this, Cramer also died at Bombay.

Niebuhr, thus left alone, was not discouraged from his undertaking. He spent ten years in the East, principally in Arabia, and then, on his return, published not only the work which has been mentioned above, but also *Descriptiones Animalium, Avium, Amphibiorum, Piscium, Insectorum, Vermium, quæ in itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskal*, taken from the notes of this skillful naturalist. To this was subjoined, from the same source, a botanical work, *Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica*; both printed at Copenhagen, in 1775.

Michaelis, at whose suggestion, as we have observed, this literary expedition had been sent out, drew up, for the sake of assisting their inquiries, a great number of questions, pertaining to various departments of literature and science, but especially to philology; which were published in an octavo volume, at Frankfort on the Mayne, in 1762, and forwarded to Niebuhr by the Swedish minister; a book, which does no less honor to his memory, than the mission itself does to Frederic the Fifth, who sent it out, and to Christian the Seventh, his successor,

who, after the death of Frederic, continued to support and cherish it.

The fruits of this expedition have been lasting. Niebuhr has been regarded, by all competent judges, as one of the most sober, judicious, authentic, and instructive of all the travellers whose works have appeared for the last half century. His work is a kind of classic, in respect to the countries of which it treats. The notes of his friend Forskal, are also regarded as one of the most scientific and authentic sources of natural knowledge, in respect to the East.

The later Travels into the East are so well known, that we shall do nothing more than advert to them, in the briefest manner; and this, only in respect to a few of the more valuable. Bruce's 'Travels in Egypt and Abyssinia' came out with a brilliant reputation; then declined almost to the ranks of romance; and are now rising again in credit. Eyles Irwin, Sonnini, C. F. Volney, W. G. Browne, G. H. Olivier, E. D. Clarke, F. A. Chateaubriand, F. J. Mayeaux, J. H. Mayr, and T. R. Joliffe, have all published works of value, the result of their travels in the East. The most splendid work of this nature ever published, and which is not likely soon to have a rival, is the *Description de l'Egypte*, begun under Bonaparte, and completed by the present government of France. In the expedition to Egypt, undertaken by Napoleon, were included a large company of learned men, in various departments of the arts and sciences. Their stay was short in Egypt; but, while there, they were exceedingly active, and the result of their labors has been published in the imperial work just designated. A commission was named by Bonaparte to superintend its publication; the members of which were Berthollet, Conté, Costaz, Degenettes, Fourier, Girard, Lancret, and Monge. Conté and Lancret died, during the publication; and in their room were named Jomard and Jollois; to whom were also added Delile and Devilliers. The work consists of nine volumes, each of the size of three folios, made up of plates; five volumes for the antiquities; two volumes illustrative of the present state of Egypt, and two for natural history. The Atlas consists of fifty sheets. The plates and atlas are accompanied with appropriate *Explications des Planches, Descriptions, and Mémoires*. The whole costs above one thousand dollars. A copy of this most magnificent work has been presented to the library of Harvard University,

by one of her liberal and public-spirited *alumni*, of whom she can truly boast that she has very many. A cheaper edition of this work (in which, we believe, the same plates have been employed) has been published, at Paris, since 1821, by the bookseller Mr Pancoucke. Public libraries may afford to purchase this. The text of this edition is printed in octavo, so as to be convenient for reading. Of this great work, we propose at some future period to submit to our readers a more detailed account.

In 1803, U. J. Seezen commenced a journey to the East, and explored Syria, the Dead Sea, and parts of Arabia. He was murdered by the wild Arabs in 1811. The letters of this distinguished traveller, respecting the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were published by Baron de Zach, in his *Monatlichen Correspondenz* of 1808.

Very distinguished works in the department with which we are now concerned, are those of James Morier, particularly, his *Second Journey through Persia, &c.*; of Sir W. Ouseley, Secretary to the Persian embassy, under Sir G. Ouseley; of J. L. Burckhardt, published after his death by the Association for promoting discoveries, &c. in England, and translated by Gesenius into the German language. Robert Ker Porter has also published a very valuable work on Georgia, Persia, Armenia, &c. Other works by Hamilton, Legh, and M. A. Scholz, professor of theology at Bonn, deserve very respectful mention.

With these brief preliminary notices of preceding works in this department, we now proceed to that immediately before us.

Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich were sent upon their literary and scientific expedition at the expense, originally, of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; but afterwards were supported by the King of Prussia. After the return of the surviving member of this expedition, Dr Ehrenberg, from his travels, the Academy appointed a committee of distinguished members of their body, to make report of what had been accomplished by their literary missionaries. The members of this committee, were Alexander von Humboldt, and Messrs Link, Lichtenstein, Rudolphi, and Weiss. Their report was read before the Academy, by Von Humboldt, the chairman of the committee, on the thirteenth of November, 1826. It presents a very interesting and scientific view, of what had been accomplished by their mission. We proceed to lay the

substance of it before the public ; sometimes merely translating the language of the Report itself ; but, for the most part, following the train of thought which it presents, and investing it with our own language, but in an abridged and condensed form.

The Report commences with some very just and sensible remarks on the important influence, which the sciences have upon each other, and the beneficial influence upon the whole, which results from the enlargement of any one of them. The tenor of these remarks is as follows.

‘ Every accession to collections of objects, for the purposes of science, produces an animating influence on the enlargement of human knowledge. It would be a distinguished service, for the purpose of such enlargement, if any one, by long continuance in performing distant and dangerous journeys, should discover a great number of new natural substances ; should preserve them in good condition, and cause them to be transported to Europe. But the merit of this service is greatly enhanced, if men, who are sent out at the public expense, furnished with distinguished preparatory knowledge, and deeply penetrated with a feeling of their high scientific calling, exhibit themselves not only as collecting, with restless diligence, materials for the advancement of science, but at the same time, as profound and philosophic observers of nature.

‘ Everything which relates to a geographical distribution of the forms of animals and plants ; to the influence which the condition of the soil, the height of situation, and the various gradations of climate, exercise over organic life, can be investigated only by the immediate inspection of travellers upon the spot. The customary habits of animals are not less important, than the knowledge of their formation, which determines those habits. A great number of the nicest anatomical and physiological observations, can be made only upon the spot. The geognostic knowledge of the earth will not be really advanced, by sending specimens of minerals, which are merely broken off in isolated pieces, without any principle for a guide, and without regard to the manner in which they are grouped in particular species of rock, or their relative predominance, or their transition into one another, or the sequel of their respective ages. It is only the nice observer, who can truly aid the advances of geological knowledge. A science, the essential characteristic of which is, a representation of the connexion which exists among phenomena, and the thorough investigation of the relations of heterogeneous masses of fossils, can never be promoted, even by the most active efforts of mere col-

lectors without science ; at least, not in any such measure as it may be, by those who are capable of accurately observing and describing. Nor will it be aided by such efforts so much, in proportion, as the sciences of zoölogy and botany.

‘Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, to the choice of whom this Academy was led by their many distinguished works that had already been published, have, in the happiest manner, answered all the demands which could be made upon them, as learned travellers, even in the present improved state of knowledge. The simple relation of what they have actually done, is the best proof of this. They have made collections, as though it had been their sole object to make them. They have labored also for the preparation, preservation, and specific naming of the objects discovered, in such a manner as, perhaps, no other travellers ever did. The specimens sent to the Royal Museum, filled one hundred and fourteen boxes each from twenty to thirty cubic feet in size. The collective number of individual plants amounts to more than forty-six thousand ; and of these there are two thousand nine hundred species. The collective number of animals amounts to thirty-four thousand individuals, of which there are one hundred and thirty-five species of mammalia, four hundred and thirty kinds of birds, five hundred and forty-six species of fishes and amphibia, six hundred kinds of annelidæ and crustacea, and two thousand species of insects. The Royal Collection of Minerals is augmented by three hundred specimens of fossils, arranged according to their condition and super-position, which spreads much light over the internal formation of the earth, in remote lands, that have not hitherto been geologically investigated. But all these collections of minerals, of phanerogamous and cryptogamous plants (the first class only of which comprises five or six hundred kinds hitherto unknown), and of the exterior forms of animals of all classes, especially of the lower, which have for the most part been hitherto neglected by travellers, however important they may be for the Royal Collection, and however much the free use of them may enlarge the boundaries and facilitate the knowledge of natural science, still, they are all of secondary importance, compared with the gain which will accrue to it, from the publication of the observations themselves, made and arranged by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich.

‘An investigation of nature, in all the variety of her productions, and the coöperation of her powers, was the essential object of the expedition, of the fruits of which we now make a report to the Academy. Travels for the purposes of geographical discovery, like those of Mungo Park, Burckhardt, Caillaud, and Clapperton, are of a different character, and answer claims of another kind. By a careful separation of the different objects,

which both the kinds of travels have respectively in view, your committee will place the subject in such a light, that a correct judgment may be formed of what has been accomplished. To force one's way into the interior of a yet unexplored country; to investigate the connexion of streams before unknown, or the separation of them; to discover towns, rich in population and in trade, which are quite unlooked-for evidences of the advance of human improvement, promises, by good right, a fame to the discoverer, which is scarcely excelled by any other, that results from the exhibition of courage and resolution. Geographical expeditions (we do not refer to such as slowly and almost imperceptibly, by means of astronomical observations, enlarge or correct our knowledge of the definite situation of places and countries, but to those which suddenly resolve some problem of long standing and great curiosity) excite, almost every where, a deep interest, which quickly diffuses itself widely abroad; nay, popular language even limits the word *discoveries*, to the results of undertakings purely geographical.

'This partial view of what needs more thorough investigation, would ill become those who ought, with a lively acknowledgement of the mutual influence of the various branches of human knowledge upon each other, to comprehend, in one view, the knowledge of nature and of different countries, in all its parts. Deeper investigation of the internal life of plants and animals; the discovery of organic forms, which serve, as middle links, to connect groups that otherwise would appear remote and isolated; and an enlarged knowledge of the connexion of meteorological phenomena, or of the play of the ever active magnetico-electrical powers of nature; certainly do not confer less honor upon the intellect of man, as to its most strenuous exertions, than geographical discoveries; or than the determination of relative distances, with which descriptive geography is concerned. A right estimation of the bold and rapid traveller, Mungo Park, would surely not tax him with a fault, because his first journeys afforded no botanical or zoological results. As little ought we to demand of excursions for the sake of mere natural science, that they should put on the splendor of geographical discoveries. Every class of travels has a character appropriate to itself. The meed of praise belongs to those travellers, who have accomplished what was proposed to be accomplished.

'We have deemed it proper to preface our report respecting the travels of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, with these general considerations, in order to turn the attention of the Academy to that which distinguishes this important undertaking, supported and encouraged by them, from other travels in Africa. The variety of objects on which our naturalists have bestowed their at-

tention, has made it necessary for the committee to speak separately of the gain, which the sciences of botany, zoölogy, comparative anatomy, and geology, have derived from their labors. How much persevering diligence and exertion were necessary, in order to produce such results, will appear from a historical sketch of the journey itself, and from a consideration of the many hindrances, with which our travellers had almost incessantly to contend, and to which they were not unfrequently obliged to yield.'

A brief sketch of the journey itself is then subjoined by the committee, which is, in substance, as follows.

In 1820, the Baron von Minutoli determined on undertaking a journey to the East, for the purpose of antiquarian researches. He proposed to the Royal Academy, that they should send out some young men of scientific acquirements, at the expense of the state, in order to accompany him. The Royal Council gave permission to Mr Liman, professor of architecture, to attach himself to this expedition. The Academy of Sciences also made a pecuniary grant, for a like purpose, to Doctors Ehrenberg and Hemprich (naturalists already distinguished by their publications), which appeared to them sufficient for their support, during one year. At Rome, by the liberality of Prince Henry of Prussia, the literary mission was enlarged by the addition of Professor Scholtz, of Bonn, an orientalist of great acquisitions and of high promise. The original plan of the Baron von Minutoli was to visit Egypt, with its Oases, the Cyrenaica, Dongola, the peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, Syria, and a part of Asia Minor; and then to return home by the way of Greece.

The naturalists were furnished by the Academy, with brief written instructions; and also with a number of questions relative to objects in those countries, on which they wished them to bestow special attention. At the commencement of the month of August, the whole company, with the exception of Professor Liman, assembled at Trieste, and embarked on board of two vessels, which arrived in the harbor of Alexandria in Egypt, in September.

At this place, they obtained information respecting the practicability of a journey to the Cyrenaica, which satisfied them that no special danger would attend it. Mr Drovetti, the French consul, who had lived many years in Egypt, and had himself visited the Oasis of Siva, forwarded, with great readiness and obliging care, the preparations of the caravan; which consist-

ed of fifty-six camels, and fifty-five armed Bedouin Arabs, among whom was an Arabian Emir, or chief, and his relatives.

The Baron von Minutoli had taken the precaution to obtain a *firman* from the Grand Seignior, and letters of recommendation from the Pacha of Egypt, to Halil, Bey of Derne, on which the company relied for the removal of all obstacles of a political nature. After the caravan left Alexandria, Professor Linan arrived, hastened on, and overtook it at Abusir. Excessive haste had made him neglect to provide necessary clothing; and although his companions did the utmost in their power to accommodate him, yet his deficiency in this respect probably contributed very much to the lamented failure of his health.

The baseness of the free Bedouins now began daily to excite warm contention among the caravan. They belonged to several tribes; and when the company had already advanced far into the Libyan desert, the Hadgi Endaui declared, that he could exercise no control over these different clans. His impatience became even as great as that of the rest of the caravan.

Under these inauspicious circumstances, which rendered watches by night necessary, the caravan attained to a point, which was only one day's journey distant from the borders of the regency of Tripoli. The chief of the Bedouins declared, that he could not pass the boundaries, without the express permission of Halil Bey in Derne. Messengers were sent forward, in consequence of this, with the letters of recommendation. But as the contention among the Bedouins daily increased, the caravan was divided, so that Von Minutoli, with the chief of the Bedouins, and the principal interpreter, went over Ammonium, to Kahira; and the other part of the caravan, to which the naturalists and the artist were attached, waited the return of the messengers sent to Halil Bey. The separation, just described, took place at Bir el Kor.

For seventeen days they waited in the desert, and no messenger returned. Travellers, with whom they met, informed them that Halil Bey was in consternation at a message from a caravan in which a *general* (General von Minutoli) was found. By a still longer delay, the time, for which the camels were hired, expired. It was then determined to go to the Oasis of Siva, where they hoped to find protection against their own Bedouins. They made an offer to a leader of a

Bedouin clan, who remained behind, of a considerable present, in case he would bring to them a favorable answer from Halil Bay of Derne.

But in all their hopes they were deceived. The caravan travelled, almost without intermission, five days and five nights, through the desert. At Siva, the chiefs, who exercised supreme authority over the Oasis, denounced the travellers as spies, and threatened to shoot them, if they passed over certain designated boundaries. On their return to Alexandria, in consequence of the cold and the fatigues of the journey, Professor Liman and William Söllner, one of the aids of the naturalists, were taken sick. Both, however, reached Alexandria, but fell a sacrifice there, in the beginning of December, to the strenuous efforts which they had made.

The orientalist, Professor Scholtz, separated from the company at Kahira, and directed his way toward Palestine.

After their arrival at Alexandria, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich followed closely the plan of journeying, which had been before marked out. In March they made an excursion into the province of Fayoum. Here their progress was interrupted, by a nervous fever which seized Dr Ehrenberg, and lasted three months; which time they spent under a tent at the foot of the great pyramid in Sakhara. Nothing but the most assiduous care of his companion saved the life of Dr Ehrenberg.

Near the end of July, the travellers moved forward again through Fayoum. This journey proved more prolific for the department of entomology than any other. At the Sea of Mœris they lost another of their aids, F. Kreysel, by a dysentery, which came on in consequence of a cold caught during an excursion upon the lake.

The money, which the Academy of Sciences had supplied from their own resources, was now all expended, and the journey would have ended here, if the wish of the Academy had not been seconded, in the most energetic manner, by the minister of state, Baron von Altenstein. Our travellers came to a determination, indulging the well grounded hope that they might discover new forms of physical bodies in the southern regions, to follow on in the train of Mohammed Ali's victorious army. Between August, 1821, and February, 1823, they had advanced through Nubia to Dongola. All the expectations, which could be excited by countries never before investigated

by naturalists, were here most happily fulfilled. Ehrenberg and Hemprich advanced through Nubia even into the desert near Embukol and Corti, which separates Sennaar, Cordofan, and Dongola. The exhaustion of their pecuniary means, and the wish to transport, in safety, the natural objects, which they had already collected, occasioned our travellers here to separate from each other. Dr Hemprich went forward with the collections to Alexandria, where, instead of the money which he looked for, he found orders to return. Dr Ehrenberg, who had remained at Dongola, speedily left that country, which was now thrown into great confusion, by a revolution, and by the assassination of Ismael Pacha. The intermittent fever of the tropics had greatly injured his health.

On this journey, the Italian, Vincenzo, was drowned in the Nile, and the interpreter, Ibrahim, died of the plague.

Our travellers were now forced to sell their camels and effects in Egypt. But while they were making preparation for their return according to orders, the joyful intelligence came, that the government had agreed to make considerable advances of money, to enable them to continue their undertaking. In order that they might employ the time in a profitable manner, until pecuniary supplies should be received, they determined to visit the Gulf of Suez, the cliffs of Sinai, and the islands along the coast of Akaba, as far as Moile. This excursion lasted nine months, namely, from May, 1823, to March, 1824. Dr Hemprich first returned with the collections they had made on the peninsula, to Alexandria, where he found only half the sum of money which they expected. Dr Ehrenberg stayed five months longer at Tor; but in a very perplexing condition, suffering even for the necessaries of life.

The plan, which had been before concerted, for the travellers to embark on board a vessel at Tor and sail to Abyssinia, was now necessarily abandoned. It was only after Dr Ehrenberg's return to Alexandria, that the darkness, which brooded over the arrival of the funds granted by the Prussian government, was dissipated. The sad intelligence arrived, that the Prussian consul at Trieste, with whom the pecuniary advances in question had been deposited, had become a bankrupt, and committed suicide.

Nothing remained now, but for our travellers to procure new orders and new advances of funds. The plague was raging in Egypt; and instead of remaining there idle, it seemed

to them more useful to visit Mount Lebanon, at a favorable season of the year, which would be only a journey of ten or twelve days, in case it were made by sea.

A stay of three months, in this region, sufficed for visiting twice the ridges of this mountain covered with snow, and for travelling over Sanin, through Cœlosyria, to the ruins of Balbec, and then from Balbec, over Bischerra and the cedar-forests of Lebanon, to the coast of Tripoli.

In the beginning of August, 1824, our travellers again reached Damietta and Alexandria. Their company now sustained a new loss. On their return from Syria, one of their European aids died of the intermittent fever. Happily, in the mean time, new orders respecting their journey, and pecuniary supplies to continue it, had already arrived. With newly animated courage, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich immediately set out upon their long wished for journey to Abyssinia.

The Red Sea promised them a rich booty in corals, annelidæ, and mollusca. The fragments, which had been saved out of Forskal's papers, served to excite to new investigations in those tepid waters, for the extension of the science of ichthyology. The journey to Abyssinia was commenced, on the thirteenth of November, 1824. They proceeded, first, from Suez to Jedda, by sea. Thence they made an excursion to Mecca, in order to gain some definite knowledge of the famous balsam-plant. Farther south, in Gumdude, in Arabia Deserta, a Turkish governor showed his gratitude to them for the medical aid which they had afforded him. He gave them a military escort, which would enable them, in safety, to visit the neighboring mountains of Derban.

In the further prosecution of their voyage by sea, important objects of observation occurred, namely, the volcanic island of rocks, Ketumbul, and another, frequented by gazelles, and named Farsan by its inhabitants. The last is wanting, in the chart which accompanies Lord Valentia's Travels.

From Gisan, a border-town between Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, our naturalists went to Loheia; near which the unfortunate Forskal congratulates himself on having found the greatest treasures of Arabian plants. Farther south, they visited Kameran, Hauakel, and Dalac; and on the twenty-fourth of April, 1825, they arrived at the harbor of Massaua.

At this place, in a southwest direction, the Abyssinian highlands commence. This was the particular point which our

travellers were desirous of attaining. Dr Hemprich made an excursion to the mountains of Geelam. Dr Ehrenberg went to the mountains of Taranta, as far as the hot springs of Eilet. On the slope of the highlands of Abyssinia, productions of nature were collected, which, in respect to their locality, are certainly the rarest which any European museum can boast.

Unhappily, however, the promising prospects of our travellers were soon obscured, by new accidents. An epidemic disease raged at Massaua, by which Niemeyer, a native of Brunswick, and one of their aids, lost his life. All the other travellers, except the Italian, Finzi, who had been hired as a painter, fell sick, and for a long time were in great danger. Dr Hemprich, wearied out by his laborious journey to the mountains, died on the thirtieth of June; after he had, for five years, given proof of most distinguished talents, and of restless activity, and personal energy and resolution.

Dr Ehrenberg, deeply afflicted by the loss of his friend, now thought only of his return; and after ten months' absence, he reached Alexandria, by travelling over Jedda, Cossir, and Kahira. On the first of November, 1825, he embarked here for the port of Trieste.

'Such,' say the committee, 'is the general view of the regions, in which the observations of our travellers were made. In the relation which follows, respecting what was achieved by them for botany and the geography of plants, for zoölogy and comparative anatomy, for geology and mineralogy, for the knowledge of countries and nations, your committee will not separate the labors of Ehrenberg and Hemprich; since both these naturalists were connected by the closest ties of friendship, and before their journey, and during the same, expressed the desire, that all which had been done should be attributed to them both in common.'

The committee next proceed to a particular account of the results of this expedition, in regard to several of the physical sciences and some others. We must only give a very brief summary of these particulars.

I. BOTANY. Here, the harvest was beyond all expectation. The number of species collected amounts to two thousand eight hundred and seventy-five. Of these, one thousand and thirty-five belong to Egypt and Dongola; seven hundred to Arabia and Abyssinia; and one thousand one hundred and forty to Mount Lebanon. The number for Lebanon is very remark-

able, as the travellers spent but two months there, and consequently only one season for plants. Many species of these plants were collected in great numbers; so that the whole amount rises to forty-six thousand seven hundred and fifty. The seeds of six hundred and ninety-nine species were gathered, and sent to the Royal Garden; where more than three hundred kinds have flowered, and among these many not hitherto described. The number of plants, not before described, may, in the whole, be reckoned at six hundred. The specimens of woods are forty-four; and the articles of medicine, belonging to the animal kingdom, amount to forty. The young shoots, to the number of forty-eight, which were forwarded in order to be planted, all died. The investigation of plants on the spot, during their growth, extends to more than one thousand kinds. Flowers and fruits were analysed in abundance, and drawings of them were made, as also of the succulent plants. The distinguished talent of Dr Ehrenberg in sketching, served an important purpose here; and he has exhibited much skill in discriminating the different kinds of foreign trees. Most of the kinds discovered by Forskal, were found again by these travellers.

Myrrh the travellers themselves gathered from the *Amyris Kataf*. The different trees from which the Gum Arabic and the leaves of the Senna are gathered, are accurately described by them. They have also given information respecting the manner in which aloes is obtained. Three new species of the bread-fruit tree were also observed by them, namely, *Zygo-phyllum album*, *Panicum turgidum*, and *Cucumis farinosa*.

The color of the Red Sea, has long given occasion to a variety of conjectures and speculations. Dr Ehrenberg discovered, that it is owing to small animalcules (which he names *Oscillatoria*), that hold a rank about midway between plants and animals. Through Dr Ehrenberg, we now know, that the various kinds of mould (which consists of small plants, that are produced upon substances in a state of decay) are altogether the same, under all the varieties of climate; which also shows, that the inferior kinds of vegetation are every where the same.

The beginnings of vegetation, on the low islands in the Red Sea, were accurately observed by the travellers. The prevalence of plants, both cultivated and wild, was also a subject of their particular attention; so that the science of the geography of plants will be greatly enlarged by them.

II. ZOÖLOGY. This department of science was an object of special attention. As to the extent and variety of subjects, and carefully conducted experiments, as well as in respect to fundamental observations and facts; the labors of our travellers here were not only of equal magnitude with those in other departments of science, but were of so great importance, that if these alone had been performed, signal gain to the cause of science would have resulted from their undertaking. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how they could have done so much here, while they also effected so much in other departments.

A brief sketch of the result of their labors, will justify this representation.

Of the class *Mammalia*, they sent to Europe no less than five hundred and ninety individuals, which belonged to one hundred and thirty-five different species. Very few of these had previously been either generally known, or accurately described. The specimens, and the remarks by which they were accompanied, afford very important explanations of older writers, and solutions of the doubts of more recent ones, respecting the imaginary representations of the ancients. The number and selection of the specimens also give, at the same time, a just representation of the changes occasioned by sex, age, and season. Anatomical examinations, also, which had respect to each of these circumstances, completed the circle of knowledge respecting these objects; and have left very little to be accomplished by subsequent investigators. The few known objects among those examined have become now more satisfactorily known, through the labors of our travellers, in respect to the countries where they are found, and with regard to the changes produced upon them, as to their form, by the influence of various climates.

Here the Report touches upon a great many particulars, in regard to which, either corrections of old opinions have been made, or information entirely new has been communicated. Our travellers met with many species, belonging to a variety of genera, which were before unknown in Europe. The *incisor* animals, the leap-mouse, the squirrel (new varieties of which were found on Mount Lebanon), the monkey, the various kinds of beasts and birds of prey, the *Cerdo* of the ancients, wild dogs and cats, foxes, jackalls, weasels, bears, ruminating animals, domestic animals, the hippopotamus, &c. were all subjects of examination; the result of which has been much enlargement of knowledge, in respect both to their nature and their varieties.

Ornithology also received its due share of attention. The number of specimens, of the various kinds of birds, [of which the skins were preserved and stuffed, or the whole were preserved in spirits of wine, amounts to four thousand six hundred and seventy-one individuals, which belong to four hundred and twenty-nine species.

Some of the most remarkable specimens among these, are, the ostrich of Cordofan, the magnificent purple stork, the long beaked ibis, the great Egyptian monk-hawk, the white-headed large falcon (probably the original of the falcon which is so often represented in the Egyptian mythology in connexion with the solar god, *Phne*), the grey and black-headed sea-gulls, and the *Dromas Ardeola*, of which last only one specimen was before known.

The genera *Anas*, *Totanas*, and *Tringa*, are the only genera, to which no additions were made by the researches of our travellers. To all the other genera, many new kinds, before unknown, were added. It is remarkable, that a striking identity was found to exist, between the water-fowl of the Red Sea, and those which are found on the coast of Brazil.

Of *Amphibia*, twenty-seven were preserved in skins, six as skeletons, and seven hundred and four in spirits of wine. The number of species amounts to one hundred and twenty.

Of fish, there are two thousand one hundred and forty-four specimens. In skins, one hundred and seventy-four; as skeletons, eighty-four; in spirits of wine, two thousand one hundred and fifty-six. The whole number of species amounts to four hundred and twenty-six; of which the Red Sea afforded three hundred and ten. One hundred and ten species of these, Dr Ehrenberg and his coadjutor Finzi have painted and colored to the life. The flying-fish of the Red Sea, perhaps the winged *Selav* (יָבֵשׁ) mentioned in Exodus xvi. 13, that supplied the Israelites with food, our travellers met with at Rhalim (Elim), near where the Israelites received this supply. In a violent storm, they often fly on board of ships, in great numbers.

Such is the suggestion of the committee, in regard to this subject. They also add, that perhaps the occurrence of the *Selav*, (in our English version of the Scriptures, Exodus xvi. 13, rendered *quail*), may be accounted for, by the supposition, that a great multitude of locusts were thrown upon the shore of the sea, dead, but not putrid, that is, recently drowned. This

last supposition is not new. It was made, long ago, by Ludolf, in his *Comment. ad Historiam Ethiopicam*, Lib. I. c. 13. p. 172. Niebuhr adopts the same supposition in his *Description de l'Arabie*. But there are strong reasons to doubt its correctness. In Leviticus xi. 22., where the kinds of locusts are specified which it was lawful to eat, no *Selav* is found. In Psalms lxxviii. 27., this same *Selav* is called עוף כנף, *winged fowl*, a name not appropriate to locusts.

Nor is the opinion, that *winged fish* were the *Selav*, new. Rudeck (in Ichthyol. B. C. Upsal. 1705, p. 35) long ago advanced it. But there is little probability of its correctness. In the first place, the number of these flying-fish (which are quite small in size) at any one place, would ill suffice to feed three millions of people, and this plentifully. Besides, these fish never take their flight over land. They only rise a small distance above the water, continue their flight for a little space, and then necessarily descend again, for respiration, into their native element. So says Hasselquist, who is worthy of all credit, in his *Palæstinense Itinerarium*, p. 255, German edition; so says Niebuhr, in his *Description de l'Arabie*. So, too, a very recent representation of these fish, by the Rev. Mr Stewart, in his 'Journal of a Residence at Hawaii,' presents the subject. They go in shoals, and are often pursued by the larger fish, for the sake of prey. They avoid them for a while by rising out of the water. But as they cannot continue their flight, but must speedily descend, the pursuers watch them while in the air, and often receive them as they descend, in their opened mouths. The idea of such fish taking a flight over land, for some distance, is an extravagance, which we trust the travellers will not maintain in their work; whatever the committee may have thought upon this subject. At Rhalim, Ehrenberg and Hemprich may have seen flying-fish; but to have seen them taking a land-flight, unless by mere accident, such as often throws them on board of ships, seems really to be out of question.

Whatever may be the meaning of *Selav*, then, in Exodus xvi. 13., we are well persuaded it is neither *locusts* nor *flying-fish*. But as we are not now writing a commentary on the Scriptures, we cannot stop further to inquire what the word does mean, as used by the sacred writer.

Specimens of fresh-water fish were collected by the travellers from the Nile, the Nahhr el Kelb and the Nahhr Ibrahim

in Syria, from the outlets of the Warm Springs at Rhalim in Tor on Sinai, from the previously unknown streams of Wadi Kanune and Wadi Djara in the Arabian Desert, and from the outlet of the Sun Spring, in the Oasis of Ammonium.

Of Mollusca they gathered three thousand five hundred and eight, namely, two thousand five hundred and sixty-seven Conchylia, and eight hundred and fifty-one of other kinds. The species amount to three hundred and ten. The latest enumeration before this, of Conchylia to be found in the Red Sea, was by Professor Brocchi, in the '*Biblioteca Italiana*,' which comprises only ninety-one species.

With Annelidæ our travellers filled two hundred and sixty-one glass vessels, comprising sixty-seven species. All these were investigated by the aid of the microscope, described, and the characteristics of the new kinds accurately delineated.

Of Crustacea six hundred and seventy-five were gathered, two hundred and three preserved by drying, and four hundred and seventy-two in spirits of wine. Of Arachnoidæ, two hundred and seventy-five, belonging to one hundred and twenty species. Of insects, more than twenty thousand specimens, of between one thousand five hundred and two thousand species. Clouds of locusts they also observed, and forwarded specimens of them. With Epizoa they filled one hundred and two glass vessels; with Entozoa, six hundred, and of these there were one hundred and ninety-eight species. Of Echinodermæ they collected three hundred and sixty-five kinds; of Acalephæ, twenty kinds; of Polypi and Corals, sixty-two kinds; of Infusoria, fifty different forms.

Most of these various animals are represented by drawings, and are accurately described, in reference to their locality and zoölogical geography.

Never before, we believe, was a collection, so rich, made at any one time, from the animal kingdom, or one which promises so much to enlarge the science of zoölogy.

III. ZOÖTOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY. Our travellers bestowed more pains on the anatomical examinations of the smaller, than of the larger animals; because a due examination of many small subjects can be made only when they are recent. By this means many new genera and species have been discovered. The formation, also, has been oftentimes very satisfactorily explained by them.

The anatomy of insects, in the Linnæan sense of this word,

has been greatly enriched by them, by a series of observations on the pupils of insects' eyes, illustrated by colored engravings; on the formation of the coloring in the same, during their metamorphosis; and on the metamorphosis itself.

Appropriate drawings illustrate the position of the entrails of one hundred and two different species of fish; besides which are a multitude of drawings illustrating the animals themselves. Very extensive representations are made of Amphibia, particularly of their eyes.

Of birds, one hundred and fifty-three eggs and many nests have been gathered. The tongues of fifty-two kinds, and the palates of fifteen kinds, have also been represented by drawings. The fœtus of fishes, amphibia, fowls, and mammalia, have also been preserved. Skeletons and skulls of the Hippopotamus, the Hyrax Syriacus, gazelles, &c. have also been collected.

For years to come, the whole of these treasures cannot be fully displayed to the public.

IV. RESULTS FOR GEOLOGY AND THE SCIENCE OF FOSSILS.

In large districts of country, through which our travellers went, they observed in the most careful manner the relations of locality. The masses of stone, of various kinds, are divided into five groups; 1. The alluvial and tertiary formations of Egypt and the neighboring desert. 2. The original and transition ledges of the cataracts, the granular lime-stone, and the hornblend stone, of Nubia, together with the salt rock of Dongola. 3. The porphyry and Syenite formations of Sinai, and the peninsula in its neighborhood. 4. The Jura lime-stone of Lebanon, with petrifications of fish three thousand feet above the sea at Jebbehl, and sea-muscles at Sanin near to the region of snow, and also Bovey-coal in sand stone and slate clay at Bischerra, and Basalt at Haddet, some six thousand feet above the sea. 5. The coasts of the Red Sea, with the volcanic island of Ketumbul, and the southeast slope of the Abyssinian mountains. In all these countries, Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich observed a striking similarity of geological relations, particularly in the association of mountainous masses. Several sketches of mineralogical charts give testimony of the untiring activity of the travellers in this part of their labors.

V. COUNTRIES AND NATIONS. Astronomical calculations, to fix the latitude and longitude of places, our travellers did not make. But they often measured the angles which the

most important places made with the magnetic meridian. They made estimates of distances, and kept an accurate itinerary. At the entrance of the bay of Akaba, and at Gisan, Dr Ehrenberg took sketches of several islands which are not noticed in Lord Valentia's charts. The island of Farsan, three days' journey in circumference, with three villages and several harbors for small vessels, is to be regarded as a new discovery. Special consideration, also, is due to the routes from Tor to Sinai and Suez; over Beda to the rush swamp near Mount Goaebe; from Suez to Cameran, along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, where are a multitude of anchoring places unknown to geographers; from Gumsude in the country of the Wechabites, to Mount Derban; from Massaua in Abyssinia, to the Taranta mountains and the warm springs in Eilet; from the two snowy peaks of Lebanon, through Cœlosyria, to Balbec, and from thence to the coast of Tripoli; from Alexandria to Bir el Kor, and thence to the Oasis of Siva.

In the countries on the northern coast of the Red Sea, geographical observations were collected, which may serve to cast light on the oldest and most venerable traditions respecting the human race. The travellers saw Bir Beda, probably the hitherto undetermined Bedea of the Scriptures. They also saw the sedge-sea, *Yam-Suph* (ים סוף). The ancient Midian, the place where Moses so long sojourned, is still marked by the situation of Magne, where are houses surrounded by gardens. At Tor, Ehrenberg and Hemprich recognised in the warm springs of Rhalim, the station of the Israelites at Elim. Wells, in this country, are more lasting monuments of nature, than forests or sand hills.

Besides these geographical notices, our travellers have sent to Europe, 1. A catalogue of the establishments of the Maronites, in the northern part of Lebanon, both in the Latin and Arabic orthography, amounting in number to six hundred and nineteen, and written out for them by the secretary of the Emir Beschir, prince of Lebanon. 2. A catalogue of anchoring places, islands, coral reefs, and towns, on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, between Suez and Cameran, in number two hundred and eighty-seven, and for the most part in the Arabic language. 3. A similar catalogue of places on the western coast of the Red Sea, in number eighty-six. 4. A chart of the country of the Wechabites, from Taife (near Mecca) to Assir and Gumsude, by an Arabian, an officer in the army of

the Pacha of Egypt. 5. A profile of the mountainous coast of the Red Sea, of Sinai, of Lebanon, and of the island of Cyprus, by Dr Ehrenberg.

Their journal contains, also, many remarks on the races of men, their customs, language, &c. Every where they have paid attention to the influence of climate on organic formation. They have registered more than eight hundred thermometrical observations, on the average temperature of the climate within the tropics, or on the southern boundaries of the temperate zone, so little known hitherto by experiment.

Many mummies, also, of men and beasts, two papyrus rolls, found in Egypt, seven Arabic manuscripts, and an Abyssinian Bible (the Psalms in the Amharic language), are parts of the riches which they have amassed.

Such is a brief view of the scientific results of the labors of Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, and the two coasts of the Red Sea. The committee, at the close of their excellent report, observe, that all the labors of the travellers would be of little avail (however important in themselves they may be, for the enlargement of natural science and of physical geography), provided the government should not assist in promoting the publication of their results. They express the fullest confidence, however, that this will be done. They then conclude their report, by urging on the Academy the importance of taking effectual measures that the contemplated work, with all its maps and very numerous drawings, should be executed in a style worthy of the times, of the present improvements in science, and of the source from which the publication proceeds, without making it, at the same time, too expensive for the purchase of naturalists in general. They recommend, in regard to the drawings, that where new genera or species are to be represented, sketches as well as full forms should be employed, so as to make the representations more graphic and complete. A close imitation of the masterly sketches of Dr Ehrenberg is all which they deem to be necessary, fully to accomplish this purpose.

The Report ends, by recommending to the Academy a speedy publication of the proposed work.

An Appendix to the Report informs us of the plan, sketched out by Dr Ehrenberg, the surviving member of the literary mission, for the intended publication. Our scientific readers will be gratified, we trust, with a brief view of this plan.

The work is to be divided into two principal parts, bearing the common title, *Travels for the purposes of Natural History, in Northern Africa and Western Asia*. The first part is to contain a narration of the journey; the second, a copious representation and description of the natural objects examined.

The first part is to be subdivided into, 1. Travels from Alexandria to the Cyrenaica. 2. To Upper Egypt, Fayoum, and Dongola. 3. Remarks on Egypt. 4. Journey to Mount Sinai. 5. To Syria and Lebanon. 6. To Arabia and Abyssinia.

These are to be accompanied with various remarks and charts, appropriate to their respective contents. The remarks will have respect to the geological and physical peculiarities of countries, and also their points of agreement with other known countries; to the physical and political condition of the inhabitants, their customs, sports, their improvement in language, their arts, trade, intercourse, &c.; to the organic productions of the countries, and as well the wild as the domestic plants and animals of the same.

Of maps, drawings, catalogues, &c. to accompany the work, are designated, a chart of the Red Sea, with many geographical corrections; a profile of the whole eastern coast of the Red Sea, and of a part of the western coast; a list of all the anchoring places and islands, on the eastern coast of the same, and also of some on the western coast; a view of Mount Sinai, from the highest peak of St Catharine, with the designation of the angles made by several islands and mountain peaks, which fall within the horizon of the same; an Arabic chart of the Hedjas, by an Arabian in the army of the Pacha of Egypt, which subdued the Wechabites; the route from Beirout in Syria, over the snowy peaks of Sanin on Lebanon, through Cœlosyria to Balbec, &c. and thence to Tripoli; an Arabic and Latin catalogue of all the places (six hundred and nineteen in number) in the northeast part of Lebanon; a series of seven hundred and seventy-three observations with the thermometer, mostly in tropical countries; vocabularies of several Arabic dialects, of the Berber language, of the Massaua, of the Amharic, of the Tighe, of the Saho, and of the Yaenke tongues, the last of which (hitherto unknown) is spoken by a negro tribe, on the coast of Sennaar; directions in regard to the manner of travelling, and collecting natural objects, &c.; and portraits of the various kinds of dress, of sailing vessels, of utensils, of kitchen vegetables, &c.

The first part of the work is to be contained in two volumes, with an Appendix, embracing the matters above enumerated. The second part, designed principally for naturalists, is to be subdivided into four parts. 1. Descriptive zoölogy, with anatomy and physiology. 2. Plates representing the newly discovered animals, &c., with a short text accompanying them, to be published in numbers. 3. Descriptive botany. 4. Sketches of plants, with a short descriptive text, &c., to be issued in numbers.

Such is the prospect of this magnificent and laborious work; a work calculated to exhibit to the highest advantage, what the *iron diligence* of the German literati is wont to accomplish. No nation on earth has more enthusiasm and scientific ardor, than the Germans; and none are more competent to apply these qualifications most effectually to the objects which come within their limits. The French corps of scientific men are, indeed, exceedingly active and laborious; and to none are the sciences of chemistry, physiology, mathematics, astronomy, pharmacy, and anatomy more deeply indebted. But there is, generally speaking, more of persevering and minutely accurate diligence among the Germans.

We cannot help doing honor to the king of Prussia and his ministry, as well as to the Royal Academy at Berlin, for the generous support which they have given to the scientific expedition, which has been described in the preceding pages. Nor is this the only noble transaction, in which the king of Prussia has been deeply concerned. Within a few years, he has made freemen of a large portion of his subjects, by making them lords of the soil which they cultivate, possessors by mere fee simple. He has raised up the second, if not the first University of learning, now in existence. We refer to that of Berlin, which is not yet twenty years old. He has greatly improved other Universities in his territory, particularly that of Halle. He supports, at his own expense, as we are credibly informed, twenty-five theological students at Wittenberg, on the very spot where Luther taught, and where three professors of theology still remain, one of whom is the well known Schleusner. He has made provision, that all the children of his realm shall be taught to read, and be in possession of a Bible. He every year bestows some distinguished honor or privilege on literary men, who contribute to the honor of his kingdom, and the instruction of his subjects. All this, too, with very moderate pecuniary resources, Prussia having scarcely any commerce with foreign countries.

When we think on this, and compare it with what our governments are doing in the cause of science and literature, our hearts almost melt within us. It has generally been the reproach of republics, that they had no sympathy for literature. Nay, they have often been reproached with even fearing and hating it, lest it should tend, if much honored, to introduce inequality among the citizens. When we call to mind, too, that literature is even taxed by our general government, that a poor student, who has not one dollar in his pocket, is obliged to pay one shilling on the pound *avoirdupois*, for every Latin and Greek book which he imports from Europe, which duty often amounts to five or even ten times the original price of the book ; we are ready to ask, Where is the boasted illumination and liberality of the republic, and of the age, in which we live ? We do beseech the enlightened men, who are at the head of our affairs, both in the general and state governments, to wipe away the reproach which rests upon us in this respect ; and at least, not to frown upon literary effort, by imposing heavy taxation upon it. Every petty state in Germany, not so large as one of our counties, must have its University ; and that generously supported too. Here, if the Universities live, it is well ; a Governor's speech, or a President's message boasts of them to the world. If they die, too, it is equally well, so far as our political enthusiasts are concerned. In the scramble for office which pervades all ranks, the higher and permanent interests, and lasting glory of the country are apt to be forgotten. The question, who are to be our next presidents, and governors, and senators, and representatives, absorbs all other inquiries. A much deeper interest is felt in the business of *governing*, than in the inquiry, whether, by and by, there will be anything worth *being governed*.

We make the appeal to the country, and to the world, fearlessly in regard to this subject. Facts are before the eyes of every well-informed, clear-sighted man, which will not permit him to contradict this statement. A few solitary and honorable exceptions only can be made to it, in the appropriation of money for the benefit of literary seminaries.

Where are the voyages, like that of Ehrenberg and Hemprich, supported by government or by literary societies ? We are aware that our own western wilds have been partially explored, by order of government. We know, too, that the intelligent and active men in office, who have been principally

concerned in all this, would have done very much more of the same nature, if their countrymen would have suffered them. We do hope, that more men of the like ardor will be raised up, who, heedless whether they carry the next election or not, will look at higher objects, and do something of permanent benefit to the interests of science, something which will contribute to the lasting honor of their country. We do believe there are men, now high in office, that would, with all their hearts, embark in such undertakings if they dared to do it. May the day speedily dawn, when they will venture upon the experiment!

But we must return from our discursive review, and come to an end. We trust the votaries of science, in this country, will thank us for laying before them the prospectus of a work, so important as that to be published under the auspices of the Royal Academy at Berlin. We cannot refrain from expressing our hope, our earnest desire, that some of our Colleges, or some Society of literary and scientific men among us, will not fail to make immediate arrangements to secure the importation and translation of the first volumes of the work above announced, and their republication in this country, for the benefit of our numerous naturalists, and through them, for the benefit of our community. Geography, too, is to receive no unimportant accession from the work.

Might we be permitted to name any literary Society, on whom we should feel the greatest liberty to call, and to urge on them this undertaking, we should name the Corporation of Harvard University, or some of the literary and scientific Societies in its neighborhood. It is worthy of their attention, and would well repay them for all the trouble and expense which it might occasion. Every genuine son of science, of literature, or of the arts, we are sure, will join with us in these wishes. Every man, who is enlightened, and who loves his country, will rejoice to see the means and the spirit of literature and of science multiplied and extended.

The Northeastern Boundary. Since the article on this subject passed through the press, we have seen a Report of a committee of the legislature of Maine, in which the same question is fully discussed. The committee had access to a great mass of documents, copies of which were obtained by the executive of Maine, from the department of state, of the United States. They have published some of the most important of these documents, as an Appendix to their report. We should have taken some notice of this valuable report, had it reached us a few days sooner ; but we do not find in it, on examination, anything which would have varied the course of our argument, or any material facts or documents which had escaped our attention. The report discusses some topics not within the scope of our inquiry, which it was our purpose to confine strictly to the question of right between the two countries. The proceedings which have been resorted to by the parties for enforcing their respective claims, and the measures which have been adopted for bringing the question to an adjustment, may be made the subject of another article. In another document, published by order of the legislature of Maine, namely, the Report of Charles S. Daveis, Esq., who was appointed by the governor of Maine to inquire into the facts of the case, a narrative is given of the controversies which have arisen, between the settlers on the disputed territory and the officers of the province of New Brunswick, from their attempts to enforce the jurisdiction of the province within that territory. These facts are important, and they show the cause of the excitement which prevails, in the state most directly interested, in relation to the question in controversy, and the necessity of a speedy adjustment of that controversy.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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A review of this work is contained in the *Philosophical Magazine and Annals of Philosophy*, for July, which concludes as follows ; " After a very careful perusal of the work, we strenuously recommend it, as containing the most complete and excellent instructions for conducting chemical experiments : there are few persons, however great their experience, who may not gain information in many important particulars ; and for ourselves, we beg, most unequivocally, to acknowledge that we have acquired many useful and important hints, on subjects even of every day occurrence."

INDEX

TO THE

TWENTY-SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

A.

Aboriginal Remains, account of, 363.
Academy, National. See *National*.
Age, the present, decline of the fine arts and of eloquence in, 218—cause of this unfavorable effect not fatal, 220.
Alexander, Sir William, grant of Nova Scotia to, by James the First, 421.
Almanacs, the first step in a new walk of literature, 258—followed by the class of Souvenirs, 259.
Alvarado, the conquerer of Guatemala, 132.
America, United States of. See *United States*.
America, Republic of Central. See *Guatemala*.
American Annual Register, 197.
Annual Register, American, 197.
Antiquities, Indian, Rev. Isaac McCoy's account of, 363.
Arabia, remains of a pure theism, among the poets of, 48.
Aristocracy, hereditary, of England and Spain compared, 172—alleged superiority of the English not well founded, 172—its decrease of influence, 190.
Assumption, the capital of Paraguay, ruined under pretence of improvement by the Dictator Dr Francia, 469.

Austria, connexion of with, and agency of in the partition of Poland, 288 et seq.—attempt of, to secure the possession of Bavaria, 292—termination of the contest in the humbling of, 294—alliance of, with Russia in 1783, 304.

B.

Bancroft, G., his edition of Jacobs's Latin Reader, 274
Barbarous tribes, condition of woman among, 317.
Barrington, Sir Jonah, his Sketches of his own Times, 498.
Bavarian succession, history of the contest respecting, 292 et seq.
Bedouin Arabs, dangers encountered by the scientific expedition of Ehrenberg and Hemprich from, 556.
Beechey, Captain, charges of, against the missionaries of the Sandwich Islands, 102.
Bentham, Jeremy, the principal authority of the Radicals on Parliamentary reform, 188—character of his first and of his subsequent productions, 188.
Berlin, Royal Academy of Sciences, report of the results of the expedition sent out by, 552.
Bible, common version of, 50.
Bingham, Mr, missionary at the Sand-

- wich Islands, 64—misrepresentation relating to, in the narrative of the voyage of the *Blonde*, 81—corrected, 81—the principal object of crimination to the enemies of the mission, 83—letter from, to Captain Lord Byron, 87—conduct of, explained, 88 et seq.
- Blackstone*, Sir Wm, his description of the condition of woman as a wife, 332.
- Blonde*, voyage of the, to the Sandwich Islands, account of, 59—mode in which the account of the voyage was got up, 62—agency of Mr Bloxam and of Mrs Graham in it, 63—proofs of the unfairness, &c. of this narrative, 64 et seq.—character of the work, 65—where the responsibility of its production rests, 66—account of the voyage examined, 67 et seq.
- Bloxam*, Rev. Mr, agency of, in getting up the narrative of the voyage of the *Blonde*, 62—not responsible for the character of that work, 66—his account of the funeral of the King of the Sandwich Islands, 79.
- Boki*, a chief of the Sandwich Islands, conversation of, with George the Fourth, 96—forged letter from, 108.
- Botany*, collections in, made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, 560.
- Bouchette*, Colonel, description of the highlands north of the St John, 429—his statement of the British claim with regard to the boundary line of Nova Scotia, 430—his description of the road to Canada which crosses the highlands on the St John, 437.
- Bowring*, John, specimens of Polish poets, &c., 146—his services to the cause of literature, of philanthropy, and of freedom, by making nations acquainted with each other's works of imagination, 146—his intended works in the same department, 159.
- Burgoynes*, General, Baroness Riedesel's account of events in the campaign of, 231—residence and treatment of the troops of, after the capitulation, 235.
- Byron*, Lord, Captain of the *Blonde* frigate in her voyage to the Sandwich Islands, 62—not responsible for the published narrative of the voyage, 66—occurrences relating to a misunderstanding of, with the missionaries, 90—judicious conduct of, at a council of the chiefs, 94—intercourse of, with, and feelings towards, the missionaries, 97.
- Byron*, Lord, the poet, remark of, on speech-making, 159.

C.

- Cadalso*, Don José, his Moorish Letters reviewed, 248—account of the author, 248—plan of his work, its advantages and disadvantages, 249—his account of an unformed and uneducated Spanish youth, 250—of the ridiculous fondness for noble descent in Spain, 253—specimen of his humor, 253—his account of the Spanish national pride, 254—ludicrous account of the mistake arising out of ignorance of national customs, 255.
- Calidasa*, a Hindoo poet, author of *Sacontalá*, 124—extract from, 125.
- Canal*, proposed, of Nicaragua, for uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, 140—negotiations relating to the construction of, 141.
- Canning*, Mr, specimen of his parliamentary wit, 169—his introduction to power, and the advantages possessed by him, 191—his policy with regard to Spanish America, 192—changes the direction of the policy of his country, 195—his peculiar character in being better adapted for great occasions than for ordinary ones, 195—his death in many respects fortunate, 196.
- Casimir*, Brodzinski, a Polish poet, selections from, 154, 155.
- Catholic* question, debates on, in the British parliament, 166 et seq.
- Catharine* Second, of Russia, interferes in the contest for the Bavarian Succession, 294—her character, 295—singular influence of Potemkin upon, 297—her extensive and ambitious plans of conquest, 299—her mistaken views of the character of the Turkish government, 300—her views cherished by Marshal Munich, 301—opposed by the European cabinets, 302—her promise with regard to the Crimea, 305—takes part in the troubles which break out there, 305—seizes upon and retains that

- province, 306—her magnificent journey through the Crimea, 307—application of England to, for assistance in the American war, 308—fate of the application, 308 et seq.—origin of the armed neutrality with, 310.
- Chicago*, proposed canal between, and the Illinois, 361.
- China*, English embassy to, 514 et seq.—size of visiting cards in, 517—visit to a village of, 518—anecdote illustrative of the moral character of, 520—schools in, 522.
- Chipola*, limestone caves of, in Florida, 491.
- Chippewa* language, conjugation of the substantive verb in, 391—other peculiarities in the language of, 397 et seq.
- Civil* law, duties and rights of woman, as determined by, 319.
- Cobbett*, account of his conduct at a meeting for promoting reform in parliament, 184—his remarkable character, and the influence upon his fortunes, of his want of common honesty, 186—his political changes, and gradual loss of character, 187—his attack on the Protestant reformation, 187.
- Colonies*, English, in America, Judge Marshall's History of, 1—connexion of the history of, with that of the United States, 2—great accuracy of Judge Marshall's history of, 38.
- Common* law, condition of woman, as determined by, 332—barbarous and absurd provisions of, in relation to man and wife, 334—punishment for scolds provided by, 341—unjust partiality of, to the male sex, 351.
- Congress*, evils of the excessive debates in, 158.
- Constitution*, federal, debates of the Virginia Convention on, 12.
- Constitutional* law, importance of, in the United States, 34—eminent services of Chief Justice Marshall in the department of, 36.
- Cooper*, the novelist, erroneous sketches of Indian character in the works of, to be attributed to the work of Heckewelder, 373—specimens of the unnatural manner of speech which he attributes to them, 374—his extravagant account of their following the track of travellers, 375—his unnatural descriptions of their sentiments, feelings, &c. 375.
- Corea*, visit of Captain Hall to, 523—his description of an interview with a chief of, 524—account of the intercourse of the English with the inhabitants of, 526—landing of Captain Hall in the country of, 527—description of a house of, 528.
- Crimea*, events relating to, 305—seized upon, and retained by Russia, 306—oppression of the inhabitants of by Potemkin, 306.
- D.
- Dana*, Joseph, his *Liber Primus*, or First Book of Latin Exercises, noticed, 274.
- Dana*, Richard H., Poems by, 239—notice of his *Idle Man*, 239—character and recommendations of his poetry, 241—his *Buccaneer*, with quotations, 243—his *Changes of Home*, 245.
- Debates* in Congress, excess of, and proposed remedies for, 153—suggestions for the improvement of, 170.
- Delaware* language, examination of words and phrases in, 376.
- Diplomacy*, insignificance of the causes which produce many of the great events of, 311.
- Divorce*, pernicious facility of, in republican Rome and republican France, 327—modes of procuring, and condition of, in Rome, 328—instances of the exercise of this right, 328.
- Duelling*, opinions of different classes of persons concerning, 500—its inconsistency with even those customs of ancient and barbarous ages from which it is supposed to be derived, 502—absurdity and futility of, exhibited, 507 et seq.—has no tendency to preserve and promote the refinement of the age, 512—diminution of, in the present age, 513.
- E.
- Earthquakes* in Guatemala, 130.
- East*, travels in, notice of some of the principal, 543 et seq.—important expedition of Niebuhr, 549.
- Egypt*, great work on, the result of the French expedition to, 550.

Ehrenberg and Hemprich, origin of the expedition of, 551—account of their travels, how brought before the world, 551—sketch of their labors, and their importance, 553—sketch of their journey, 555—difficulties and dangers which attended them, 556—disasters, and death of some of their companions, 557—their expeditions in various directions, 557—into Abyssinia, 559—death of Hemprich, 560—report of the contributions to natural history from their labors, 560—in Botany, 560—in Zoölogy, 562.

Eldon, Lord Chancellor, his speech on the Catholic question, 168.

Ellis, William, Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, extracts from, 61 et seq.—copious use made of his work in the narrative of the voyage of the Blonde, 64.

Eloquence, decline of, in the present day, 219.

Emigrants to new settlements, difficulties of, 495.

England, Baron de Staël's letters on, 163—interest felt in the constitution of, 165—discussion by De Staël of some interesting questions relating to, 166—practical character of all discussions in the public assemblies of, 166—contrast of the statesmen of, with those of France, 166—discussion in the parliament of, on the Catholic question, 167—superiority of the method of debating in, 169—on the state of property in, 170—of the character of the hereditary aristocracy of, 172—state of the periodical press in, 176—question of parliamentary reform in, 187—decrease of the influence of the aristocracy in, 190—accession of the whigs to power in, 190—introduction of Mr Canning to the ministry of, 190—acknowledgment of the independence of Spanish America by, a whig measure and led to a change of ministry, 193—influence of Mr Canning upon the politics and policy of, 194 et seq.—employment of mercenary troops by, in the American war, 224—attempt of, to secure assistance from Russia in the American revolutionary war, 308—armed neutrality arising out of the negotiations of, with Russia, 309 et seq.

F.

Federal and antifederal parties in the United States, origin of, 21.

Female literature, influence of, upon woman herself, 403—raises her in the estimation of man, 404—its influence on the future, and in raising the whole mass of human intellect, 404—not unaccompanied by evils, 405—is peculiar in its nature and distinct in its influence, 406—its services in the production of books for the young, 406—and in the production of works of fiction, 409.

Ferrers, Earl, case of ill-treatment of his wife, 341.

Fiction, influence of women upon works of, 405.

Fine arts, state of the taste for, in the United States, 208, not exclusively formed in this country, 209—no neglect of those who are eminent in, 210—the highest rewards of genius in, must be sought in foreign capitals, 210—academies for the promotion of, proper management of, 211—the purchase of old paintings, —its influence on the taste for, 213—no want of purchasers for the really excellent productions of native artists, 214—state of, in Boston, 215—on the proper method of encouraging, 216—love of, greatly dependent on remote associations, 217—natural decline of, a consequence of the peculiar practical character of the present age, 218—unfavorable influence of dramatic excellence upon, 219—this cause not necessary in its operation, 220—necessity of cultivation of the mind to artists, 221—the fine arts the work of the imagination and not of the hand, 221—encouragement of the fine arts in the United States, and their real utility, 223.

Fish, flying, of the Red Sea, 563.

Florida, early discovery of, and name of, how first applied, 478—cause of its nominal importance in American history, 479—accounts of by various authors, noticed, 479—of the Indians of, 480—hostile movements in, during the late war, 480—removal of the Indians after its acquisition by the United States, 481—late publications relating to, 482—surveys of, and maps, 483—account of

- Mr John Lee Williams's View of West Florida**, 483—controversy relating to the boundary of, 483—the province divided by General Jackson into two parts, 485—description of the general appearance of the country, 485—of the coast, 486—description of the various sections of the country, 487 et seq.—climate of 489—bays and inlets of the coast of, 490—caples, islands, rivers and lakes of, 491—limestone caves of Chipola in, 491—exertions of Mr White for the promotion of the interests of, 493—projected canal through, 494—advantages and productions of the district of Tallahassee, in, by Mr McComb, 494 et seq.—importance and value of to the United States, 497.
- France**, character of parliamentary debates in, as compared with those of England, 166—periodical press and newspapers of, 177—superiority of the editorial department of the public papers of, over those of England and America, 180—commercial advantages secured to, by the Ottoman Porte, 302—union of, with Austria, in the time of Catharine II., 303.
- Francia**, Dr, the ruler and Dictator of Paraguay, mysterious policy of, 445—an imitator of Napoleon, 446—his first appearance as secretary of the junta, 450—his history 450—and character, 451—conduct in his office, 452—causes the calling of another convention, 452—appointed consul, 452—procures another change in the government and is made dictator, 453—means by which he accomplished this end, 454—his mode of life, 455—and measures for establishing his authority, 456—becomes perpetual dictator, 457—account of an interview with him, 459—description of his personal habits and domestic life, 461—his talents, and religious notions, 463—his temper, 463—disinterestedness, 464—his jealousy of his authority, 464—his army and militia, 465—his violent measures for the safety of his own person, 466—conspiracies against, 467—his bloody measures in consequence, 468—his attempts at improvement, 469—his labors on the capital, 469.
- Fraser**, General, account of the death and funeral of, by Baroness Riedesel, 231.
- Frederic the Great of Prussia**, circumstances under which he began to reign, 287—his attack on Austria, 287—his seven years' war, and his subsequent wise conduct in promoting the internal welfare of his kingdom, 287 et seq.—his agency in the partition of Poland, 288—his deeds of public virtue in the last period of his reign, 291—his part in the contest respecting the Bavarian succession, 292—his success and return to the administration of his kingdom, 294—his conduct in respect to the ambitious designs of Catharine II. on Turkey, 301—his conduct, how exposed to the empress, 303—joins the armed neutrality, 313—defeats the designs of Joseph II, 314—his good qualities according to Von Dohm, 315—his habits of life and business, 315—points which make his reign important to the world, 315.
- G.**
- Genet**, Minister from the French republic, conduct of, towards the government of the United States, 20.
- George IV.**, conversation of with Boki, a Sandwich island chief, 96.
- Georgia**, controversy of, with the United States relative to the boundary of Florida, 483.
- German** princes, conduct of, in furnishing England with mercenary troops to act against America, 225.
- Good**, John Mason, Dr, his translation of Job, 51—examination of some of his defects, 52 et seq.—his use and translation of the word usually translated *curse*, 55.
- Goodrich**, Mr, a missionary in the Sandwich Islands, his ascent of the highest mountain in Hawaii, 98.
- Görz**, foundation of his fame as a statesman, when laid, 292—his description of the Empress Catharine the Second, 895.
- Graham**, Mrs, agency of, in the preparation of the account of the voyage of the Blonde frigate to the Sandwich Islands, 63—her use of the narrative of Mr Ellis, 64—and of materials derived from the missionaries, 64—her acknowledgment with

regard to the work, 66—her singular mistake with regard to the use of numbers by the Sandwich Islanders, 67—her account of the religious notions of the natives examined, 69—her historical accuracy called in question, 72—her view of the social and moral character of the people, 74—its falseness shown, 75 et seq.—favorable extract from, 79.

Greece, proposed restoration of, by the Empress Catharine II., 301.

Guatemala, ancient kingdom of, reasons for the comparative obscurity of, 127—peculiar circumstances attending the establishment of, as an independent state, 128—constitutes the Republic of Central America, 128—its advantageous position, 129—its volcanoes, 129—their destructive effects, 130—aboriginal history of, 131—conquest of, by the Spaniards under Alvarado, 132—ruins and antiquities of, 134—situation of, under the Spanish monarchy, 135—establishment of the independence of, 135—sketch of the constitution of, 136—and of the constitution of one of the states of, 138—mismanagement of the financial concerns of, 139—limited pecuniary resources of, 140—anticipated advantages to, from the construction of an Oceanic canal, 140—facts relating to this canal, 141 et seq.—origin of the civil dissensions in, 143—result in civil war between the states of Salvador and Guatemala, 145.

Guatemala, city of, changes in the situation of, in consequence of the eruption of volcanoes, 130.

H.

Hall, Captain Basil, his *Voyage to the Eastern Seas*, reviewed, 514—his account of a wedding in Java, 515—his opinion of the probable filling up of the Yellow sea, 516—his visit to a Chinese town, 518—adventure illustrative of the honesty of the Chinese, 520—his visit to a school, 522—to Corea, 523—interview with a Corean chief, 524—his landing and the singular cause which compelled his return, 527—his description of a Corean house, 528—his visit to the Loo Choo islands, 529 et seq.—his

account of a public entertainment in those islands, 532—of the departure of the English from them, and the feelings manifested on that occasion by the inhabitants, 535—his anecdote of Napoleon, 538

Hammock, a term applied to land, definition of, 486.

Heathen nations, state of religious belief in, 69.

Hebrews, connexion of the book of Job with the, 47.

Heckewelder's account of the aboriginal Indians extravagant, 366—has related traditions of the Indians as grave facts to which he himself assented, 367—examination of his picture of Indian society, 368—tribute to the excellent character of, 371—his picture of Indian society almost a work of imagination, 372—his limited means of acquiring a knowledge of their character, 372—circumstances under which his testimony has been given, 373—effect of his representations of Indian character upon the literature of the day, 373—is inaccurate in his philological investigations, 376—examination of his Delaware words and phrases, 376.

Hemprich. See *Ehrenberg*.

Herbert, Francis, the fictitious author of the *Talisman*, 263.

Herzberg, a Prussian minister, character of, 293.

Hindu Drama, Sir William Jones's opinion of the origin of, 112—account of the Toy Cart, one of the specimens of, 113—disadvantages under which translations of it labor, 123—extract from, 125.

Historical impartiality, illustrations of, 198.

Holland, fate of, in the war with England, in consequence of its accession to the armed neutrality, 313.

Holland, Lord, his speech on the Catholic question noticed, 167.

Hope Leslie, by Miss Sedgwick, 403—favorable character of, 411—sketch of the events of, 413—quotation from, 413.

Humbugs, dissertation on, from the *Talisman*, 268.

Husband, authority of, according to the civil law, 321—rights of, over

the property of his wife, 327—relation of, according to the common law, 334—authority of, over the wife, 336—privilege of, to beat the wife, restricted, 339—this right was early doubted, 339—is denied in the ecclesiastical courts, 340—unity of with the wife, consequences of the, 345—right of, over the property of the wife, 348—obligation of, in relation to her support, 348—right of, to spend all the property, 350.

I.

Idle Man, The, the work of a man of genius, 239—causes of its little popularity, 239—peculiarity of the work, 240.

Illinois river, proposed canal from Chicago to, 361—consequences of the union of, with Lake Michigan, 361—passage of a boat from, to Lake Michigan, 361.

Indians, aboriginal, remains of, in the valley of the Mississippi, 363—Mr Heckewelder's account of, extravagant, 366—picture of their society, according to him, examined, 368—erroneous representations of, in the literature of the day, 373—specimens of the conversation of, as given in the novels of Mr Cooper, 374—their familiar mode of speech not figurative or indirect, 374—representations given of their skill in the discovery of tracks, unfounded, 375—and those of their sentiments, feelings, and characters, 376—examination of some words and phrases in their languages, 377—their languages the subject of interesting speculation, 386—examination of the word *father*, as used by, 387—examples and illustrations of the languages of, 388 et seq.—peculiarities in the modes of expression of, 394 et seq.—introduction of new terms among, 401—mode in which these new terms are formed indicate that they do not occupy the country in which their language was formed, 402—leading principles which regulate the construction of the languages of, 402.

Indians of Florida, excited to act against the United States by England, 480—war against, conducted

by General Jackson, 481—removal of, from their former territories, 481.

Indians of Guatemala, traditions and history of, 131—conquest of, by the Spaniards, 132—stratagem of, for their destruction, 133—ruins and antiquities indicating the former power and refinement of, 134.

Ireland, state of society in, as indicated by the practice of duelling, 498.

J.

Jackson, General, campaign of, in Florida, 481.

Jacobs, Frederick, his Latin Reader, Bancroft's edition of, 274.

Java, incident in, related by Captain Hall, 515.

Jay's treaty, discussion arising out of, 23—Chief Justice Marshall's defence of, in the legislature of Virginia, 24.

Job, book of, acknowledged to be a poetical work, 40—its elevated rank, as exhibiting poetical inspiration and sublime conception, 41—descriptions of duty contained in, 41—of the class of compositions to which it belongs, 43—the hero probably a real person, 44—obscurity with regard to his history, 46—of the place of his residence, 46—period of the history of the Hebrews, to which his history corresponds, 47—circumstances which tend to determine this question, 48—probability that the writer was a Hebrew, 49—its canonical authority, 50—Dr Good's version of, compared with Mr Noyes's, 51 et seq.—ambiguous use of the word *curse*, in, 55.

Jones, Sir William, his opinion of the origin of the Hindoo drama, 112.

Juarros, Domingo, his history of Guatemala, 127 et seq.—his account of the ruins of an ancient city, 134.

Judges, confined nature of the reputation of, 33.

Juvenile literature, almost exclusively created by woman, 406—her services to, 408.

K

Kaunitz, the Austrian diplomatist, agency of in the partition of Poland, 289—dislosure of his duplicity, 291.

Kochanowski, a Polish poet, lines by, 152.

L.

Lafayette, Sir Walter Scott's account of his conduct at the removal from Versailles, 200.

Languages, Indian, a subject of interesting speculation, 386—peculiarities in the construction of, 388—examples illustrating the structure of, 389 et seq.—conjugation of the verb in the Chippewa, 391—a remarkable peculiarity of, in respect to the distinction between animate and inanimate objects, 395—are not analogous in grammatical construction to preëxisting models, 396—illustrations of the structure of, 397 et seq.—uncertainty of translations from, 400—leading principles which regulate the structure of, 402.

Latin, primary books for the study of, 274.

Law, constitutional in the United States, 34.

Law, civil. See *Civil*.

Law, common. See *Common*.

Law, salic. See *Salic*.

Liberty, the exclusive principle of individual and national prosperity, 176.

Limestone caves of Chipola in Florida, 401.

Literature. See *Female literature*.

Londonderry, Lord, opinion of, on the British constitution, 176.

Longchamp, M. See *Rengger*.

Loo Choo islands, reception of English visitors at, 529—earliest accounts of, 529—kindness and liberality of the inhabitants of, 530—their dress, 530—their cautious and suspicious conduct, 531—description of an entertainment in, 532—departure of the English from, 535—singular fact of the want of weapons of offence in, 537.

M.

McComb, Mr, Answers of, to queries of a citizen of Switzerland, concerning Florida, 494—his account of the district around Tallahassee, somewhat exaggerated, 495—his account of the productions and advantages of the country, 445.

McCoy, Rev. Isaac, letter of, giving an account of some remarkable Indian antiquities, 363—his reasons

for not believing them to have originated with the French inhabitants, 364.

Mansfield, Lord, conduct of, in the case of Earl Ferrers, 341.

Marriage, constitution and conditions of, at Rome, 322—modes of dissolving, 328—frequency of second ones in Rome, 330—promotion of, by law by Augustus, 331—influence of christianity upon the sanctity of, 331.

Marshall, Chief Justice, his History of the North American colonies, 1—his revision and republication of that work, 3—account of his public life and services, 4—his birth, family, and education, 5—engages in the war of the revolution, 7—his military services, 8—his services as a lawyer, 8—his political course, 9—part taken by him in the adoption of the federal constitution in Virginia, 11—quotation from his speech on the power of taxation, 13—from his speech on the militia, 15—determines to retire from public life, 17—becomes representative from the city of Richmond, 18—part taken by him in the political controversy growing out of the French revolution, 19 et seq.—becomes the leader of the Federal party in Virginia, 22—takes part in the discussions upon Jay's treaty, 23—his great argument upon the constitutionality of the executive right to conclude a treaty, 24—attends the supreme court of the United States in 1796, 25—declines the office of attorney general of the United States, 25—and that of minister to France, 26—is again appointed and accepts, 27—his great services in that capacity, 28—is induced by General Washington to become a candidate for congress, 28—distinguishes himself in congress, 29—his remarkable speech in the case of Thomas Nash, 30—is successively made secretary of war and secretary of state, 31—and chief justice of the United States, 32—peculiar value of his services in this office, 34 et seq.—account of his work on the history of the American colonies, 38.

Maxwell, Captain, commander of the

- Alceste in the English embassy to China, entertainment of, at the Loo Choo islands, 532.
- Mercenary* troops, employment of, in war, 224—discussion of the subject in the British Parliament, 225.
- Michaelis*, the author of the expedition of Niebuhr into the East, 549.
- Michigan* Lake, consequences of the union of, with the Illinois, 361—narrative of a journey by water from the waters of the Illinois to, 361.
- Militia*, quotation from Chief Justice Marshall's speech on the, 15.
- Missionaries* in the Sandwich Islands, treatment of by Mrs Graham, 64—degraded state of the people on their arrival, 77—grounds of opposition to, 82—explanation of their conduct on one occasion, 84 et seq.—amount of the charges against, 88—misrepresentations relating to, exposed, 90—declaration of the views of, 94—conduct of Lord Byron towards, 97 religious observances enforced by, 101—Captain Beechy's statement of evils produced by, refuted, 102.
- Mississippi*, valley of, Schoolcraft's Travels into, 357—on the mineralogy and geology of, 360—proposed canal in, from Chicago to the Illinois, 361—remarkable Indian remains in, 363.
- Mohegan* language, use of the word *father* in, 387.
- Moorish* Letters, by Cadalso, on the plan of the Citizen of the World, 248.
- Moravian* missionaries, labors of, how directed, 106.
- Morse*, Samuel F. B., Discourse of, before the National Academy of Design, reviewed, 207—his unreasonable complaints of the state of taste in his own country, 208—his mistake in deprecating the intervention of any but professed artists in the management of academies, 211—his opinions on the purchase of old paintings, 212—his apprehensions unfounded, 214.
- Munich*, Field Marshal, cherishes and promotes the designs of the empress Catharine II. upon the Turkish government.
- N.
- Napoleon*, anecdote of related by Captain Basil Hall, 538—Life of, by Sir Walter Scott, its main fault, its claim to be impartial, 199.
- Nash*, Thomas, debates in Congress in the case of, 29.
- National* Academy of Design, impropriety of the name of, 207—Mr Morse's Discourse before, at the anniversary, 208.
- Neutrality*, armed, singular origin of, 309—its adoption by several European powers, 312 & 313—its effects upon the commerce of different countries, 314.
- Newspapers*, great influence of, 176—increase in the number and circulation of, 177—character of, and mode of conducting in France, 177—suggestions for the improvement of, 179—talent displayed in the political and literary department of the French, 180—advantages of the American over the British, 180—literary matter not properly excluded from, 180—cause of the great size of the British, 181.
- Nicaragua*, canal of, proposed, 140 et seq.
- Niebuhr*, C., his Description of Arabia, 548, account of his expedition into the East, 549—his character as a traveller, 550.
- Niemcewicz*, a Polish author of distinction, 154.
- Nobility*, the, in Spain and England, 172.
- Nova* Scotia, always the subject of national controversy, 421—charter of, given by James I. to Sir William Alexander, which first established the western boundary on the St Croix, &c. 421—controversy between the English and French concerning, decided by the peace of 1763, 422—partition of, from the United States by treaty, at the close of the revolutionary war, 423—three questions arising under this treaty, 423—the third still under discussion, 423—argument in support of the British construction stated, 424—boundary line of, as existing at the peace of 1783, determined, 426 et seq.—claim of the British govern-

- ment stated by Colonel Bouchette, 430—and by an anonymous writer, 431—the claim examined, 431 et seq.—objections reviewed, 440.
- Noyes, G. R.*, his Amended Version of the Book of Job, 40—his designation of the work, 43—his remarks on the common version of the Bible, 50—his version compared with Dr Good's 54—his remarks on the word usually translated *curse*, 56—remarks on his improvements of the common version, 57—his notes, 58—general recommendation of his work, 59.
- Numbers*, mode of reckoning among the Sandwich Islanders, 67.
- O.
- Oak*, live, cultivation of in Florida, 493.
- Olive*, a native species of, in Florida, 497.
- Opie, Mr.*, absurd sentiment of with respect to the purchase of paintings, 213.
- Ottoman empire*, state of, in the reign of Catharine II., 299—its condition less degraded than was then supposed, 300—plan for the destruction of, by Catharine II., 301—opposed by the cabinets of Europe, 302—result in its effects upon the Porte, 303 et seq.
- P.
- Pacific ocean*, manner in which the islands of, became inhabited, 107.
- Palmer, Mr.*, contract of with the Republic of Central America for the Oceanic canal, 141.
- Panin, Count*, the Russian statesman, character of, 295—opposition to the attempt of England to engage Russia in her colonial war, 309—the author of the famous system of armed neutrality, 310.
- Paraguay*, history of the revolution in, 444—singular ignorance with regard to the situation of, 444—mysterious policy of Dr Francia, the ruler of, 445—travels of Messrs Rengger and Longchamp into, 446—their detention by Francia in, and escape from, 447—unsuccessful invasion of, from Buenos Ayres at the commencement of the revolution, 449—convention in, which acknowledged the royal government and established a junta, 450—administration of, by this junta, 451—another convention in, called at the instigation of Dr Francia, 452—change of government and appointment of Francia as Consul, 452—and as Dictator, 454—is made Perpetual Dictator of, 457—army and militia of, 465—conspiracies in, against the government of Francia, 467—unhappy state of society in, under his government, 468—ruin of the capital of, under pretence of improvement, 469—unhappy state of, 475—newspaper paragraphs concerning, 475.
- Parliamentary* debating, excessive indulgence in, 158—character of the English compared with the French, 166—in what susceptible of improvement, 170.
- Parliamentary* reform, Baron de Staël's account of a meeting for, 182—his examination of the subject of, 187—state of the question between the parties on, 188—chief error of the partizans of, 189.
- Periodical press*. See *Newspapers*.
- Poetry*, extract from a Hindu drama, 125.—Selections from Bowring's Polish poets—from Kochanowski, 152—Zimorowicz, 152 and 153—from Casimir Brodzinski, 154 et seq.—from the Buccaneer by R. H. Dana, 243—from his *Changes of Home*, 245—the *Pleasure Boat*, by the same, 247—quotations from the *Talisman*, 264 et seq.—the *Butterfly* from the same, 269—lines on the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, from the same, 270.
- Poland*, account of the facts leading to, and relating to the partition of, 238.
- Poland*, Poetry and Literature of, by J. Bowring, 146—ancient inhabitants of, —148—proud character of, in later times, 148—circumstances which depressed the literature of, 149—progress of the poetry of, 149—prospects of, under its present masters, 150—character of the poetry of, 151—specimens of, 152 et seq.
- Political* economy and kindred departments of knowledge, their importance to the public man, 170—sug-

- gestions for the improvement of education in, 170.
- Polynesia*, similarity of all the inhabitants of, 107.
- Potemkin*, Prince, notice of, 296—his energetic, and profligate character, 297—his great influence over the empress, 297—his manner of treating the king of Prussia, 298—his proposition for a second partition of Poland, 298—his complete control over Russian affairs, 298—not a great man, 299—oppressive government of the Crimea, 306—is engaged in the interest of England, 309 et seq.—defeated by Count Panin, 309.
- Pothier* on Marriage, &c. reviewed, 316—his view of the condition of woman in respect to property at Rome, 325.
- Press*, the periodical, Baron de Staël's remarks on, 176 et seq.
- Primogeniture*, on the law of, 173
- Professions*, associations for the support of, 213.
- Property*, state of, in England, 171—remarkable instance of the subdivision of, 173—carried to an unnatural extent, 174—comparative effects of the two modes of the descent of, 175.
- Prussia*. See *Frederic*.
- Q.
- Quails* mentioned in the Pentateuch, on the nature of, 563.
- Quarterly Review*, on missions in the Sandwich Islands, 59 et seq.—charges of, against the missionaries, considered and refuted, 86 et seq.—charges derived from the statements of Captain Beechey, 102.
- R.
- Rawle*, William, his Vindication of Heckewelder, 357—has been misled by Heckewelder's extravagant account, 366.
- Red Sea*, cause of the color of, 561.
- Register*, American Annual, for 1825—6 reviewed, 197—importance of the department of, which relates to the individual states, 197—of that part devoted to domestic history, 198—the proper degree of impartiality displayed in political matters, 200—of that part devoted to foreign history, 201—sketch of the historical chapters, 202—and general analysis of the work, 203 et seq.
- Religion*, notions of, among heathen nations, 69—revelation essential to the existence of, 70.
- Rengger* and Longchamp, Messrs, history of the revolution in Paraguay reviewed, 444—travels of, into and detention in Paraguay, 446—their account of the causes which led to their work, 447—manner in which they obtained permission to depart.
- Revelation*, necessity of, to the existence of religious notions, 70.
- Riedesel*, the Baroness de, her Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, reviewed, 224—departure of her husband for America, with the Brunswick troops, 226—her journey before embarking for America, 226—imposition practised upon her on her passage to London, 227—her residence in London, 229—her arrival in Canada, 230—her account of the death of General Fraser, 231—of her subsequent sufferings and exposure, 233 et seq.—ill treatment of, after the capitulation on the journey to Virginia, 235—subsequent residence in America and return home, 236—her account of the mode of secreting the Brunswick colors, 237—of the merits of the translation of her work, 237.
- Rome*, duties and rights of women in, according to the civil law, 319—constitution of marriage and condition of the wife in, 322—improvement of the sex in the refined state of the empire of, 323—their condition as to property in, 325—marriage and facility of divorce in, 328—polygamy not sanctioned, 330—promotion of marriage in, by law, 331.
- Russia*, connexion of with, and agency in the partition of Poland, 288 et seq.—interferes in the contest for the Bavarian succession, 294—notice of the empress and some of the statesmen of, 295—influence of Prince Potemkin in, 297, &c. policy of, and events of the history of, in the reign of Catharine II., 299 et seq.—See *Catharine*.

- S.
Sabbath, observance of in the Sandwich Islands, 83 & 101.
Sackee, a vinous liquor of the Loo Choo islands, 533.
St Clair, Gen. unfortunate expedition of, owing to no fault of the commander, 359.
Sales, F., his edition of Cadalso's Moorish Letters, 248.
Salic law, origin and extent of, 354.
Sandwich Islands, government of, 61—voyage of the *Blonde* to the, 62—the narrative of this voyage how got up, 63—of the mode of numbering of the inhabitants of, 67—their importance in a commercial point of view, 68—religious notions of the, 69—anecdote illustrative of these notions, 71—social and moral character of the inhabitants, 74—shown to be very bad, 75—degraded state of the people on the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, 77—circumstances illustrating their character and the influence of the missionaries upon them, 78 et seq.—account of circumstances occurring in, which have been represented to the disadvantage of the missionaries, 84 et seq.—judicious conduct of Lord Byron with regard to, 94—transactions concerning the missionaries in a public council of the chiefs of, 94—ascend of Mr Goodrich up the highest mountain of, 98—facts with regard to religious observances enforced by the missionaries in, 101—account given by Capt. Beechey of the state of, considered, 102—actual effects produced by the missionaries upon the prosperity of, 103 et seq.—great size of some of the inhabitants of, 105—mode in which these islands became inhabited, 107—letter from one of the chiefs of, shown to be a forgery, 108.
Sanskrit drama. See *Hindu*.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., his *Travels in the Mississippi Valley*, 358— anecdote of Gen. Wayne related by, 359—his historical notices of the various expeditions into this country, 359—his remarks on the geology and mineralogy of the country, 360—on a proposed canal from Chicago to the Illinois, 361—his account of the impressions on limestone rock of the human form, near St Louis, 365—general character of his work, 365.
Scolds, punishment of by the common law, 342—case of one in Queen Anne's reign, 343—the punishment obsolete, but its revival attempted in Pennsylvania, 343—this attempt defeated, 344.
Scott, Sir Walter, his attempt at impartiality in his life of Napoleon, considered, 199—his mode of treating Lafayette, 200.
Scott, Sir William, opinion of concerning the ill-treatment of wives by husbands which may claim the interference of law, 340.
Sedgwick, Miss, her Hope Leslie reviewed, 403—her success in availing herself of the early history of New England, 413—her representation of the Indian character, 418.
Seminoles of Florida, a tribe of the Creek Indians, 480.
Spain, character of the nobility of, 172—fondness with which the idea of noble descent is cherished in, 252—national pride of the inhabitants of, 251—interest of the literature and language of, to the people of the U. S., 251.
Spanish America, important effects of the policy of England and the United States in acknowledging the independence of, 192.
Stael, Baron de, *Letters on England* reviewed, 163—his education and character, 164—his previous efforts in the literary way, 164—objects of his present work, 165—topics of interest touched on by him, 166—his remarks on the comparative character of parliamentary debates in England and France, 166—his account of a debate in the House of Peers on the Catholic question, 167—contrasted with the debates in the French Chambers, 168—his remarks on the state of property, 171—and on the hereditary aristocracy of England, 172—on the law of primogeniture, and account of the effects of equal division of property among children on his own estate, 173—his remarks on the periodical press

in England, France, and America, 176—his account of a public meeting on parliamentary reform, when the whigs were defeated by Cobbett, 182.

Sudraka, a Hindu poet, author of the *Toy Cart*, 113.

T.

Talisman, The, for 1828, reviewed, 258—works of this class originated with the Germans, 259—account of the production and success of similar works, 260—account of this work, 263—and of the various articles which compose it, 264 et seq. *Taxation*, quotation from a speech of Chief Justice Marshall on the power of, 13.

Theatre, influence of, on the fine arts, 219.

Tonquinese, Father Horta's account of visiting among, 517.

Travellers, diversities in the characters of, 59.

Travels, books of, did not exist among the ancients, 539—notice of some of the earliest, 540—feelings which first gave birth to the literature of travels, 541—various accounts of travels in Asia, &c. noticed, 543—those of Niebuhr, 549—those of Ehrenberg and Hemprich, 551.

Toy Cart, The, a Hindu Drama, account of the author of, 113—account of the drama, 114—merits of its plot, 123.

Turkey. See *Ottoman empire*.

U.

United States of America, connexion of the history of, with that of the English colonies, 2—melancholy and distressed state of, at the end of the revolutionary war, 10—circumstances relating to the formation of the constitution of, 11—influence of the French revolution upon the state of political feeling in, 19—occurrences indicating the state of feeling, 20—conduct of the French minister towards the government of, 20—rise of the two great political parties in, 21—controversy concerning the right of the executive of, to conclude a commercial treaty, 24—importance of constitutional law in, 34

—periodical press in, 171—its advantages in some respects over the British, 180—state of the taste for the fine arts in, 208—employment of German troops against, in the revolutionary war, 224—controversy concerning the northeastern boundary of, 421—acquisition of Florida by, 481—controversy of, with Georgia, relating to the boundary of Florida, 483.

Uz, land of, the residence of Job, where situated, 46.

V.

Vine, cultivation of, in Florida, 496.

Virginia, debates of the convention of, on the Federal constitution, 12—debates in the legislature of, on Jay's treaty, 24—resolution relating to President Washington passed in the legislature of, 25.

Volcanoes of Guatemala, 120—remarkable ones in the neighborhood of the city of Guatemala, 130.

Von Dohm, his *Memoirs of his Own Times*, 285—notice of his life and character, 285—value and credibility of his work, 286—his work introduced by a sketch of the reign of Frederic the Great, 287—his account of the contest respecting the Bavarian succession, 292—of Catharine II., 295—of Count Panin, 295—of Prince Potemkin, 296—of the project of the empress for the conquest of Turkey, 299—of the fate of these projects, 303 et seq.—of Joseph II., his plans of aggrandizement, 314—of the character, life, and habits of business of Frederic, 315.

W.

Wallenstein, M. de, his Translation of Baroness Riedesel's *Memoirs*, its merits, 237—quotation from his preface, 238.

Washington, General, Judge Marshall's Life of, 1—extract of a letter from, on the state of the country after the revolution, 10—induces Judge Marshall to become a candidate for congress, 28.

Wayne, General, anecdote of, 359.

Wenzel, Anton, minister of Austria, character of, 292.

Whigs, in England, defeated at a public meeting, on parliamentary reform, by Cobbett, 184—accession of, to power, how brought about, 190—their policy prevalent in the English government, 193 et seq.

White, Mr, delegate from Florida in Congress, his Letters on the interests of that territory, 493—his proposal for a ship channel across the northern part of Florida, 494.

Wilford, Colonel, his mode of deciding the age of the author of *The Toy Cart*, a Hindu drama, 113.

Wilkes, John, decision against, in the case of his wife, 337.

Williams, John Lee, his View of West Florida, 483—his defective account of its boundary, 483—his description of its general appearance, 485—his description of the coast, geologically considered, 486—and of the various sections of the country, 487 et seq.—his account of the climate, 489—of the bays and inlets, 490—of the capes, rivers, islands, and lakes, 491—of the limestone caves of Chipola, 491.

Wilson, Horace Hayman, his translation of select specimens of the Theatre of the Hindoos, 111.

Woman, actual, compared with the poetical condition of, 316—condition of, among barbarous tribes, 317—among civilized nations, 317—sphere of, intended by nature to be different from that of man, 318—condition and privileges of, among the Romans, as fixed by the civil law, 319 et seq.—her rights as to property, 325—condition of, in respect to marriage and divorce, 328—legal condition of, according to Blackstone, 332—state of, in marriage, compared with that of a minor, 332—injustice of the condition of, according to our law shown, 333—her legal condition not honorable to the generosity, nor the good sense of mankind, 333—murder of her husband by, how considered by the common law, 334—difference between the

situation of husband and wife in other criminal cases, 335—barbarous punishment of, by the common law, 336—authority of the husband over, 336—has need of protection against the husband, 337—interest and occupations of, essentially domestic, 338—right of chastisement by the husband, allowed by the common law, 339—but virtually denied in practice, 340—and by the ecclesiastical courts, 340—cases of maltreatment of, among the British peers, 340—held accountable individually for offences against the common law, 344—how far secured by the husband from the consequences of certain crimes committed in company with him, 344—nature and degree of her liability for crimes, 345—certain consequences resulting to, from the unity of person in husband and wife, 345—competency of, as evidence in certain cases, 347—property of, how held after marriage, 347—obligations of the husband to support her, 348—her right of dower, how qualified, 349—has no power to make contracts, according to common law, 351—cases in which she may contract, 352—her rights in chancery, 353—operation of the Salic law upon, 352—happy influence of, on mankind, 356—influence of female literature upon, 404—services of, in the production of books for the young, 406 et seq.

Y.

Yellow Sea, probability of its becoming filled up, 516.

Young, the, importance of the influence of books on, 406—books for, most properly written by women, 407.

Z.

Zimorowicz, a Polish poet, selections from, 152, 153.

Zoölogy, collections in, made by Messrs Ehrenberg and Hemprich, 562.

DEC 1966

